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PART I.—JANUARY

Qadi an-Nu'man
The Fatimid Jurist and Author

BY ASAF A. A. FYZEE

I. INTRODUCTORY: SOURCES
II. LIFE
III. WORKS

I. INTRODUCTORY: SOURCES

ANY complete biography of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, the most illustrious of Ismā'īlī jurists, must necessarily be based on two kinds of sources, *internal* and *external*. He was a very prolific author, and although not all his works which were extant some 400 years ago have come down to us, a good many of his *akhbār* and *fiqh* works are still preserved. It would be necessary to go through all of these and collect all autobiographical information before the definitive biography of the Qāḍī can be attempted. Even purely *fiqh* works like the *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* contain occasional references to contemporary events. The brief biography given below does not profess to be exhaustive; it is based in the main on three external sources, which seem to contain all that was definitely known of this great lawyer, the founder and the greatest exponent of Ismā'īlī jurisprudence. The difficulty of writing on Ismā'īlī subjects is well known; it is next to impossible to expect any co-operation from the sectarians themselves. I am trying, however, to obtain information from different sources, and if ever I am able to study all

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the works extant of the Qāḍī, a more comprehensive biography may be attempted.

The three sources are Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary*; Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf'u'l-Iṣr*; and volumes v and vi of Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan's *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*. Ibn Khallikān[1] is the earliest in point of time, and too well known to need any introductory remarks. He has a long and interesting account of the *Qāḍī* Abū Ḥanīfa—to distinguish him from the *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfa—an-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad. His comparatively early age must, however, be offset by his being a Sunnite and by his anti-Fatimid prejudices, which are well known. His account, analysed carefully, does not give many biographical details, as he is content to cite opinions showing the extraordinary merits of the man. In respect of the mention of his works, it is very meagre; for instance, Saiyidnā Idrīs, coming two centuries later, mentions over forty works of our author, while Ibn Khallikān mentions only six, and some of the titles are quite erroneous. Moreover, the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's greatest work, is not mentioned.

Ibn Ḥajar,[2] coming two centuries later, is even more meagre than Ibn Khallikān. His account in the *Raf'u'l-Iṣr* of the Qāḍī and his family was edited and translated by R. Gottheil in a long and learned article entitled "A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Cadis (al-Nu'mān) in the Tenth Century" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1907, vol. xxvii, pp. 217–297). This, as far as I am aware, is the only account of this distinguished *qāḍī* and his family by any European scholar. It contains some errors, but on the whole is very useful. In 1912 Rhuvon Guest in editing the *Kitābu'l-Wulāt wa Kitābu'l-Quḍāt* of al-Kindī (*Governors and Judges of Egypt*, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xix), edited

[1] Born 608/1211; died 681/1282. See Brockelmann in *EI*. ii, 397. The text of Ibn Khallikān is unfortunately not available to me; I have used and referred to de Slane's translation throughout, vol. iii, 565 et seq.

[2] Born 773/1372; died 852/1449. *EI*. ii, 379.

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also as appendix a certain number of biographies from different sources and re-edited the biographies of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān and his illustrious sons from Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf'u'l-Iṣr* and the *Talkhīṣ* of his grandson, Jamālu'd-dīn Yūsuf b. Shāhīn. It is very unfortunate that al-Kindī, who was practically a contemporary of the Qāḍī (died 350/961),[1] does not mention him; nor have any of the earlier accounts mentioned by Ibn Khallikān come down to us.[2] On comparing the texts of Gottheil,[3] based on the Paris MS. 2149, and that of Guest,[4] based on a comparison of the Paris MS. 2149 with No. 5893, and some British Museum MSS.,[5] it will be found that Guest's text is far more correct and satisfactory. Ibn Ḥajar's account is also meagre; its meagreness can be judged from the fact that he does not mention any of our author's works.

Both these authors being Sunnite, it is hardly to be expected that they could be in possession of all the relevant facts in the life of one of the foremost of Ismā'īlī authors. For this purpose the most valuable source of information that is still happily preserved is the account of the Qāḍī in the sixth volume of the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār wa Funūnu'l-Āthār* by the 19th *dā'ī* of the Yemen, Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan (died, Yemen, 872/1468), who was practically a contemporary of Ibn Ḥajar. The *'Uyūn* is a voluminous work on the history of Ismailism in seven volumes preserved in its entirety by the Western Ismā'īlīs in India. The first volume deals with the life of the Prophet; vols. ii and iii with the life of 'Alī; vol. iv with the Imāms from Ḥasan to Mahdī; vol. v with the reigns of the first three Fatimid Caliphs, Mahdī, Qā'im, and Manṣūr; vol. vi with Mu'izz (4th Caliph) down to the first half of the reign of Mustanṣir (8th Caliph); and the seventh and last volume deals with the latter half of

[1] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, Introduction, 7.
[2] See Gottheil's remarks on the historians of *qāḍīs*, op. cit., 224 et seq.
[3] *JAOS.* xxvii, 238.
[4] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 586–7.
[5] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, Introduction, 43.

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Mustanṣir's reign, the end of the Fatimid Caliphate, and the establishment of the Yemenite Da'wat. In the sixth volume, dealing with the life and times of the Caliph Mu'izz, Saiyidnā Idrīs gives a very long and the most authoritative account extant of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's life and works.[1] The *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār* is a very valuable source for the study of Fatimid history, and so far it has never been edited, translated, or studied in its entirety by any European scholar.[2] My account is primarily based on it and on some portions of the fifth volume; and as the *'Uyūn* itself cites Qāḍī an-Nu'mān verbatim, we seem to be on safe ground. The account shows how closely the Qāḍī was associated with the first four Fatimid Caliphs, Mahdī, Qā'im, Manṣūr, and Mu'izz; how gradually he rose to power and reached his zenith in the time of Mu'izz, and what a prolific author he was. The *'Uyūn* mentions forty-two of his works and two more are mentioned in the Ismā'īlī bibliography, the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*.[3]

[1] Folios 33–41. The references are to a copy of the sixth volume of the *'Uyūn* recently transcribed, dated Rajab, 1351/November, 1932, and consisting of 320 folios.

[2] This work has recently been mentioned by W. Ivanow in his paper on "An Ismaili Interpretation of *Gulshan-i-Rāz*", *JBBRAS.* (1932), 69, 72; by Dr. Hamdānī in his papers on the "History of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat and its Literature", *JRAS.* (1932), 126, and on "The Life and Times of Queen Saiyida Arwā, the Sulaihid of Yemen", *JRCAS.* (1931), xcviii, 505, 506, 508 sqq., and 514 sqq.; and by Dr. Paul Kraus in "Hebräische und syrische Zitate im ismā'īlitischen Schriften", *Der Islam*, xix, Heft 4, 243, 244. Dr. Ḥusain Hamdānī has very kindly drawn my attention to the fact that Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, in his foreword to the recent edition of the *Rasā'il Ikhwānu'ṣ-Ṣafā'* (Cairo, 1928, p. 36), doubts the very existence of the *'Uyūn* and its author; and that the *'Uyūn* is also mentioned in a short note in the Bombay edition of the *Rasā'il* (A.H. 1306), iv, 409, by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī Rāmpūrī. See also W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, No. 258, p. 62.

[3] Nos. 14 and 44 in the list given below. This *Fihrist* seems to be the work of one Ismā'īl al-Majdū' who lived in central India during A.H. 1150–1168 (about two hundred years ago) and who was a very learned scholar. He later pretended to be the *ḥujjat* of the occult Imām and thereupon came into the disfavour of the *dā'ī* of the time. It seems that it was not he whose nose was cut, but it was his son, Hibatu'l-lāh, who paid for the sins of his father; but curiously enough the appellation *majdū'* has stuck to the father. W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, Preface and No. 336, 73.

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Of these twenty-two are still preserved (eighteen completely and four partially) by the Western Ismā'īlīs of India. And it can hardly be doubted that in the Yemen some of his works considered as lost by us are still preserved. Some works, not really his, are occasionally ascribed to him, for instance, *Kitāb Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī*, *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām*, and others.[1]

In addition to the various sources mentioned above, the Qāḍī is also mentioned and dealt with by some Ithnà 'Asharī authorities, and accounts of him will be found in the *Mustadrak* (iii, 313) and *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* (658–9). The account in the *Mustadrak* is most important, as it contains not merely full particulars of what was known about him, but also a discussion of a number of legal views held by Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. The author of the *Mustadrak* explains, for instance, why it was that the Qāḍī differed in many respects from the Shī'ites (Twelvers) and how it is erroneous to think that the *Da'ā'im* was written by the Shaikh Ṣadūq al-Qummī. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān is also mentioned in the following works: *EI.* iv, 355 (sub "Shī'a" by Strothmann); *EI.* i, 739 (sub "Bohoras"); Brockelmann, *Arab. Lit.*, i, 187–8; and Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Lit.*, 37–40.

II. Life

Name.—The *Qāḍī*[2] Abū Ḥanīfa[3] an-Nu'mān b. Abī 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥaiyūn[4] at-Tamīmī.[5]

[1] See the section "Apocrypha" in the list below.

[2] To distinguish him from the "*Imam*" Abū Ḥanīfa, for whose account see Ibn Khallikān, iii, 555. Ismā'īlīs almost invariably call him "Saiyidnā'l-Qāḍī'n-Nu'mān", and never by the designation Abū Ḥanīfa. He is also referred to as سيدنا الاوحد and القاضى الاجل.

[3] Generally designated as "the Abū Ḥanīfa of the Shī'ites". Strothmann, *EI.* iv, 355, sub "Shī'a", evidently following *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* of Md. Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (Tehran, 1306), p. 658. Massignon is wrong in giving the *kunya* of Nu'mān's father as "Abū Ḥanīfa"; he

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His pedigree is not a matter of doubt, for all accounts agree concerning it. The pedigree given in the *'Uyūn*, vol. vi, agrees with that given by Gottheil in the form of a genealogical tree on p. 238 of his article.

BIRTH.—The exact date of Nu'mān's birth is nowhere mentioned in the authorities consulted by me. Gottheil (p. 227) says: "The father of al-Nu'mān, Abū Ḥanīfa, was himself a well-known littérateur, who had died at the advanced age of 104." No authority is cited for this. This is a very curious misstatement: for the father of Nu'mān may have died at the advanced age of 104, but his *kunya* could not be Abū Ḥanīfa, which undoubtedly was that of his son Nu'mān. We shall presently see how this confusion has arisen. But this statement has been, it seems to me, the cause of another error. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān died in 363. Some scholars think that the above remark applies to him and mention the date of his birth as 259. Massignon, for instance, following Gottheil, states that Nu'mān was born in 259 and died in 363 at the advanced age of 104.[1]

Gottheil's error seems to be based on a sentence from Ibn Khallikān (trans. De Slane, iii, 566, last five lines):

has evidently been misled by the error of Gottheil. L. Massignon, "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmaṭe" in *'Ajabnāma* (*A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday*), 332.

[4] "Ḥaiyūn" is correct, as we read in the *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 596, in the notice of Qāḍī Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Nu'mān: حَيُّون بمهملة وياء آخر الحروف مهملة مضمومة وآخره نون. Saiyidnā Idrīs and other Ismā'īlī authors have generally حيون. So also Gottheil, op. cit., 238; and on p. 269 (1), he corrects Brockelmann, who has "Ḥaiyān". *Mus.* iii, 313, has حيُوان and *Raudātu'l-Jannāt*, 658_{13}, has حيوان. Occasionally one also comes across the erroneous حيان.

[5] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 177. The usual *nisbas* are "al-Ismā'īlī" and "al-Maghribī" (*JAOS.* xxvii, 238; *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 586), while his sons are called "al-Qairawānī", Gottheil, op. cit., 240, 243. I have, however, given him only the *nisba* according to the Ismā'īlī tradition.

[1] *'Ajabnāma*, 332, No. 16. He further mentions that Abū Ḥanīfa was the *kunya* of Muḥammad, father of Nu'mān.

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"Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, Abū Ḥanīfa's father, lived to an advanced age. When four years old he could recite many curious pieces which he had learnt by heart. He died in the month of Rajab, 351 (August, A.D. 962) aged one hundred and four years, and was buried near Bāb Salm, one of the gates of Ḳairawān. The funeral service was said over him by his son."[1] This passage clearly shows that (1) Ibn Khallikān is speaking of Nu'mān's father Muḥammad who died at the age of 104, and (2) the *kunya* of Muḥammad was Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh, while that of his son was Abū Ḥanīfa.

All that can be said at present with regard to the birth of the Qāḍī is that no known authority mentions it, and that Gottheil's slip has misled certain scholars.

Now let us see whether any internal evidence can be found to indicate the approximate date of his birth. Qāḍī an-Nu'mān himself says in his *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt*[2] that he served Mahdī for the last nine years, some months and some days of his life. Mahdī died in 322/933, and therefore the Qāḍī served him from 313/920 onwards. Assuming that Nu'mān was about 20 years old at that time, he may have been born *circa* 293. This is quite in consonance with his death in A.H. 363 at the psalmist's age of "three score and ten". Unless definite authority to the contrary can be found, it is safe to ascribe his birth to the last decade of the third century of the Hijra, he himself being a typical product of the fourth.

DEATH.—There is very little uncertainty as regards the date of his death. Ibn Khallikān mentions two dates:

[1] Incidentally this also shows that at the time of his father's death in 351, Nu'mān held an important position in life. This is in complete accord with his having been appointed *qāḍī* in the time of Manṣūr, as we shall shortly see.

[2] Vol. i, folio 33. The references are to a recent copy transcribed in 1351/1932. (Vol. i consists of 189, and vol. ii of 337 folios.) Saiyidnā Idrīs cites this passage verbatim in *'Uyūn*, v, folio 396. The references to the fifth volume of the *'Uyūn* are to a copy recently transcribed in 1351/1933 and consisting of 401 folios.

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according to Ibn Zūlāq, Nu'mān died on the last day (the 29th) of Jumādà II, 363/Friday, 27th March, 974; but al-Farghānī in his history of the Qā'id Jawhar says that he died on the first of Rajab, 363/Saturday, 28th March, 974, and that the Caliph-Imām Mu'izz led the funeral prayer. Ibn Khallikān mentions "Friday night" as the time, and it is quite probable that some confusion, due to the Muslim fashion of reckoning the day, may have resulted. The MSS. of Ibn Ḥajar do not give the exact date, but Gottheil [1] accepts the first date given by Ibn Khallikān. Saiyidnā Idrīs (*'Uyūn*, vi, folio 177) mentions that he died at Cairo on the last day of Jumādà II, 363/Friday, 27th March, 974; and the Ithnà 'Asharī sources such as *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* and the *Mustadrak* accept this date.

MADHHAB.—It is interesting to observe that according to most writers the Qāḍī was at first a Mālikī and later adopted the Ismā'īlī faith.[2] Ibn Ḥajar is silent on the point, and merely calls him "al-Ismā'īlī". Gottheil, however, points out that some authorities like Abū'l-Maḥāsin say that he was at first a Ḥanafī.[3] The Ithnà 'Asharī sources sometimes imply that he was first a Mālikī, then he became an Imāmī (Twelver), and later adopted the Ismā'īlī faith.[4] The fact of his never citing any Imāms later than Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is freely discussed, and fear and *taqīya* (permissible dissimulation) are also attributed to him.

The *'Uyūn* does not discuss the question of his *madhhab*, for according to the Ismā'īlīs the Qāḍī was a pillar of their faith and the founder of their legal system. It seems probable that as he entered the service of Mahdī in his early life, and successively served four Fatimid Caliphs, he was an Ismā'īlī from the very beginning, or at any rate adopted that religion from his early days. As his sons are given

[1] Op. cit., 228.
[2] Ibn Khallikān, *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt*, *Mustadrak*, and others.
[3] Op. cit., 227, n. 3.
[4] *Mustadrak*, iii, 313 et seq.

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the *nisba* of "al-Qairawānī" by Ibn Ḥajar, it is quite likely that his family originally came from Qairawān and was of the Mālikī persuasion. And the differing accounts of his being a Mālikī, Ḥanafī, Ithnà 'Asharī, and Ismā'īlī may be due to his practice of *taqīya* in the early days of the Fatimid Caliphate, or misapprehension in the minds of others. How deep this misapprehension was amongst the Ithnà 'Asharīs is shown by the fact that the *Da'ā'im* was by some ascribed to the Imāmī doctor, Shaikh Ṣadūq Ibn Bābūya al-Qummī,[1] and it was thought necessary formally to refute that view.

LIFE.—Qāḍī an-Nu'mān himself relates[2] that he served the first Fatimid Caliph al-Mahdī bi'l-lāh before his death (A.H. 322) for nine years, some months and some days; that is, from 313/920, and thereafter he served Qā'im (Second Fatimid Caliph) for the whole of his life. Both of them used to be very kind to him. He used to serve Manṣūr (Third Fatimid Caliph) even before he succeeded to the Caliphate, for some time in the reign of Mahdī and throughout the reign of Qā'im. Manṣūr, too, was very good to him. During this time his chief duty was the collection, preservation, and copying of books.

Just prior to Qā'im's death in 335/946, and prior to Manṣūr's reign, he was appointed a *qāḍī*, first at Tripoli and later at Manṣūrīya.[3] As he was the first of Manṣūr's *qāḍīs*, the Caliph greatly increased his honour and rank, and Nu'mān, too, was so greatly devoted to him that he wished to die in his lifetime.

[1] Ibid.

[2] See footnote 2 to p. 7 above.

[3] *'Uyūn*, v, folio 378. The name given to Sabra, a suburb of Qairawān, by Manṣūr, who rebuilt it. It was Mu'izz's capital before he came to Egypt. Ibn Khal., iii, 381, notes 1 and 2. It may here be added that "Mahdīya" was the name given to a seaport town lying to the south of Tunis founded by Mahdī in 303 (Ibn Khal., i, 231), and Mu'izz called the new capital he built near old Cairo (Miṣr) for his own residence by his own name, "Mu'izzīya" (Ibn Khal., iii, 380).

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Qāḍī an-Nu'mān describes his first meeting with Mu'izz in very graphic terms.[1] He seems to have been greatly impressed by the Imām's appearance. He says that he was struck by "the refulgence of the *imāmat* from his countenance". He goes on to say that afterwards he came to be on very familiar terms both with Manṣūr and with Mu'izz, and became their confidant.

Manṣūr had ordered him to sit as *qāḍī* within the threshold of his own palace.[2] But Mu'izz finding that it was an inaccessible place for the poor and the sick and the women, who were frightened to come within the precincts of the palace, ordered a new building to be built, where he was finally accommodated.

When Mu'izz came from the north he brought with him an-Nu'mān as his own *qāḍī*. Mu'izz set out from Manṣūrīya on 21st Shawwāl, 361/5th August, 972, and reached Alexandria on 23rd Sha'bān, 362/29th May, 973, where Abū Ṭāhir, the *qāḍī* of Miṣr (Old Cairo), came to receive him. On 2nd Ramaḍān, 362/6th June, 973, he reached Mina, the wharf of Miṣr, opposite Giza, where he was received by the Qā'id Jawhar. Mu'izz reached al-Qāhira (New Cairo), without entering Miṣr, on the 5th, or according to some, the 7th of Ramaḍān, 362/the 9th or 11th June, 973.[3]

Now when Mu'izz entered Cairo and made that his home and remained there, he allowed Qāḍī Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdi'l-lāh to remain as *qāḍī* of Cairo,[4] probably in deference to the wishes of the Qā'id Jawhar. He did not supersede him by appointing Nu'mān, who had come with him as the *qāḍī* of the army,[5] in his place. Abū Ṭāhir, however, always consulted Nu'mān and asked him to revise his judgments. Thus according to the Ismailitic tradition,

[1] His words are cited verbatim in *'Uyūn*, v, folios 378–379.
[2] *'Uyūn*, v, folio 379.
[3] See Ibn Khallikān's account of Mu'izz, iii, 377 sqq.
[4] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 188.
[5] Gottheil, op. cit., 269.

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although Nu'mān was not formally appointed to a higher official position, his real rank, as a judicial officer, was higher than that of Abū Ṭāhir.

At another place in the sixth volume of the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār* it is related that Abū Ṭāhir remained *qāḍī* of Miṣr throughout the reign of Mu'izz, under the general supervision of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. This continued only for a short time, for Nu'mān died in the following year 363/974, and then the affairs passed into the hands of Abū Ṭāhir and 'Alī b. Nu'mān, who had acquired from his father much of what he had derived from the Pure Imāms, who in turn derived it from the Prophet. It is well to remember here that Mu'izz and Qāḍī an-Nu'mān were practically contemporaries, the Caliph dying two years later than his *qāḍī* in 365/976.

After Nu'mān's death Abū Ṭāhir used to refer to 'Alī b. Nu'mān, just as he used to refer to Nu'mān in his lifetime, and used to have his judgments revised accordingly. This continued till the end of Mu'izz's reign (365/976) and the beginning of the reign of al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh.

Thereafter, when Abū Ṭāhir became old and decrepit, and was unable to carry on the duties of Chief Qāḍī, he rode to 'Azīz and wished to resign from his post, hoping that someone from amongst his sons would be chosen for the post. 'Azīz accepted the resignation, but gave the position of Chief Qāḍī and rank in the Da'wat and in the teaching of the sciences and philosophy to Qāḍī 'Alī b. Nu'mān, just as in the time of Mu'izz that position used to be held by 'Alī's father, Nu'mān. It is further related in the *'Uyūn* (vi, folio 188 sqq.) that when 'Alī took over charge, religion was duly served, justice became widespread in all quarters and injustice disappeared totally. People no longer followed *ra'y* (opinion) or *qiyās* (deduction), but they adhered to the injunctions of the *Qur'ān* and the practice of the progeny of the Prophet, the Imāms of his House, as related by the most trustworthy authorities. 'Alī closely followed the system of law propounded by his father.

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This account confirms the view that although outwardly Abū Ṭāhir continued to act even in the time of Mu'izz, the real power as chief judge was in the hands of Nu'mān. This state of affairs is quite in consonance with the general tendency of the Ismā'īlīs, who make a great distinction in the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* ranks.

CHARACTER.—The *'Uyūn* (vol. vi), describing the personality of the Qāḍī, says that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān held a most respected and honoured position with the Imāms who were contemporary with him. How he served Mahdī, Qā'im, and Manṣūr has been mentioned. His position went on increasing in the reign of each successive Imām, the zenith being reached in the time of Mu'izz, when he became "high in rank, great in fame, well-established in position, and near to his heart in affection". Mu'izz continually made mention of him and of his excellence, and made him Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt,[1] Chief Justice, and added to it a high rank in the Da'wat. His regard for the Qāḍī may further be judged from the fact that he himself led the funeral prayer of Nu'mān.[2] Thus, according to Saiyidnā Idrīs, not only was he a great lawyer, but a pillar of the Ismā'īlī religion. The *'Uyūn* does not mention his exact rank, but he is generally supposed to have attained the rank of *ḥujjat* in the hierarchy of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat. Speaking judicially, Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's orders modified and went further than the orders of *any* officer; moreover, Mu'izz commanded him to read the books of the Imāms, his ancestors, and to publish the sciences and the philosophy of the Da'wat.

Saiyidnā Idrīs further relates[3] that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān was

[1] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 30. This is a curious statement and inconsistent with the accounts of other authorities, and even with the general account of his life given by Saiyidnā Idrīs. It probably refers not to his *official* rank, but to his *real* position. It is generally understood that it was his sons 'Alī and Muḥammad who became Chief Qāḍīs, and had the "official" title of Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt, see *infra*, p. 14, n. 1.

[2] Ibn Khallikān.

[3] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 33.

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a scholar endowed with such all-round learning and excellence that even his opponents had to acknowledge his merits. Whatever he wrote and composed, he wrote because of the knowledge derived from the Imāms, who were his contemporaries. And he wrote nothing without presenting each chapter or section to the Imāms in question, who either corrected what was wrong or confirmed what was correct in them.[1] It is this Ismā'īlī tradition, placing Qāḍī an-Nu'mān in such close proximity with the Imāms, that gives him the highest rank and authority. Mu'izz is reported to have said: "He who performs (or possesses) a hundredth part of what Nu'mān performed, to him I guarantee Paradise on behalf of God."[2]

Ibn Zūlāq, in his *History of Egyptian Qāḍīs*, speaking of his son 'Alī, is reported to have paid him a graceful tribute. "His father, the Qāḍī Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad, was a man of the highest abilities, deeply versed in the Koran, fully acquainted with the meaning of the expressions contained in that book,[3] skilled in the systems of jurisprudence, well-informed respecting the conflicting opinions entertained by the legists, learned in Arabic philology, in poetry of the higher class, in the history of the battle-days of the people (the Ancient Arabs), and distinguished for intelligence and equity. He composed for that family (the Fatimids) some volumes containing thousands of leaves; they were drawn up with great talent and in a style remarkable for the beauty of its cadences and rhymes."[4]

Sons and Family.—Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, the founder of an illustrious family of *qāḍīs*, was the father of two very distinguished sons:

I. Abū'l-Ḥusain 'Alī b. an-Nu'mān.

Was a distinguished scholar and jurist. Served as *qāḍī* and later as supreme *qāḍī*, chief preacher and chief *imām* of

[1] *'Uyūn*, vi, ff. 33, 35.
[2] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 41.
[3] Is this a reference to his *ta'wīl* books?
[4] Ibn Khal., iii, 365–6.

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Egypt, Syria, Mecca, and Medina, for nine years under al-'Azīz bi'l-lāh (fifth Fatimid Caliph). He was the first to have the official title of "Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt".[1] Born 329/940, died 374/984. (*Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 589–591, and Gottheil, op. cit., 240 sqq.).

II. Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad b. an-Nu'mān.

He was first an assistant to his brother 'Alī, then he acted for and finally succeeded him as supreme *qāḍī*. Was greatly respected and became very influential. Born 340/951, died 389/999. (*Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 592, and Gottheil, op. cit., 243 sqq.)

The following table taken from Gottheil (op. cit., 238), with the addition of dates, gives a clear idea of the Nu'mān family of jurists:

Ḥaiyūn
|
Aḥmad
|
Manṣūr
|
Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad
|
Abū Ḥanīfa an-Nu'mān, d. 363/974
|

Abū'l-Ḥusain 'Alī d. 374/984	Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh Muḥammad d. 389/999
Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Ḥusain beheaded 395/1005	Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'l-'Azīz killed 401/1011
	Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim finally deposed 441/1049

III. Works

Despite the fact that Ibn Khallikān says that the Qāḍī wrote thousands of pages and was a very prolific author, he is only able to mention six of his works, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 18, and 37 in our list below. Ibn Ḥajar mentions none of his works; and the Ithnà 'Asharī authorities mention the *Da'ā'im*, *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār*, *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, and one or two others.[2]

[1] *Kitābu'l-Wulāt*, 590_{22}.
[2] *Mustadrak*, iii. 313 sqq.

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Gottheil thinks that only *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār* "seems to have been spared for us".[1] But Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan in his *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*, vol. vi, mentions forty-two of his works and two more are attributed to him in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*, viz. Nos. 14 and 44 below.

I am giving below a classified list of the works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, without following the usual order in which they are mentioned in the *'Uyūn*. The works indicated as "lost" or "preserved" represents the generally received opinion of Western Ismā'īlī scholars in India to-day. No information from the Yemen is available, and it is possible that by further search works considered as lost by us may be found to be extant. It will be observed that out of the Qāḍī's forty-four works, twenty-two are considered as completely lost, eighteen are wholly preserved, and four are partially preserved (Nos. 4, 17, 21, and 22). Considering the important position of the author, the loss of half the number of his works during the last five centuries is one the result of which, for Ismailism and Ismailitic studies generally, can hardly be over-emphasized.

Of the Qāḍī's works, only five are known to be preserved in European libraries; the rest are quite unknown. An incomplete copy of the *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār* (No. 33) exists in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Parts 13 and 14 of this work, and three others, viz. *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, I (No. 9), *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl* (No. 21), and *al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt* (No. 40) have recently been acquired by the School of Oriental Studies, London.[2]

Qāḍī an-Nu'mān's Works

Classified List

Preserved	18
Partially preserved . .	4
Totally lost . . .	22
Total . . .	44

[1] Gottheil, op. cit., 229. The MS. is Berlin, No. 9662.
[2] (1933) *BSOS.*, vii. 33–9.

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A. Fiqh (Canon Law)

*1. كتاب الايضاح *Kitābu'l-Īḍāḥ.*

2. مختصر الايضاح *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Īḍāḥ.*

3. كتاب الإخبار *Kitābu'l-Ikhbār.*

*4. الينبوع *al-Yanbū'.*

5. الاقتصار *al-Iqtiṣār.*

6. الاتفاق والافتراق *al-Ittifāq wa'l-Iftirāq.*

7. الكتاب المُقتصِر *al-Kitābu'l-Muqtaṣir.*

8. القصيدة المنتخبة *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Muntakhaba.*

*9. دعائم الاسلام *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām.*

*10. مختصر الآثار *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār.*

11. كتاب يوم وليلة *Kitāb Yaum wa Laila.*

*12. كتاب الطهارة *Kitābu'ṭ-Ṭahāra.*

13. كيفية الصلوٰة *Kaifīyatu'ṣ-Ṣalāt.*

14. منهاج الفرائض *Minhāju'l-Farā'iḍ.*

B. Munāẓara (Controversy)

15. الرسالة المصرية فى الرد على الشافعى
ar-Risālatu'l-Miṣrīya fī'r-Radd 'alà'sh-Shāfi'ī.

16. كتاب فيه الرد على احمد بن شريح البغدادى
Kitāb fīhi'r-Radd 'alà Aḥmad b. Shuraiḥ al-Baghdādī.

17. الرسالة ذات البيان فى الرد على ابن قتيبة
ar-Risāla Dhātu'l-Bayān fī'r-Radd 'alà ibn Qutaiba.

18. اختلاف اصول المذاهب *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib.*

19. دامغ الموجز فى الرد على العتكى (الفتكى ؟)
Dāmighu'l-Mūjiz fī'r-Radd 'alà'l-'Itkī (Fatakī ?).

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C. Ta'wīl (Allegorical Interpretation of the *Qur'ān*)

20. نهج السبيل الى معرفة علم التأويل
Nahju's-Sabīl ilà Ma'rifati 'Ilmi't-Ta'wīl.

*21. أساس التأويل *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl.*

*22. تأويل الدعائم *Ta'wīlu'd-Da'ā'im.*

D. Ḥaqā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy)

23. حدود المعرفة *Ḥudūdu'l-Ma'rifa.*

24. كتاب التوحيد والامامة *Kitābu't-Tawḥīd wa'l-Imāmat.*

25. كتاب إثبات الحقائق *Kitāb Ithbātu'l-Ḥaqā'iq.*

26. كتاب فى الامامة *Kitāb fī'l-Imāmat.*

E. 'Aqā'id (Dogmatics)

*27. القصيدة المختارة *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Mukhtāra.*

28. كتاب التعاقب والانتقاد *Kitābu't-Ta'āqub wa'l-Intiqād.*

29. كتاب الدعاء *Kitābu'd-Du'ā'.*

30. كتاب الهِمَّة *Kitābu'l-Himma.*

31. كتاب الحُلَى والثياب *Kitābu'l-Ḥulà wa'th-Thiyāb.*

32. كتاب الشروط *Kitābu'sh-Shurūṭ.*

F. Akhbār and Sīra (Tradition and Biography)

*33. شرح الاخبار *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār.*

34. ذات المِنَن (الارجوزة الموسومة)
Dhātu'l-Minan (an *urjūza*).

35. ذات المِحَن (الارجوزة الموسومة)
Dhātu'l-Miḥan (an *urjūza*).

G. Ta'rīkh (History)

36. مناقب بنى هاشم *Manāqib Banī Hāshim.*

*37. افتتاح الدعوة *Iftitāḥu'd-Da'wat.*

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H. Wa'ẓ (Sermons)

38. معالم المهدى *Ma'ālimu'l-Mahdī.*

39. الرسالة الى المرشد الداعى بمصر فى تربية المؤمنين *ar-Risāla ilà'l-Murshid ad-Dā'ī bi Miṣr fī Tarbiyati'l-Mu'minīn.*

*40. كتاب المجالس والمُسَايَرات *Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt.*

I. Miscellaneous

41. تأويل الرؤيا *Ta'wīlu'r-Ru'yā.*

42. مناماتُ الأئمة *Manāmātu'l-A'imma.*

43. كتاب التقريع والتعنيف *Kitābu't-Taqrī' wa't-Ta'nīf.*

44. مفاتيح النعمة *Mafātīḥu'n-Ni'ma.*

J. Apocrypha (Works sometimes erroneously attributed to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān)

(1) تقويم الأحكام *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām.*

(2) الراحة والتسلى *Ar-Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī.*

(3) سيرة الأئمة *Sīratu'l-A'imma.*

Descriptive List

After classifying the works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, I now give below shortly all the information concerning each of the books drawn chiefly from the *'Uyūn*, vol. vi. The works of special importance are marked with an asterisk.

After giving the list of the Qāḍī's works, Saiyidnā Idrīs says[1]: "Most of these works are well known in the Yemen and only a few of them are lost." Unfortunately he does not say which of them had perished by his time. It is also stated further, on the authority of "the author of the *Sīra* of Kitāma", that *in addition to these* the Qāḍī was the

[1] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 40.

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author of numerous *rasā'il* (tracts) to *qāḍīs* and other individuals.

A. Fiqh

1. *Kitābu'l-Īḍāḥ.*

A comprehensive work on *fiqh* containing all the authentic traditions and reports with their *isnāds*, consisting of 220 *ajzā'*.[1] In the introduction to the *Iqtiṣār* the author says that it consisted of some 3,000 pages; this approximates to some extent with the 3,520 pages according to the ordinary computation of the *ajzā'*. The author began writing it in Mahdī's reign. It is now completely lost, except for the occasional glosses and citations from it which occur in many *fiqh* works.

2. *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Īḍāḥ.*

A shorter work of a similar character. Obviously an abridgment of No. 1. Entirely lost.

3. *Kitābu'l-Ikhbār.*

A book in thirteen *ajzā'*. Still preserved. I have never seen a copy. According to the introduction in *Iqtiṣār* it is also an abridgment of No. 1 and consists of 300 pages.

4. *al-Yanbū'.*

This is omitted in some copies of *'Uyūn*, vi. Part i on *'ibādāt* seems to be lost; part ii on *mu'āmalāt* is still preserved. The introduction not being available, no further information is forthcoming. Next to the *Da'ā'im*, it is considered as of great authority in legal questions, and as of equal weight with *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, *Ikhbār*, and *Iqtiṣār*.

5. *al-Iqtiṣār.*

Wholly preserved. Contains a very valuable introduction giving the extent of the *Īḍāḥ* (No. 1) and *Ikhbār* (No. 3), and showing that it was the abridgment of the *Ikhbār*. It

[1] Sing. *juz'* "part". It is not possible to say exactly what the extent of the *juz'* was in those days; to-day it is reckoned as 16 pages. See Hamdānī in *JRAS*. for April, 1933, p. 369.

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consists of two volumes as all Ismā'īlī *fiqh* works, part i dealing with *'ibādāt* and part ii with *mu'āmalāt*. Each volume is about 90 pages, 8 by 5 inches. Ibn Khallikān mentions it erroneously as *al-Intiṣār*. Gottheil (op. cit., 221) mentions it as follows: "Fatimide Law (says Maqrīzī), according to the Shī'ite doctrine, was first taught at the Azhar in Ṣafar 365 (975), when 'Alī b. Nu'mān, the cadi, sat in the Cairo mosque known as Azhar and dictated a compendium of law composed by his father for the Shī'ites. This work was called the *Iqtiṣār*."

6. *Kitāb al-Ittifāq wa'l-Iftirāq.*

Completely lost. A book in 40 *ajzā'*, giving the differences between the opinions of jurists and the correct opinion according to the *ahlu'l-bait*. Ibn Khallikān mentions *Ikhtilāfu'l-Fuqahā'*; probably the same work. It should not be confused with No. 18, *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib*, which is still preserved.

7. *Kitāb al-Muqtaṣir.*

Lost. An abridgment of No. 6.

8. *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Muntakhaba.*

Preserved. A very brief *qaṣīda* in the *rajaz* metre containing an epitome of legal propositions. These compendiums are generally used for memorizing rules of law.

9. *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām.*

Full title, *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām fī dhikri'l-Ḥalāl wa'l-Ḥarām wa'l-Qaḍāyā wa'l-Aḥkām.* Preserved in its entirety. Copies fairly common. Consists of two volumes of about 700 pages each; vol. i, dealing with *'ibādat*, begins with an important book on *īmān*; vol. ii deals with *mu'āmalāt*.

It is related in the *'Uyūnu'l-Akhbār*, vol. vi, that once at the court of Mu'izz, Nu'mān was present at a large gathering consisting of a number of *dā'īs* when the conversation turned upon the differences regarding reported traditions, and how on account of this a number of erroneous opinions had come into being as innovations. And Imām Mu'izz spoke to them

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about correct opinions and legal propositions, and how his community will necessarily follow the previous generations closely, and repeated the curious tradition of the Prophet: "Verily, you will follow the paths of previous generations like unto a horseshoe follows upon a horseshoe, or an arrow feather, an arrow feather; to this extent that if they (the previous generations) entered the hole of a serpent, surely you too will follow them."[1] Then Mu'izz reported the well-known *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "When innovations appear in my community, let the learned man make manifest his learning; else the curse of God be upon him"; and turning to the Qāḍī he said: "You, O Nu'mān, are the one indicated by this saying in these times."[2] He then commanded Nu'mān to compose the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, and explained to him the "roots" (*uṣūl*) and the "branches" (*furū'*) of the law, and related to him authentic traditions from his forefathers, the Imāms of the House of the Prophet, and the Traditions of the Prophet himself, and distinguished those concerning which the reporters had differed. Mu'izz further told him on the authority of Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq

[1] لتسلكنّ سبل الأمم قبلكم حذوالنعل بالنعل والقُذّة بالقذة حتى لو دخلوا جُحْر ضَبّ لدخلتموه' [f. 34]. For a similar Shī'ite tradition see the *ḥadīth* lexicon, *Majma'u'l-Baḥrain*, s.v. قذذ. Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, the learned editor of *Ma'ārif* (Azamgadh, U.P.), kindly informs me that similar traditions exist also in the Sunnite collections, e.g. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (*a*) Ed. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, A.H. 1327, *Kitābu'l-I'tiṣām*, iv, 1766; (*b*) Ed. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, Cairo, A.H. 1345, part ix, p. 126, l. 14, to p. 127, l. 1. I regret I have no access to Krehl's edition. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ed. Dāru'l-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, Cairo, A.H. 1327, *Kitābu'l-'Ilm*, ii, 416_1. Tirmidhī, Ed. Mujtabā'ī Press, Dihlī, A.H. 1342, *Kitābu'l-Fitan*, ii, 41_1. Sh. Md. Ṭāhir Fatanī (of Pattan, Gujrat, see *EI*. iii, 696), *Majma' Biḥāru'l-Anwār*, Nawalkishore ed., i, 322; iii, 124.

[2] ثم ذكرلهم قول رسول الله صلعم: اذا ظهرت البدع فى امتى فليظهر العالم علمه و إلّا فعليه لعنة الله' ونظر المعزلدين الله عم الى القاضى النعمان بن محمد رضوان الله عليه فقال: انت المعنى بذلك فى هذا الأوان يانعمان' ثم امر بتأليف كتاب دعائم الاسلام' واصّل له اصوله وفرّع له فروعه' واخبره بصحيح الروايات عن الطاهرين من آبائه عن رسول الله صلعم' [f. 34].

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that *Islām* was founded upon seven "pillars" (*da'ā'im*, sing. *di'ām* and *di'āma*), viz. *walāya*,[1] *ṭahāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ṣawm*, *ḥajj*, and *jihād*. Then he discussed the *walāya* of 'Alī; the real nature of *īmān* (as distinguished from *islām*); the *walāya* of the Imāms descended from the Prophet; the nature of Imāmat and its transference by *naṣṣ* (valid appointment). Thereafter he related the testaments of the Prophet and of 'Alī, and how it is necessary to love the Imāms; then *ṭahāra*, *ṣalāt*, *zakāt*, *ḥajj*, and *jihād*; then what is permissible and what is not regarding food, drink, sale, divorce, inheritance, evidence, and all the other subjects connected with *fiqh*.

Qāḍī an-Nu'mān composed the book as planned by Imām Mu'izz, and used to get it revised chapter by chapter and paragraph by paragraph by Mu'izz, who rejected what was unsound and corrected and retained what was right. Thus there came into existence a book, short yet authoritative, which is a miracle of Mu'izz through the instrumentality of his *dā'ī* and "friend" (*walī*), Qāḍī an-Nu'mān (*'Uyūn*, vi, folio 35).

In addition to this account of the composition of the work, we have also a letter of al-Ḥākim bi'l-lāh, dated 20th Dhū'l-Qa'da, 391/12th October, 1001, to Hārūn b. Muḥammad, *dā'ī* of the Yemen, which makes the *Da'ā'im* the paramount authority in legal questions among Ismā'īlīs.[2] al-Ḥākim, after discussing various questions with which we are not here concerned, enjoined Hārūn b. Muḥammad to follow strictly that which was laid down in, and to avoid every path contrary to, the Book of Allāh and the Traditions of the Prophet, as derived from his ancestors, the rightly-guided

[1] The word *walāya* has several meanings, including "guardianship". It may also be pronounced *wilāya*; but the Ismā'īlīs always pronounce it with a *fatḥa*. It means, in its technical sense, the love and devotion which the true believer (*mu'min*) must have towards the Imām and the *ahlu'l-bait*. This duty is clearly laid down in the *waṣīya* of 'Alī preserved in the *Da'a'imu'l-Islām*. Cf. Fyzee, *Ismaili Law of Wills*, 70–1; 74–5.

[2] This letter (*sijill*) is preserved in *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 268.

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Imāms, and "Your answer to those who question you concerning legal questions about what is forbidden and what is allowed should be from the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* in preference to *all* the other books which have been handed down".[1] Saiyidnā Idrīs confirms this in his *risāla* entitled *Īḍāḥu'l-I'lām wa Ibānatu'l-Hidāyat* by saying: "The *Da'ā'im* is to be relied on in preference to all other works handed down, on account of the dispatch of al-Ḥākim to his *dā'ī* of the Yemen, Hārūn b. Muḥammad."[2] He then cites the actual words of al-Ḥākim and adds that "for matters on which the *Da'ā'im* is silent, it is permissible to consult other authorities." These in practice are firstly, *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* and *Yanbū'*; both of these being of equal weight. Secondly, *Ikhbār*, *Iqtiṣār*, *Muntakhaba*, and any other legal works of the author; and lastly, later glosses like the *Kitābu'l-Ḥawāshī*,[3] and later works like *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām*, *Kitābu'n-Najāḥ* (for marriage and divorce only), and a few others.

Saiyidnā Idrīs also relates[4] that the Wazīr Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf b. Killis, himself a renegade Jew, wrote a handbook on *fiqh*, known as *Muṣannafu'l-Wazīr*. He began with *ṭahāra*, then prayer, poor-tax, fast, pilgrimage, holy war, and dealt with all the other chapters on *fiqh*, according to the *madhhab* of the Imāms of the House of the Prophet. In this he closely followed Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, and imitated his method and style. Out of this work, according to Saiyidnā Idrīs, only those portions are to be relied on which agree with what the Qāḍī has laid down in his books like the *Da'ā'im* and the *Mukhtaṣar*.

[1] ولتكن فتواك للمستفتين فى الحلال والحرام من كتاب دعائم الاسلام دون ماسواه من الكتب المنتقلة'.

[2] Folio 19. This *Risāla* consists of 25-30 small folios.

[3] This is mentioned by Fyzee in his "Ismaili Law of Mut'a": *JBBRAS*. for 1932, N.S., vol. viii, p. 88.

[4] *'Uyūn*, vi, folio 201. This fact is also mentioned by Gottheil, op. cit., 222.

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No known copy seems to exist in Europe,[1] though in India complete copies are not rare, as it is generally one of the earliest books taught to the initiate in Ismailism, and is normally studied immediately after *Kitābu'ṭ-Ṭahāra* (No. 12). Professor Strothmann wrote to me on 3rd March, 1932: "When I was in the Yemen, Ismā'īlīs denied to have any knowledge of it! I found it at Aden, but they would not give it. There was a MS. at Leipzig in the Collection of Gustav Fock Library." I have seen a number of complete copies, the oldest being a copy of vol. ii, dated A.H. 852, exactly five centuries old.

An early mention of the *Da'ā'im* occurs in the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql* of Saiyidnā Ḥamīdu'd-dīn al-Kirmānī who died apparently shortly before the death of al-Ḥākim bi amri'l-lāh (d. A.H. 411). al-Kirmānī mentions several works in his introduction to vol. i of the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql*, which should be read before studying the *Rāḥatu'l-'Aql*. First comes the *Qur'ān* and then several works of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān among which is the *Da'ā'im*. The next important reference is in the *Sīra* of al-Mu'aiyid fi'd-dīn ash-Shīrāzī, who relates that he used to hold assemblies in the presence of the Buwayhid Sultan Abū Kālījār, where he expounded *inter alia* the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. (Hamdānī, "Hist. of Ismā'īlī Da'wat, etc." (1932), *JRAS.*, 126, 131.) And lastly, Dr. Hamdānī kindly informs me that Saiyidnā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idrīs b. Ḥasan mentions the *Da'ā'im* also in his *Zahru'l-Ma'ānī*, chap. xvii. These are all the references I have been able to collect so far, but I feel certain that there must be several others which I have been unable to trace, for the *Da'ā'im* is a work of outstanding importance in the Da'wat literature.

The *Da'ā'im* is also mentioned in the following works: By Strothmann, s.v. "Shī'a": *EI.* iv, 355; s.v. "Bohoras": *EI.* i, 739; *Kashfu'l-Ḥujub wa'l-Astār* (ed. Hidāyet Ḥusain, Calcutta), Nos. 1095–6; *Rauḍātu'l-Jannāt* (Tehran), by

[1] A copy of vol. i has only recently been acquired by the School of Oriental Studies, London. *BSOS.* for 1933, vii, 33–9.

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Md. Bāqir al-Khwānsārī, 658_{13}–659_{2}; *Kashfu'z-Zunūn* (Constantinople ed.), i, 492; *Muntahà'l-Maqāl* by Md. b. Ismā'īl (Tehran), 318; and the *Mustadrak* cites it continuously; but see particularly iii, 313 sqq.

A summary of vol. ii in Hindustānī was published under the title of *Sharḥu'l-Masā'il*. Extracts from it have been published by me: (1) on "Bequests to Heirs" (1929), *JBBRAS*., N.S. 5, 141; and (2) on "Mut'a" (1932), ibid., N.S. 8, 85. The *Kitābu'l-Waṣāyā* from volume ii, containing that very interesting document, the *waṣīya* of 'Alī, is being published by me with a translation, notes, and an introduction in the *Ismaili Law of Wills* (Oxford University Press).

10. *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* (also *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār* ?).

Later Imām Mu'izz asked Nu'mān to abridge the *Da'ā'im* for the use of officials and judges, and this abridgment was called *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār*. It is to be noted that the book, which exists to day in two volumes, similar in arrangement to the *Da'ā'im* but shorter by about half, is called *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*. It is very curious that in the introduction to this work nothing is mentioned about its being the abridgment of the *Da'ā'im*. According to the introduction, the book was composed in 348, and 'Alī b. Nu'mān was permitted to teach it. As it exists to-day it is the recension of Nu'mān's grandson, Ḥusain b. 'Alī b. Nu'mān. In all probability the two works are the same, although in his account of our author Saiyidnā Idrīs only mentions اختصار الآثار. In the introduction to the first volume of the *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār*, as it now exists, we have the following from the author himself: فالّفتُ لهم هذا الكتاب متوسطاً بين التطويل والاختصار وسميته الاختصار مختصر الآثار.

The *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār* was originally named *Kitābu'd-Dīnār*, because it could be copied for a *dīnār*. But when Mu'izz examined it, he found it of great value, as it contained in short compass many authentic traditions of the Imāms, and

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recommended to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān that the title should be a more dignified one and suggested *Ikhtiṣāru'l-Āthār*; for in his view the title *Kitābu'd-Dīnār* reduced the book in the eyes of the people. This book was also carefully revised and corrected by Imām Mu'izz, if Saiyidnā Idrīs and the introduction to the book are to be believed.

The book is wholly preserved. It consists of two volumes of about 350 pages each, and the distribution of the subject is the same as that of the *Da'ā'im*, except that the important chapter on *īmān*, which is a characteristic feature of the first volume of the *Da'ā'im*, is absent here and we have *ṭahāra* at the very commencement.

11. *Kitāb Yaum wa Laila.*

Probably preserved. No copy has been seen by me so far. A popular work concerning the obligatory prayers.

12. *Kitābu'ṭ-Ṭahāra.*

Preserved. A brief work of about 200 pages on ritual purity (*ṭahāra*), and on prayers, both obligatory (*mafrūḍa*) and traditional (*masnūna*). It is generally the first book taught to beginners in the Ismailitic sciences.

13. *Kaifīyatu'ṣ-Ṣalāt.*

Lost. A controversial work showing the fallacies of other sects who do not follow the Prophet's injunctions.

14. *Minhāju'l-Farā'iḍ.*

Preserved. This work is not mentioned in the list given in the *'Uyūn*, but it is attributed to our author in the Ismā'īlī bibliography *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*. It deals with the laws of inheritance. A tract of about 30 folios (5 by 7½ inches) of doubtful authenticity.

B. Munāẓara (Controversy)

15. *ar-Risālatu'l-Miṣrīya fī'r-Radd 'alā'sh-Shāfi'ī.*

Lost. A polemical tract against Imām Shāfi'ī. In two large parts.

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16. *Kitāb Fīhi'r-Radd 'alà Aḥmad b. Shuraiḥ al-Baghdādī.*
Lost. Similar to above against Ibn Shuraiḥ. In two parts.

17. *ar-Risāla Dhātu'l-Bayān fī'r-Radd 'alà Ibn Qutaiba.*
Partially preserved at least. Polemic against 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Muslim b. Qutaiba. I have not come across complete copies. The one I have seen contains the first eight *ajzā'*, about sixty small folios, 4 by 5 inches.

18. *Ikhtilāf Uṣūli'l-Madhāhib.*
Preserved. From the title it seems to be a very valuable work. I have only been able to examine one very modern and imperfect copy; 139 folios, 5 by 8 inches. But copies are not very rare. The introduction shows that the work before us is the recension of Qāḍī'l-Quḍāt[1] 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. an-Nu'mān. It is further said that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān showed the book to Imām Mu'izz; his son, Muḥammad, to Imām 'Azīz; and 'Abdu'l-'Azīz in turn showed it to Imām al-Ḥākim. The copy before me is too incorrect for detailed work; but it is a book which, carefully studied, should give us much information regarding the legal system of the Ismā'īlīs, although a cursory perusal of it produces a disappointing impression.

19. *Dāmighu'l-Mūjiz* (? or *Mu'akhkhar*) *fī'r-Radd 'alà'l-'Itkī* (? or *Fatakī*).
Lost. In four *ajzā'*.

C. Ta'wīl (Allegorical Interpretation)

20. *Nahju's-Sabīl ilà Ma'rifati 'Ilmi't-Ta'wīl.*
Lost. In two volumes.

21. *Asāsu't-Ta'wīl.*
Partially preserved. Written before No. 22. Saiyidnā Idrīs says that only sixteen *ajzā'* are preserved. A very important and much studied work, dealing with *walāya* and numerous Qur'ānic stories and verses. A complete Persian

[1] A title never applied to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, see note 1 to p. 12.

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version was made by Saiyidnā al-Mu'aiyid fī'd-dīn, which is in existence to-day, but copies are very rare. The introduction says that the volume contains the "inner meaning" of what is stated in the *Da'ā'im*. The copy I have seen has 325 folios, about 5 by 9 inches, and seems to contain seventeen *ajzā'*.

22. *Ta'wīlu'd-Da'ā'im.*

Partially preserved. This is the title by which it is generally known; but the full title according to a MS. examined by me is: كتاب تربية المؤمنين بالتوفيق على حدود باطن علم الدين في تأويل دعائم الاسلام. 340 folios, 5 by 9 inches. Six *ajzā'* are preserved, each containing ten *majālis*, sixty *majālis* in all. Deals only with the first volume of *Da'ā'im* on *'ibādāt*. In the *'Uyūn*, Saiyidnā Idrīs mentions twelve *ajzā'*; possibly the second half is lost. A very important work. It is read soon after the *Da'ā'im* among Western Ismā'īlīs in India.

D. Ḥaqā'iq (Esoteric Philosophy)[1]

23. *Ḥudūdu'l-Ma'rifa fī Tafsīri'l-Qur'ān wa't-Tanbīh 'alà't-Ta'wīl.*

Lost. Contained exegesis and *ta'wīl*. Seventy *ajzā'*.

24. *Kitābu't-Tawḥīd wa'l-Imāmat.*

Preserved. In two volumes. I have not seen a copy. Deals with the public utterances of 'Alī I.

25. *Kitāb Ithbātu'l-Ḥaqā'iq fī Ma'rifati Tawḥīdi'l-Khāliq.*

Lost. In one volume.

26. *Kitāb fī'l-Imāmat.*

Lost. In four volumes. This was distinct from No. 24; and seems to have been lost since Saiyidnā Idrīs's times.

[1] Although the sections C and D are so divided, it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between a work dealing with *ta'wīl* and another with *ḥaqā'iq*.

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E. 'Aqā'id (Dogmatics)

27. *al-Qaṣīdatu'l-Mukhtāra.*

Preserved. A short *qaṣīda* in the *rajaz* metre, concerning Imāmat and Ḥujjat, who is fit for these positions and who is not, although he claims it.

28. *Kitābu't-Ta'āqub* (or *ta'aqqub*) *wa'l-Intiqād.*

Lost. In one *juz'*.

29. *Kitābu'd-Du'ā'.*

Lost. In two *ajzā'*.

30. *Kitābu'l-Himma fī Ādābi Ittibā'i'l-A'imma.*

Preserved. In two parts. A volume of about 200 folios. An interesting work showing how one should act in ordinary life so as to conform with the social manners and practices of the Imāms.

31. *Kitābu'l-Ḥulà wa'th-Thiyāb.*

Lost. In one *juz'*. It is very unfortunate that this is lost, for it may have contained much curious and entertaining information.

32. *Kitābu'sh-Shurūṭ.*

Lost. Its extent is not mentioned in the *'Uyūn*, nor the subject with which it dealt.

F. Akhbār and Sīra (Tradition and Biography)

33. *Sharḥu'l-Akhbār.*

Full title: *Kitāb Sharḥu'l-Akhbār fī Faḍā'ili'n-Nabī al-Mukhtār wa Āli'l-Muṣṭafīn al-Akhyār min al-A'immati'l-Aṭhār.* Preserved, in four volumes, sixteen *ajzā'*. A large work, concerning the Imāms and their excellence. Partially preserved (eight *ajzā'* only) in Berlin, No. 9662. Ahlwardt, ix, 295. Complete copies are not uncommon in India.

34. *Dhātu'l-Minan* (an *urjūza*).

Lost. Contained in metrical form the biography of Imām Mu'izz.

35. *Dhātu'l-Miḥan* (an *urjūza*).

Lost. Concerning the biography of Makhlad *ad-Dajjāl*

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al-Māriq. This Makhlad "ad-Dajjāl" seems to be the well-known Khārijite rebel. Ibn Khallikān (iii, 182) says: "It was in the reign of al-Qā'im that Abū Yazīd Makhlad Ibn Kaidāḏ[1] the Khārijite revolted against the Shī'ite dynasty." Makhlad died in the reign of Manṣūr (Ibn Khal., i, 220).

G. Ta'rīkh (History)

36. *Manāqib Banī Hāshim wa Mathālib Banī Umayya.*

Preserved. Two volumes. This work and Nos. 33 and 37 were written at the command of Imām Mu'izz. Historical work containing praise for the Imāms of the house of Hāshim and blame for the Umayyad family.

37. *Iftitāḥu'd-Da'wat wa Ibtidā'u'd-Dawlat.*

Preserved. In two volumes. A very important work dealing with the early history of the Fatimids in Egypt. Ibn Khallikān mentions it as *Kitāb Ibtidā ad-Da'wat li'l-'Ubaidīyīn.*

H. Wa'ẓ (Sermons)

38. *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-Mahdī.*

Lost. In one volume. Contained the religious teaching of Imām Mahdī.

39. *ar-Risāla ilà'l-Murshid ad-Dā'ī bi Miṣr fī Tarbiyati'l-Mu'minīn.*

Lost. In one volume. Tract, concerning the teaching of true believers written to the *dā'ī* of Miṣr (Old Cairo). Generally known by the title of *Tarbiyatu'l-Mu'minīn.*

40. *Kitāb al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt.*

Preserved. In four volumes. A huge work of some 1,000 pages of a didactic nature giving an account of séances with Imām Mu'izz. The work contains some autobiographical information, but I have not had the opportunity to go through

[1] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo ed., has مخلد بن كندار النكارى, ii, 163_{13}. See also O'Leary, *His. Fat. Khal.*, 89.

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it carefully. It is one of the books greatly studied by students in the early stages.

I. Miscellaneous

41. *Ta'wīlu'r-Ru'yā.*

Preserved. In one volume. On the interpretation of dreams. I have not come across this book.

42. *Manāmātu'l-A'imma.*

Lost. In one volume. On the dreams of Imāms.

43. *Kitāb at-Taqrī' wa't-Ta'nīf.*

Lost. A book upbraiding those who presume to write books on legal questions without proper knowledge. Two large volumes. It is a pity this is lost; it may have contained much to dissuade the present writer from his task and to instil diffidence.

44. *Mafātīḥu'n-Ni'ma.*

Full title: *Mafātīḥu'n-Ni'ma fī dhikr Imtiḥāni'l-Khalq fī anfusihim wa amwālihim.* Preserved. This is not mentioned in the *'Uyūn*; but only in the *Fihristu'l-Majdū'*. Concerning the Qur'ānic verse (9, 11): إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ ٱشْتَرَىٰ مِنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَٰلَهُم بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ ٱلْجَنَّةَ. I have not come across this work.

J. Apocrypha

(1) *Taqwīmu'l-Aḥkām.*

Is a legal work, containing a very brief summary of legal rules in the form of a code. The propositions of law are generally numbered as 1, 2, 3, etc. It is a modern work of unknown authorship, and is not uncommonly used as a handy book of reference. Copies, not uncommon.

(2) *ar-Rāḥat wa't-Tasallī.*

This is also sometimes ascribed to Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. It is a very small tract of about 25 pages of a didactic character.

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(3) *Sīratu'l-A'imma.*

No. 42 above is in some copies of the *'Uyūn* called *Sīratu'l-A'imma.* I cannot explain the confusion. Except the *sīras* of Mu'izz and of Makhlad (Nos. 34 and 35), the Qāḍī is not known to be the author of any others. May be the same work as No. 36, which is sometimes known as *Manāqib ahl al-Bait.*

BOMBAY.
December, 1932.
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The Victory of Bhūti Vikramakēsari over the Pallavas

By Rev. Fr. H. HERAS, S.J.

AN inscription on one of the walls of one of the Koḍumbāḷūr temples in the Pudukkottai State accidentally mentions the Pallavas. This inscription has long been overlooked by the historians of the Pallavas. It is already high time to study this reference in the light of what we now know about the Pallava kingdom.

The inscription was first noticed by Mr. Veṅkayya in 1908.[1] Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri also refers to it.[2] Mr. S. Radhakrishna Ayyar was the first to publish a fragment of it, translated in his *History of the Pudukkottai State*.[3] The full text was published in *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*.[4] The substance of the inscription was also mentioned in the *Chronological List of Inscriptions*.[5] Very recently Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, University of Madras, has published afresh the text and a translation of the inscription, with his own remarks, in the *Journal of Oriental Research*.[6]

The inscription records the construction of three *vimānas* (temples) and a *maṭha* at Koḍumbāḷūr by a chief named Bhūti Vikramakēsarī. The genealogy of the family is, as usual, given in the beginning of the inscription. The history of these chiefs—the Irukkavēls of Koḍumbāḷūr—is still to be written.

The first obscure point about them is their chronology. Mr. Radhakrishna Ayyar, speaking of the constructor of the temples, says : " We shall not be far wrong if we take Pūdi

[1] *MER.*, 1908, p. 87.
[2] *SII.*, iii, p. 249.
[3] Radhakrishna Ayyar, *General History of the Pudukkottai State*, Appendix, p. iv.
[4] *Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 9, No. 14.
[5] *Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 2, No. 14.
[6] *JOR.*, vii, pp. 1–10.

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(Bhūti) Vikramakēsarī to have lived towards the close of the ninth century and in the first half of the tenth century." [1] Perhaps Mr. Radhakrishna Ayyar was induced to assign this late date to Bhūti Vikramakēsarī on account of the latter's victory over the Pallava army in the inscription. That author apparently identified this Pallava defeat with the cause of the extinction of the Pallava Dynasty towards the close of the ninth century.

Professor Nilakantha Sastri, moved by "the similarity of names or vague palaeographical inferences",[2] finally concludes that "we have therefore no reason to accept a date about A.D. 800 for Vikramakēsarī in preference to one, say between A.D. 950 and 970, suggested by the considerations urged in the preceding paragraph".[3]

I am of opinion that Bhūti Vikramakēsarī belongs to a much earlier period. Already Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri expressed his view that on palaeographical grounds the inscription was "much earlier" than the time of Āditya Karikāla II,[4] with whom Mr. Venkayya and Professor Nilakantha Sastri make Bhūti Vikramakēsarī contemporary. My opinion is not founded upon palaeographical reasons, but upon facts referred to in the same Koḍumbāḷūr inscription.

According to the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription the only predecessors of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī about whom something definite is said are the following two, who happen to be his immediate predecessors :—

Paradurgamardana
|
Samarābhirāma
|
Bhūti Vikramakēsarī

[1] Radhakrishna Ayyar, op. cit., Appendix, p. iv.
[2] *JOR.*, vii, p. 4.
[3] Ibid., p. 6.
[4] *SII.*, iii, p. 249.

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Paradurgamardana is called the conqueror of Vātāpi, and Samarābhirāma is said to have killed the Chalukya at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala. If the opinions of Mr. Radhakrishna Ayyar or Professor Nilakantha Sastri, saying that Bhūti Vikramakēsarī lived towards the close of the ninth century or during the tenth century, were true, then his father Samarābhirāma must be placed about the middle of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth. Now the Chalukya Empire was finally overrun by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas shortly after the middle of the eighth century. Samarābhirāma could hardly have killed the Chalukya Emperor when the Chalukya Empire did not exist any more.

Professor Nilakantha Sastri sincerely acknowledges this difficulty: "There seems to be no indication in any other records of the early tenth century of a conflict of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi with the Tamils to which the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala may be referred." But his explanation of the possible existence of Chalukya chiefs at Bādāmi under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, besides being an unwarranted assumption, is absolutely improbable.[1]

As regards the achievement of Paradurgamardana, Vātāpi, a city which he boasts to have conquered, is the same as Bādāmi, the capital of the same Chalukya Empire. Now during the time of the early Chalukyas, Bādāmi was conquered once only, when Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla, the Pallava monarch, after defeating Pulikēśi II who had invaded his kingdom, captured the capital of his enemy.[2] At this very time the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were the feudatories of the Pallava monarchs, for the Sittannavāsal cave had been carved shortly before, during the reign of the Mahāmalla's father. It is but natural that the then Koḍumbāḷūr chief, whoever he was, would have helped his overlord in driving the Chalukyas out of Toṇḍamaṇḍala. Therefore this conquest of Vātāpi mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription is no

[1] *JOR.*, vii, p. 7.
[2] *SII.*, i, p. 152; ii, p. 508; *IA.*, viii, p. 277.

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other than the conquest of Vātāpi effected by Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla. Very often the subordinate petty kings in these inscriptions claim for themselves the laurels obtained on the battle-field while fighting under their overlord.

As a matter of fact this identification of these two conquests of Bādāmi, one by the Pallava Emperor and the other by the Koḍumbāḷūr chief, finally helps us to understand a passage of some Chalukya inscriptions which has not been explained hitherto. Thus the Karnūl plates of Vikramāditya I inform us that Pulikēśi II was defeated by three allied kings.[1] One of these kings evidently was Prince Mānavamma, lawful king of one of the kingdoms of Ceylon, but then temporarily expelled from it by a usurper. He being the guest of Narasiṁhavarman I helped this ruler against the enemies of his kingdom.[2] But who was the third king who helped Narasiṁha against the invader? Elsewhere [3] I have suggested that he might possibly be King Kaṇḍuveṭhi, who according to the same *Mahāvaṁśa* was another friend of Prince Mānavamma.[4] Yet this was a mere suggestion without any strength. The Koḍumbāḷūr inscription now reveals to us that the third king of the confederacy against the Chalukyas was the Koḍumbāḷūr king, Paradurgamardana.

As regards Paradurgamardana's son, Samarābhirāma, he is again mentioned in a war against the Chalukyas. He is said to have killed the Chalukya at the battle of Adhirājamaṅgala. Was this another war, or perhaps the same one referred to above? I am inclined to the latter opinion, compelled by the following reasons:—

(1) The next war between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas after the conquest of Vātāpi was the war between Vikramāditya I and Paramēśvaravarman I. Then the southernmost portion of the Chōḷamaṇḍala was not under the Pallava sway

[1] *BBRAS.*, xvi, p. 226.
[2] *Mahāvaṁśa*, pt. ii, p. 35.
[3] Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 36.
[4] *Mahāvaṁśa*, pt. ii, p. 34.

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any more. The Gadvāl plates of the Chalukya Emperor Vikramādiya I, after narrating the capture of Kāñchī during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I, tell us that the Chalukya Emperor "encamped in Uragapura" in "the Chōḷika province".[1] This Uragapura according to all authors and commentators cannot be any other place but Uṟaiyūr, the ancient capital of the Chōḷas, near Trichinopoly. Hence in the time of Paramēśvaravarman, Trichinopoly and its neighbourhood, and much more the territories comprised now within the boundaries of the State of Pudukkottai, were already lost to the Pallavas. Hence the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs were not feudatories of the Pallavas any more, and therefore as subordinate chiefs, probably under the Chōḷas, had no private grudge against the Chalukyas.

(2) The fact that according to the Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla wrote in the flesh of Pulikēśi II, on his back, the three syllables of the word "Vijaya" as he would on a copperplate,[2] when taken literally, and combined with the capture of Bādāmi immediately after this event, has already led some to suspect that Pulikēśi II died on the battle-field.[3] The wording of the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription tends to confirm this opinion.

(3) The battle at Adhirājamaṅgala mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription may be identified with the battle of Maṇimaṅgala,[4] called by another inscription Pariya-Bhūmaṇimaṅgala.[5] If this identification is not acceptable, there is no inconvenience in supposing a new battle, for the inscription, after mentioning these battles, also says that the Chalukya army was defeated in other places.

This achievement of Samarābhirāma refers, therefore, to the same war between Pulikēśi II and Narasiṁhavarman

[1] *EI.*, x, p. 105.
[2] *SII.*, i, p. 152.
[3] Smith, *EHI.*, p. 495; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 358.
[4] *SII.*, i, p. 152.
[5] *IA.*, viii, p. 277.

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Mahāmalla. It is not uncommon in inscriptions of that period to find facts attributed to kings which, after some study, lead one to acknowledge that they were really done under those kings, but not while they were actually reigning; it was when they were only crown-princes during the reign of their fathers that those facts took place. Thus the Chalukya Emperor Vinayāditya is said in the Vakkalēri plates of Kirtivarman II to have captured the army of the King of Kāñchī.[1] Yet the Kēndūr plates of the same monarch, published some years afterwards, removed any shadow of doubt when stating that Vinayāditya vanquished "the proud army of the confederacy of the kings of the lord of Kāñchī, at the command of his father".[2] Such is the custom of the inscriptions when there is nothing or little to be said in connection with the actual king; then his achievements as crown-prince are referred to. Such was very likely the case of Samarābhirāma, where his achievement as crown-prince is mentioned under his name as king. Indeed, there is nothing far-fetched in the supposition that Samarābhirāma, as heir apparent accompanied his father in the war of the Pallavas against the Chalukyas, and that in the midst of the turmoil of battle, he was fortunate enough to find himself in face of the Chalukya monarch, near enough to deal him a death-stroke.[3]

[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] *EI.*, ix, p. 205. Cf. Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, pp. 48–50.

[3] The only serious objection against our views as regards this Koḍumbāḷūr chronology is archæological. The temples of Koḍumbā'ūr built by Bhūti Vikramakēsarī seem to belong to a much later period. The general style of the temples, the technique of the sculpture, the system of construction, appear Chōḷa rather than Pallava, and look more of the tenth century than of the seventh. Yet between this objection and the objection of the capture of Bādāmi and the slaying of the Chalukya king in the ninth or tenth centuries, the former seems to be more easily solved. As a matter of fact, the Koḍumbāḷūr temples may be classified as an "archæological puzzle" or as "an architectural phenomenon". If those temples are finally placed in the tenth or even in the eleventh century, you will still have the square cupola-like umbrella of the top of the *vimāna* and specially the construction itself of the *vimāna*—without precedent and without

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This long disquisition into Pallava-Chalukya history will finally help us a great deal to establish the chronology of the Koḍumbālūr chiefs, and to determine when Bhūti Vikramakēsarī defeated the Pallavas, his overlords.

As seen above, Paradurgamardana was a contemporary of Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla. Yet the reigns of these two kings, overlord and feudatory, do not seem to be fully synchronous, for there was only one generation between Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla and Paramēśvaravarman I in whose reign we already find Uṟaiyūr, and therefore Trichinopoly, "within the Chōḷika province." Now between the reign of Paradurgamardana and the time of this northern enlargement of the Chōḷa kingdom we must place the reign of Samarābhirāma and part of the reign of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī down to the time of his defeating the Pallavas. This seems to suggest that at the time of the capture of Bādāmi by Narasiṁhavaman Mahāmalla helped by Paradurgamardana, which was in the beginning of Narasiṁha's reign, the Koḍumbāḷūr chief was then already an old man, whose reign was near its close. The circumstance that his son Samarābhirāma, then only the heir apparent, took such an active part beyond that of his father in this war against the Chalukyas, even as to claim to have slain the Chalukya monarch, shows that this prince was far from being an inexperienced youth; rather he must have been a man of maturity, courage, and valour, able to decide the fate of the armies on the battle-field; all of which inclines us to believe, that the father of such a warrior could not but be of an advanced age.

Now, since the capture of Kāñchī by Vikramāditya I took

consequent, totally unique in South Indian architecture—without a satisfactory explanation. Bhūti Vikramakēsarī or his architect, or perhaps both, were geniuses much beyond their age. Had the style of Koḍumbāḷūr found followers, a new style of architecture would have existed in South India. But now the temples are like an isolated instance of the work of a genius that found no followers.

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place some time during the reign of Narasiṁhavarman's second successor, and since at this time Uṛaiyūr was already lost to the Chōḷas, we must acknowledge that the reign of Samarābhirāma roughly coincides with that of Narasiṁhavarman—for the latter's successor, Mahēndravarman II had a short reign [1]—and that of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī with that of Paramēśvaravarman I. It is therefore evident that in order to make this necessary synchronous arrangement we must admit that Paradurgamardana died not long after the capture of Bādāmi.

Now the date of this event has been already fixed as A.D. 637.[2] Therefore we may draw the chronological table (p. 41) of these kings giving to each of them, excepting to Mahēndravarman II (for the reasons given above), an average reign of 25 years.

From an inspection of the table we may draw the following deductions :—

(1) The reign of Samarābhirāma was probably coming to a close when Paramēśvaravarman I ascended the throne.

(2) A few years only (five years, according to our calculation) after the enthronement of Paramēśvaravarman I, Bhūti Vikramakēsarī took up the chieftainship of Koḍumbāḷūr.

(3) Before the end of Paramēśvaravarman I's reign, the southernmost portion of the Chōḷamaṇḍala had already been wrested from the Pallavas.

(4) Therefore the defeat inflicted upon the Pallava army took place during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I.

It is therefore evident that during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I and even during the first half of his reign, between

[1] Mahēndravarman II, the immediate successor of Narasiṁhavarman I, seems to have had a very short reign. He died childless, and was succeeded by his brother, Paramēśvaravarman I. The inscriptions do not say anything definite about him. As a matter of fact the Chalukya Emperor, who wanted to take revenge of the defeat inflicted upon his father by Narasiṁhavarman I, had not even time to attack his first son and successor.

[2] Heras, op. cit., p. 53.

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665–7 and 674, the southernmost portion of the Chōḷamaṇḍala was lost by the Pallavas.

Years	Chalukya History	Pallava History	Koḍumbāḷūr History
630	Reign of Pulikēśi II (continued).	Beginning of reign of Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla.	Reign of Paradurgamardana (continued).
636–7	Capture of Bādāmi and death of Pulikēśi II. Chaos.	—	—
640–2	—	—	Probable death of Paradurgamardana and beginning of reign of Samarābhirāma.
655	Probable beginning of reign of Vikramāditya I.	Probable death of Narasiṁhavarman Mahāmalla and beginning of reign of Mahēndravarman II.	—
660–1	—	Probable death of Mahēndravarman II and beginning of reign of Paramēśvarman I.	
665–7	—	—	Probable end of reign of Samarābhirāma and beginning of reign of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī.
674	Date of the encampment of the Chalukya army at Uragapura (Uṟaiyūr), when the Gadvāl plates were issued.	—	The territory south of the Kāvēri, and therefore the territory of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs was already under the Chōḷa kings.
685–6	—	Probable death of Paramēśvaravarman I.	

How this came to pass we cannot state, for our only direct information is the mention of the defeat inflicted by Bhūti

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Vikramakēsarī, in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. Yet a small piece of information given by the same inscription against the name of Samarābhirāma, Bhūti Vikramakēsarī's father, connected with the preceding history of the Pallava conquests, gives us sufficient light to conjecture the probable course of events.

All the southern territories of the Pallava kingdom from Madras down to Pudukkottai had been wrested from the Chōḷas.[1] It is but natural that the Chōḷas should wait for the first opportunity to reconquer the lost territories. In the meantime, while they did not yet dare to defy the Pallava power, they did not waste time, and continued preparing themselves for the forthcoming struggle. One of these preparations was the union by marriage with the families of the Pallava feudatories ruling over their old territory. One of these families was that of the Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs. The Koḍumbāḷūr inscription informs us that Samarābhirāma, the father of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, married the Chōḷa Princess Anupamā, who according to the inscription was the daughter of the Chōḷa king.[2] It is not difficult to imagine what happened a few years after. When Bhūtī Vikramakēsarī, the son of a Chōḷa princess, ascended the throne, a Chōḷa-Koḍumbāḷūr alliance against the Pallavas was very easily effected, and the result of this alliance was the Pallava defeat mentioned in the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription. The probable date of this event may be A.D. 670.

Is there any hint of these probable events in the contemporary Chōḷa history? The only Chōḷa king of the seventh century well known to us is Kō Chen Kannan. He is called by Tirumangai Āḻwār, the overlord of the earth and vanquisher of the Southern king and the lords of Kudagu, Koṅgu and the lord of the Southern Tamil country and the Northern king. Moreover, he is said to be the victor

[1] Cf. Heras, op. cit., pp. 19–21.
[2] *JOR.*, vii, p. 10.

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at Venri and Alundai.[1] Now this latter place seems to be in the Tanjore district. All these data point to a king who reconquered part of the Toṇḍamaṇḍala up to some villages of the Tanjore district, evidently from the Pallavas, the only rulers of the country in those days. The same king is said to have defeated the Pāṇḍya king, called the Southern king or the lord of the Southern Tamil country. Now the Koḍumbāḷūr inscription tells us that Bhūti Vikramakēsarī defeated the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas alike. It is therefore likely that these campaigns of Kō Chen Kannan and of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī against the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were the same campaign. Hence it seems quite probable that the Chōḷa king who sought the alliance of the Koḍumbāḷūr chief in his war against the Pallavas was Kō Chen Kannan. This was the first design of the Chōḷa reaction against the Pallavas.

Was this territory conquered by the Chōḷa king, aided by Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, ever reconquered by the Pallavas? Undoubtedly so, for in the north-western portion of the Pudukkottai State, the Kelattur Tāluka, there are five inscriptions of the time of the later Pallava kings: two of the time of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla,[2] two of the time of Dantivarman,[3] and one of the time of Nṛipatungavarman.[4]

It is very significant that all the inscriptions found in the Pudukkottai State with reference to the Pallavas, after the victory of Bhūti Vikramakēsarī, are inscriptions of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his successors only. In point of fact the two reigns of Narasiṁhavarman II Rājasiṁha and of Paramēśvaravarman II seem to have been very peaceful. But in the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla we find the Dramila princes allied with the usurper Chitramāya

[1] *Periya Tirumoli*, iv, 6, stanzas 5, 6, 8, and 9.

[2] *Chronological List of the Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 2, Nos. 15 and 16.

[3] Ibid., Nos. 17 and 18.

[4] Ibid., No. 19.

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besieging Nandivarman, the lawful king, in the fortress of Naṇḍipura. This place seems to be the modern village of Nathan-Kōvil near Kumbhakonam. Naṇḍipura was undoubtedly on the boundary of the then Pallava kingdom, for, as seen before, Uṛaiyūr, near Trichinopoly, was already Chōḷa territory. The Dramila princes were the Tamilian kings,[1] *viz.* the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa kings, who were supposed to be the traditional enemies of the Pallavas, to whom perhaps the then Koḍumbāḷūr chief, a feudatory of the Chōḷas, may be added.

The siege of Naṇḍipura was finally raised when the faithful general Udayachandra "slew Chitramāya and others" and "defeated the hostile army" in a series of battles.[2] Now among the places where these battles were fought there is one Nelveli, which Dr. Hultzsch identified with modern Tinnevelly. This seems to suggest that the hostile army of the Dramila princes was defeated in a series of battles, as far south as Tinnevelly, and therefore that the old Pallava territories, and even perhaps some more, were conquered anew. The Koḍumbāḷūr chiefs had therefore to offer their allegiance to the Pallavas once more, though apparently very unwillingly.

[1] Cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 124.

[2] "Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla": *SII.*, ii, p. 372.

153.

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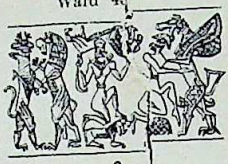
Ward 453

1

Ward 453a

2

Ward 453b



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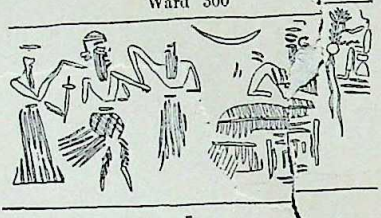

5

Ward 300a

6

Delaporte 68

7

Ward 140a

8

Delaporte 74

9

FIG.

1. Two demons figured as fantastic lions attacking a man.
2. Winged lion (as demon) consuming a man.
3. Winged panther demon attacking a man. Enkidu in combat with a lion.
4. Panther demon attacking a man, also attacking an animal. Enkidu in contact with a lion.
5. Btrd devil brought before a deity.
6. A devil brought before the Sun-god.
7. Devils captured or slain by Sun-god.
8. Devil smitten by Sun-god.
9. Bird devil, captured and brought before Heaven-god.

To face p. 45.]

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Babylonian and Hebrew Demonology with reference to the supposed borrowing of Persian Dualism in Judaism and Christianity.

Lecture delivered for Professor A. B. Cook in the University of Cambridge

By S. LANGDON

(PLATE I)

DUALISM is a term introduced into modern theology by the Englishman, Thomas Hyde, in 1700, and was first used to describe the fundamental principle of Persian Zoroastrism, namely the independent existence of good and evil. Ormazd the good god and Ahriman the evil god in the theology of the Persians represent an absolute dualism. For them Ahriman, corresponding to Satan of Judaism and Christianity, is entirely independent of the creator god. Good and evil, God and the Devil, are primeval supreme powers. Now I wish to trace the history of Satan or the Devil in Christianity back through Judaism, Hebrew, and Babylonian religion to its origin among the Sumerians. I shall endeavour to prove this Persian dualism, which admits that God did not create the Devil, to be totally foreign to Sumerian, Babylonian, and Hebrew speculation ; and I shall then briefly examine the evidence on which modern scholars admit dualism to have been held by the Jews of the Apocalyptic period and by early Christianity as set forth in the New Testament. It is my conviction that Persian religion never had any influence upon Judaism or early Christianity. Satan, the Devil (*diabolus*), is traceable directly to Babylonian theology ; there he is the creation of the gods.

Dualism in this ethical sense has no relation to dualism in metaphysics. After the time of Thomas Hyde the word was almost immediately transferred to philosophy, to the problem of mind and things. With philosophical dualism or

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the independent existence of mind and matter, body and soul, the problem of God and Satan has no relation at all. Fichte said, however, that anyone who believes in philosophical dualism, as, for example Decartes did, is no philosopher. It may be said with equal German acidity that anyone who believes in ethical dualism or that God did not create the Devil is no theologian.

Before discussing Babylonian and Hebrew theology concerning the demons and devils it is necessary to point out a fact which seems to have been entirely overlooked or, at least, obscurely defined, in the history of theology. It is what may be defined as "cosmological dualism". The Babylonian *Epic of Creation* states definitely that in the beginning there was nothing but watery chaos, a mingled mass of bitter and fresh water, ruled over by the female dragon Tiamat. This she-dragon Tiamat, the Tehôm of the Hebrew account, is of Semitic origin. The version of creation in Genesis, borrowing from the late Babylonian myth, assumes a primeval chaos. Tohu and Bohu was the earth and darkness was on the face of Tehôm. But the late Hebrew author saw the difficulty of assuming a primeval water from which all things descended, gods and the universe; in Babylonia the gods themselves descended from the primal element, water; finally a terrific combat between the Sun-god and primeval darkness ended in the slaughter of the she-dragon with her twelve male dragons. That assumes a cosmological dualism. It admits that the gods created heaven and earth from the substance of chaos or water; it admits the original independent origin of the dragon of chaos. The Hebrew writer clearly saw this difficulty; he was a monotheist and writes that El had himself created this primeval matter.

As I have said all this is late Semitic speculation. The real origin of the myth is much older. The Sumerians also assumed that water is the first principle and made no further effort to explain it. This was the primeval chaos, over which presided the dragon Mušḫuššû. Many representations of this serpent

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dragon, which in the original Sumerian myth took the place of Tiamat in the later Semitic versions, are available. The most suggestive monument is a seal in the British Museum.[1] Here the creator Sun-god with lightning, thunderbolts, quiver and arrows, or in other designs with sword, smites the fleeing dragon. This older Sumerian form of the primeval combat between good and evil is the one which the Hebrew poets knew as referred to in the Book of Job, xxvi, 13, "His hand pierced the fleeing serpent."

Babylonian representations of the combat between the creator god and the primeval dragon never refer to the late Babylonian she-dragon Tiamat at all. In the various designs of the dragons in combat with the Sun-god,[2] Tiamat does not appear, but either Mušḫuššû or one of the twelve fantastic monsters who opposed the gods. The real Hebrew speculation or, rather, Sumerian legends, in these matters was preserved only in their poets, and there they borrowed from early, not late, Babylonian sources. The reference to Rahab and the fleeing serpent in Job is based upon the original Sumerian legend.

The ancient Sumerian Mušḫuššû appears in Hebrew mythology as Leviathan, coiling serpent of the sea. In late Apocalyptic literature a belief arose in a final combat between God and Satan, between good and evil. In some of these writers the dragon of chaos actually becomes the Devil or the enemy of god and oppressor of God's people, who will be slain in the last combat. This is a complete misuse of the ancient role of Mušḫuššû or Leviathan. We shall see shortly that Satan, the Devil, is of totally different origin and had no connection with the ancient cosmological dualist myth.

A late visionary poet whose apocalypse is preserved in our

[1] W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 579, reproduced and discussed in the writer's *Semitic Mythology*, p. 131. Mušḫuššû was identified with Hydra, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 278. In my edition of the *Epic of Creation*, p. 87, n. 9, I was in doubt on this point. Bašmu, ibid., 86, n. 8, cannot be Hydra.

[2] *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 278–284.

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text of Isaiah describes this future victory of God over Satan in the following lines :—

> "In that day will Yāv take vengeance,
> With his sword, harsh, mighty and powerful,
> Upon Leviathan, the fleeing serpent,
> And upon Leviathan, the coiled serpent,
> And will slay the dragon which is in the sea."

The original Sumerian legend of a combat between Ninurta, god of war, the victorious light of the spring sun, with Mušḫuššû and the dragons of chaos survives in the Hebrew Psalms :—

> "Thou hast rent asunder the sea by thy power.
> Thou hast broken the heads of the dragons on the waters.
> Thou hast smitten the head of Leviathan."

Babylonians and Hebrews believed that creation of an ordered world was made possible only by the triumph of the creator god over the chief dragon of watery chaos; the Hebrews, not independently, but only in complete acceptance of Sumero-Babylonian views. There is no trace in Hebrew that the gods descended from this primeval matter. They knew, however, the myth of how the gods had sent their champion to slay the monster, which wished to brood in peace over the primeval abyss. There is here, nevertheless, a definite theory that good and evil exist together in the substance from which all things descended. It resulted in a *cosmological dualism*, which in Babylonia never had the slightest connection with devils and other authors of all human woe. And throughout the Hebrew scriptures this myth of the battle of Yāv or Elohim, their god, with Leviathan and the other dragons of chaos is preserved by the poets. Only in very late times was this incarnation of cosmological disorder ever confused with Satan or the incarnation of ethical wickedness.

These views must be held clearly in mind; the history of the devils, who finally emerged in the figure of Satan, lord of wickedness and the material world, is an entirely different

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sphere of speculation and mythology. Here we come to the ethical aspect of the matter and to what has been defined (wrongly, I hope to prove) as *ethical dualism*. Demons and evil spirits who destroy men's happiness are an aspect of every national religion of antiquity. Demons of a primitive kind among the Canaanites and Hebrews are well known, but most of the demons in Hebrew religion are derived both in name and character from Babylonia. Now the demons and devils of Babylonia are entirely Sumerian, and at a very early period they no longer preserve any primitive characteristics. They are fitted into a very definite system of theology; these are the demons which had most influence upon Hebrew demonology, and it is to them and not to the primitive demons of Canaanitish and Hebrew religion that the history of Satan-Diabolus must be traced.

In Sumer and Babylonia the devils are the sons of the Heaven-god. In abstract terms the personifications of human woes and sorrows are created by the gods themselves. The lords of sin and misery are an inherent part of divine providence; sin and misery exist because it is the purpose of the gods to shew their power over the demons. It is entirely obvious from the Babylonian and Sumerian texts that the devils are free agents, free to exercise their nefarious attacks upon man; the gods have no control over the will of Satan, although he is their own creation.

Now, before I describe Babylonian and Hebrew demons, an historical fact should be emphasized. Sumerian religion was known in Phœnicia, Syria, and Canaan before 2000 B.C., and cults of Sumerian deities were firmly established in Canaan before the final occupation by the Hebrews. Ninurta, Sumerian god of war, of the spring sun and "lord of swine", had a temple near Jerusalem before the Hebrew occupation, and another at Byblus in northern Phœnicia. The cult of Tammuz is known to have been firmly established at Byblos, whence spread the cult of Adonis to Greek lands at an early date. Jerusalem itself was an ancient seat of sun-worship

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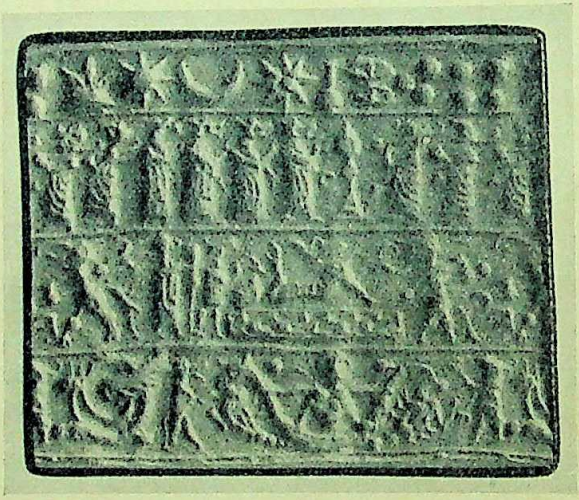
which persisted throughout Hebrew history. At Beth-Shan, an ancient Canaanite city north of Jerusalem, the serpent cult of the Babylonian god Shahan has been found in abundance. Here, also, was found clear evidence of the worship of the Babylonian Ishtar. "The house of *Šaḫan*" in Canaan was obviously a seat of the Babylonian Ishtar cult. The Philistines fastened the body of Saul to the walls of Beth-Shan and placed his armour in the temple of Astarte or Ishtar there.

When the Hebrews entered Canaan, that was no longer a land of primitive hunters, wandering Bedouin with primitive



customs. The parallel is the entry of Anglo-Saxons into Roman Britain. When the Hebrew people entered Canaan the Sumerian demonology was already firmly established among the Canaanites, and if they really understood Sumerian theology there can be no question whatsoever about dualism there.

In the assertion of statements so radical and far-reaching as these you naturally press for facts. This hitherto unpublished seal in the Ashmolean Museum shews one of the

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representations of the seven devils [1]; I refer now to the second register; there are eight animal-headed demons on this monument. The corresponding bronze plaque, *Catalogue de Clercq*, ii, pl. xxxiv (*Sem. Myth.*, fig. 44) has seven devils, viz., panther, lion, dog, sheep, wild ram, vulture, and serpent. They are represented as ferocious beasts in mythology, to describe their hostile nature. The demons are usually called the wicked *udug* or *utukku*, a word which means "ghost". A ghost demon may be both good and bad. They are also called *gigim* or *eṭimmu*, also a word for "ghost". The word *utukku* does not appear in Hebrew, but *eṭimmu* passed into late Hebrew as *ṭimî*.

A Sumerian text describes the seven devils as follows :—

"They are rushing storms, evil gods.
Merciless *šêdu* who were created on the bulwark of heaven.
They are makers of trouble.
They uphold wickedness, they come daily to make trouble.
They attack to commit murder.
Among the seven, firstly there is the south wind.
The second is the great viper, whose wide open mouth slayeth every man.
The third is an angry panther, whose mouth knows no mercy.
The fourth is a terrible adder . . .
The fifth is the raging lion which knows not how to retreat.
The sixth is a rising [wind] which attacks god and king.
The seventh is the north wind, evil wind which wrathfully smites.
Seven are they, messengers of the Heaven God, the lord."

The general word for "devils" actually means "ghost"; but it is clear that some of the demons are pure creatures of mythological fancy, especially those of the winds and disease.

The ghost devils of Hebrew mythology are the Raphâim, who dwelt in the land aforetime. Og of Bashan was the last of these giants or monsters of old times in Moab. They are described as giants of old times in Canaan. One had six fingers and six toes, and Og's bed was nine cubits long and four cubits wide. Chedorlaomer in the days of Abraham smote them in

[1] An article on this seal has been unavoidably delayed by the editors of a certain volume of essays since 1927.

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Asteroth Garnaim. Although the Hebrews describe the giants of ancient times in Moab and Canaan as Raphâiim or sons of Rhaphā, there is no doubt but that Raphâim also means "souls of the dead". The word is perfectly known in Hebrew and Phœnician, and occurs often in Babylonia, *rabû* "to sink into darkness". The Raphâim belong to genuine West Semitic mythology and represent a belief common to Sumerian and Semitic religion. There is no borrowing from Babylonia here, but it should be noted that the Raphâim of Hebrew demonology do not figure in the future evolution toward the concept of Satan.

In the third register of this seal is a woman in child-birth, being protected by two priests at her head, while the serpent-headed devil attacks her at the foot. In the lower register is the terrible she-devil Lamme. She was the baby-killer, the dreaded child-seizer of Sumerian and Babylonian religion. Here she has been cursed, provided with food, and sent away on an ass to the infernal world. This demoness Lamme survived in Greek demonology as Lammia. Sappho mentions Lammia who desired to slay all babes.

In the text cited above, the devils are also called *šêdu*. A Sumerian text describes the devils as :—

"The *šêdu* decimating heaven and earth, and the land,
Whose power is of Heaven, whose roving is in Heaven.
Once on a time in the place of the forms of the gods,
In the house of the holy chamber, in the house of the goddess of flocks of the goddess of grain they grew fat.
Full of wickedness are they.
Cause them to swear the curse, and may they never return outside or inside (this house)."

The *šêdu* are represented as bulls; according to the Sumerian manner of writing their name they are described as "bulls of the pit", bovine spirits of the nether world. These were the dreadful messengers of Nergal, lord of hell. Nergal lord of the dead is the Sumerian god of summer heat, of plague and pestilence. The Babylonians called him Malku, the king. For some reason the cult of this infernal deity was

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deeply rooted in Canaan and Phœnicia. The god of Tyre was Melki-qarti, "Milku of the city," or Melqart.

The Canaanites made human sacrifices to Malik or Milik in the Valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, as the Carthaginians did to Melqart. This is the Moloch of the Hebrew text, the god of inferno and the dead.

These bull demons, the *šêdu* messengers of Nergal or Malik-Moloch, are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. A Hebrew poet, in the Song of Moses, refers to these foreign deities and demons of Babylonia.

> "They made him jealous with strange gods,
> They sacrificed to the Shêdim which are not gods.
> To gods whom they knew not,
> To new gods that came in of late."

The author of the 106th Psalm says that in the ancient days of pagan Canaan sons and daughters were sacrificed to the Shêdim. Baruch, a Jew, writing in the time of Jesus Christ, mentions these same devils, the Shêdîm.

The Babylonians and especially the Assyrians made huge figures of these winged bulls and set them at the portals of their palace gates. These were the good *šêdîm*, protectors of the royal abode. This custom arose from fear that demons might enter the palace, for they were held to be constantly at war with the gods and their representative on earth, the king. The threshold was especially dangerous and the most likely place which the devils would attack. The same idea prevailed among the Hebrews. There are in a late passage of Exodus detailed regulations concerning the robe of the high priest. To the hem of this robe were sewn golden bells that "the sound should be heard when he goeth in unto the holy place and when he cometh out that he die not".

I may be permitted at this point to stray from the ethical discussion into rituals briefly. This practice of sounding bells when one crosses the threshold or the ringing of bells in the temple is clearly founded upon the belief that bells alarm and deter the devils.

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A bronze bell has been recovered from Assyria having the same figures of the seven demons designed *repoussé* on its surface.[1] The Sumerians called it the *urud nigkalag* or "copper instrument of power", and the Babylonians borrowed the word as *ñikalaggû*. And here is a description from a ritual of 2400 B.C. A demon let loose from the lower world had attacked a man [1]:—

> "He was torn asunder from his soul,
> Like waters in full flood he trembled.
> Food he ate not, water he drank not."

The god Marduk saw it and went to his father Ea, the water god, for instructions. His father said:—

"Go my son, fill the *asammù* jar with water.
Put tamarisk and nard in it.
Cast the incantation of Eridu on that water.
Wash this man, bring out the torch.
The curse which is in the body of the man will flow away like water.
The bell, champion of the Heaven-god, whose awful peal terrifies,
Which expels all evil take thou.
Where its peal falls bring him, verily it is thy helper."

I do not imply that this ritual of bell-ringing in Hebrew was borrowed from Babylonia. It is common in the magic of all superstitious religions, but historical circumstances invite one to infer that the whole custom of bell-ringing may have spread from Sumer.

The Sumerian and Babylonian demon *lilû* and the female *lilîtu* were evil spirits of the winds, causes of sexual sin. *Lilîtu* or *Lilîth* passed into Hebrew mythology in post-exilic times. In the present book of Isaiah there is a prophecy against Edom:—

> "Wild beasts will meet jackals,
> And Satyr cry to its fellow.
> Only Lilîth shall rest there
> And find for herself a place of repose."

[1] Gressmann, *Texte und Bilder*, fig. 572.

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The demons of Babylonia swarmed over the whole of western Asia, passed into Greek demonology, hence into Christian demonology, and have hardly ceased to exercise an important role in the Christian Church to this day. There was the Babylonian *gallû* who attacks the hands of man. The Greeks confounded this devil with Lammea, the child-snatcher, and under the name Gellô she is a demoness to this day in Christian Roumania. Nearly every one of the names of the horde of Babylonian devils passed into Greek, Jewish, and Christian demonology.

This is an endless aspect of magic, but I hope before taking up the subject of Satan to have made this point clear. Hebrew religion as it advances toward an absolute monotheism assigns an increasing sphere of influence to the devils. Jewish religion in the time of Jesus is surcharged with demonology, and the Babylonian legend of the seven devils was widely believed in New Testament times. This sudden emphasis of the Satanic powers in the daily life of man, and in a period when the Hebrew religion was culminating in a lofty conception of monotheism, in noble doctrines of ethical purity, is clearly due to Babylonian influence.

It may be truly said that among other things the far-flung and ancient civilization of Sumer and Babylonia bequeathed to Judaism and Christianity the doctrine of inherent evil in the world. They literally gave them their conception of the Devil.

In the horde of Babylonian devils it is difficult to say who was the greatest. No one among them emerges as supreme, but they are all "sons of the gods". Now this idea that the devils were sons of god, supernatural beings, and incarnation of sin, is borrowed by the Hebrews. In Babylonia they are the adversaries of the gods and kings. This idea that the demons are adversaries of god is good Babylonian mythology. There is eternal war between the gods and their own creation, the demons.

In late Hebrew demonology Satan appears as one of "the

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sons of god". This word means "adversary", and in Job he came before Yāv among the "sons of god", as the adversary of Job, the seducer of the righteous.

It is clear that the Hebrews called the devils "sons of god" by fully accepting Babylonian theology. It is also clear that the chief of these demons was named "the adversary" for the same reason. On this plate Nos. 7 and 8 shew Sumerian devils as adversaries of the Sun-god. These are very realistic expressions of that very ancient idea. Both seals come from a period before 2000 B.C. Now note that on both of these seals the demons wear the same horned turban as does the Sun-god himself. This is the infallible mark of divinity in Sumerian representations of gods.

At Kish we excavated the grave of a princess whose Sumerian seal was published in this JOURNAL, 1930, Pl. IX, No. 1. This grave comes from a period about 2900 B.C., and shows that the idea of the devils at war with the gods is already firmly established. There is absolutely no difference in the representations of gods and devils here.

Nearly 4000 years ago the theory of Satan adversary of the gods and man is here, and it is traceable without lacunæ to the present day.

With the later theological development in Judaism and Christianity, where Satan or Belial represents the material world over against the spiritual world, my discussion must end. This conception is new and ended in asceticism, renunciation of all things material and the religious orders of Christianity. It must be pointed out that even with the authority of St. Paul behind it this conception is not earlier than the late Judaistic period. It is neither Babylonian nor Hebrew. It substitutes for an ancient monism a theological dualism. But Persian dualism, so far as I can see, never had the slightest influence upon this long development. If the Devil has been throughout the ages to the present day a very real mythological person in Judaism and Christianity, Sumer and Babylonia are the ultimate source of that conception.

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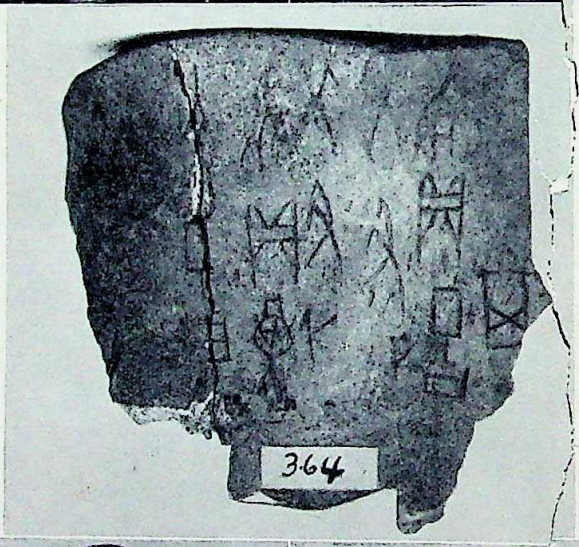

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Archaic Sons and Grandsons

A Study of a Chinese Complication Complex

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE II)

AT first sight it must seem strange that words so commonplace and simple, in whatever language, as sons and grandsons, should deserve discussion in the JOURNAL of our Society. But any reader who should endure to the end of the following pages would readily admit that simplicity is the last quality that emerges from the fog of forms and symbols examined.

In order to reduce for the reader the difficulty of grasping the ascertained facts and the presentation of their disentanglement and explanation here attempted, the several characters, and, later, short groups of characters, are described and considered in detached sections. But before thus passing in review the forms whose characters are involved—we might say implicated—in the perplexities of the complex confronting us, it will be pertinent, in view especially of certain phrases or invocatory and desiderative formulas, to scrutinize the nature of Chinese writing as first displayed to us in the first and second millennia B.C.

Familiarity with the inscriptions of the Honan Find, and also with the published reproductions of the earliest Bronzes, leads me to qualify to some extent the description of archaic Chinese writing as Pictographic. Doubtless its origin was such. But when we first come upon it, the great mass of its characters more justly deserve to be termed Diagrams. For a Diagram is "an illustrative figure which, without representing the exact appearance of an object, gives an outline or general scheme of it, so as to exhibit the shape and relations of its various parts". Thus the New English Dictionary defines the word.

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And though a certain number of figures deserving the name of Pictures, crude, clumsy, and childish, indeed, but still Pictures of a sort, are found mostly on the oldest Bronzes, and fewer on Bones and Tortoise-shell, yet a much greater sum had emerged from that stage and entered the ranks of the Diagram even in the era of the Shang Dynasty. Very many others had, under the influence of linearity and constant use, lost all semblance of their primitive images and declined into what seem mere arbitrary tokens. Such is especially true of the twenty-two members of the Denary and Duodenary Cycles, some of which recur on almost every fragment of the Honan Find.

But even with those that may fairly be described as Diagrams, it needed but quite slight distortions, disproportions, or displacements, to baffle or mislead the later scholar. How easily these trifling changes may annul the real significance of a character may be seen and appreciated by inspecting a few instances. Let us, as briefly as possible, take the archaic and the Lesser Seal versions respectively of the characters 伐 *fa* "to smite, attack", 伏 *fu* "to crouch, submit", 卬 *ang* (later replaced by the augmented form 仰 *yang*) "to look upwards", and 保 *pao* "to protect, preserve".

On the Honan Relics, where *fa* is common, or are ordinary examples. In the Lesser Seal of the *Shuo Wên* these have become . Not much difference, certainly, the same two elements, *man* and *weapon*, in the same relative positions. Not much, but enough, 'twill serve! In the older form, a linear Diagram, the blade of the weapon is laid across the neck of the man, and the readers of that time could, and doubtless did, draw the intended inference. But in the Lesser Seal the contact of blade and man is lost, and therewith the constructive point and innuendo of the character, which becomes a vague and commonplace collocation. Again, with 伏 *fu*, to crouch, we have, in the oldest form, found

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only on the Honan Relics, not on the oldest Bronzes to my knowledge,[1] another linear Diagram. Here we see fronting us 𠂤, a large and noble figure, the Victor, under whose outstretched arm crouches a small and miserable shape in profile, the Vanquished, the whole design symbolizing the doctrine that Might is Right. But what do we see in the Lesser Seal version, 𠂤? A human figure, now in side view, facing left, and behind him to the right his submissive *dog*, and not the poor human victim of the ancient concept. In this case the deformation of the earlier diagram has been more considerable.

But in the third of the four characters, 卬 *ang* (later mostly replaced by its augmented form 仰 *yang*), an actual alteration hardly exists. In the archaic scription the form was 𠂤, in the Lesser Seal as shown in the *Shuo Wên*, it is 𠂤. The two components are the same in both. It is Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wên*, who, himself misled, has misled scholars of his own and later ages, by asserting in this and many other instances that the right-hand element is 卩 *tsieh*, a seal, whereas, in fact, it is the figure of a crouching man. Accordingly he missed altogether the real significance of the construction, which depicts a crouching man looking up at another standing over him, a visible acknowledgment of superiority, and the confessional abasement of an inferiority complex.

But perhaps the *suggestio falsi* is more misleading in 保 *pao*, to protect, than in the others, none the less so that the actual change is trifling, but deadly to the significance. The Lesser Seal, however, is not in fault this time, the sabotage must be charged to the *li shu* or modern style, which treats

[1] It should be noted that the single form given by Takada, *Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. 32, p. 30, is one "reconstructed" by him, as he points out, and not an actual example discovered on any ancient materials; a practice of his, on the whole, to be regretted.

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the character as if it consisted of 口 *k'ou* "mouth", above 木 *mu* "wood", whereas the upper part is the head, and the lower is the trunk and arms of 子 *tzŭ*, plus the two side strokes 丿丿, the swaddling clothes, all these factors being straightened or angulated, the disguise of the infant in its protective wrappings being thus rendered complete.

The Character 巳 *ssŭ*

Except as one of the Duodenary Cycle or Cycle of Twelve Branches, the word *ssŭ*, as above written, has no other meaning. But agreement is general that the archaic forms and , as well as the Lesser Seal , are intended to represent the human fœtus in an early stage, in profile, with the skull, the first part to assume a definite shape in the womb, conspicuously shown. Now it is true that under the character 包 *pao* (the *Shuo Wên*'s 344th Radical), the author does write, 在中象子未成形也, *ssŭ tsai chung hsiang tzŭ wei ch'êng hsing yeh* "the figure inclosed depicts the child as yet unformed", as Karlgren says.[1] But under the character 巳 *ssŭ* itself (its 533rd Radical), and in conflict with what it says under 包 *pao*, the *Shuo Wên* declares, 故巳爲它象形, *ku ssŭ wei t'o hsiang hsing*, "And so *ssŭ* is the depiction of a serpent." If both these explanations come from the same hand, and not one from Hsü Shên's and one from some later commentator's, I must concur in Chalmers' observation of the *Shuo Wen's* "dissertation . . . in connection with the cyclical or horary characters, which is only mystification". And Chalmers immediately following this, adds what is well worth noting, the sentence, "巳 *tsze, sze*, however, may be from the same root as 子 *tsze*

[1] *Analytic Dictionary*, p. 241.

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(91), and the figure may be an embryo." The identity of sound of 巳 and 子 in Cantonese (*tsze* in both cases), doubtless reproduces a similar identity in very early times.

And here we make contact with the subject of our investigation at the point where occur two of the members of the Cycles of Ten and Twelve, by whose twenty-two permutations has been operated from time immemorial the notation and demarcation of the passing days or years. And these twenty-two characters are the commonest of all those to be found in the inscribed relics of the Honan Find. One only, it was long believed, could not be discovered there, and that was 巳 *ssŭ*. But at last Lo Chên-yü was able to point to one which, as he writes,[1] is "a unique instance".

Unique however, it is not. One, certainly, and I think two, other examples are in my own collection, H. 554, preceded by 辛 *hsin*, and H. 3, in which last, however, it does not form part of a Cycle couplet.[2] But Wang Hsiang cites from Lo's own publication two further examples, apparently overlooked by Lo himself. In one 巳 *ssŭ* follows 己 *chi* (the sixth of the Cycle of Sixty); in the other, it is not part of a Cycle couplet, but the identity is clear enough.

When all is said, however, the character 巳 *ssŭ*, though not absolutely wanting, is very rare in the inscriptions of the Honan Find. But unfortunately (from the point of view of a would-be simplifier of epigraphic complexes), the matter cannot entirely be dismissed at this point. There is still another form, and one that stands for an independent

[1] *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 5, with reference to *YHSK*, ch. 1, p. 31.

[2] The text is most obscure. In modern script it runs: 甲午卜 貺貞巳中酒正在十月二, *chia wu pu hsien chêng ssŭ chung chiu cheng tsai shih yüeh erh*. This commences: "On the day Chia-wu inquired through the Tortoise," and ends: "In the 12th moon." Between these terminals lies the obscurity. *Ssŭ chung* might mean, if 巳 *ssŭ* were written for 汜 *ssŭ*, the 汜水 *ssŭ shui*, a river in Honan Province, "within the Ssŭ (region)," and *chiu chêng* is found in the Chou Li as the title of the Superintendent of Wines.

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character, which, though very rarely, also occurs in these archaic Cycle couplets in the place of 巳 *ssŭ*, but, so far as I know, has not been recorded by Chinese or Japanese scholars in that connection. This further archaic form is , the early predecessor of 以 *i*, and is often found on the ancient Bronzes, while on the Honan Find fragments it seems to appear only as a rare homophone and surrogate of 巳 *ssŭ* in the time-cycle couplets in a few cases. This archaic character is now written 厶 *ssŭ*, and supposed to mean "private" or "selfish". And by a slight distortion or variation of this was developed a form in the *Shuo Wên*'s Lesser Seal, which was ultimately standardized as 㠯, *now* pronounced *i*, but in the earliest times having some such sound as *ssŭ* or *zzŭ*[1] (that is to say, an initial sound that either hissed or fizzed), and is defined by the *Shuo Wên* as 用 *yung* "to use", being without doubt the prior scription of the modern and augmented character 以 *i*, with the same sense.

Now the reason for citing this variant form 㠯 is that it is seen in the character 耜 *ssŭ* "a plough-share" (possibly originally "a hoe"), of which, as I confidently believe, our archaic character *ssŭ* was the primitive and pictographic original.[2] The variants so far noted in the Honan Find are four, (after 癸 *kuei*), (after 己 *chi*), (after 辛 *hsin*) (these three on C. 2000, Cooling-Chalfant Collection in British Museum, see Figs. 4 and 5, Plate II), and one (after 己 *chi*) H. 252, in my own.

Such, then, were two very rare ancient characters, one the actual early form of 巳 *ssŭ*, and one a homophone of the latter, that can be proved to have been used, if few and far

[1] See Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, Nos. 179–182.

[2] And not, as I once surmised, the figure of a bent-handled spoon. See "Pict. Reconn." in *JRAS*. for 1919, p. 380.

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between—to denote the sixth of the Duodenary Cycle in the era of the Shang-Yin Dynasty.

But, and this was the surprising discovery when the Honan Relics were first subjected to examination, in what then seemed to be a rule without exception, there appeared instead of 巳 *ssŭ*, the well-known shape of 子 *tzŭ* "a son". Now this apparition was the more startling because all students knew that 子 *tzŭ* "a son", was itself a member, and the first member, of this same Duodenary Cycle. Yet here it was found masquerading as the sixth. In what guise, then, did the *first* of the Cycle of Twelve present itself in these constantly recurring Cycle couplets? Not, indeed, as the normal 子 *tzŭ*, its constant form there from the Han Age onwards, but as one or other of the scores of varying scriptions of . (to adopt that of the *Shuo Wên*), where it is described as the *chou wen* form of *tzŭ*. (Some notion of the range of variation of detail may be gathered from the forty-two variants shown below, p. 72.) Hence we are compelled to conclude that in Shang-Yin times two different scriptions of one and the same word, meaning "son", were in use in the Duodenary Cycle, in different places of that series, and with different functional values! Surely this may be qualified as a conclusion of confusion. But here it must be added that similar surprising instances can be adduced from ancient Bronzes cited by the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*. Thus in vol. vi, p. 46, we find an inscription commencing (as there transcribed) 丁 子 *ting tzŭ*, though no such Cycle couplet as *ting tzŭ* exists. So, in vol. vii, p. 52, the same. And ibid., p. 78, there appears 癸 子, transcribed *kuei tzŭ*, though, again, no such couplet exists. In each case the character transcribed as 子 *tzŭ*, as in form it is, stands for 巳 *ssŭ*, but the paradox is ignored and passed over without a word by the editor.

And if some rather irritated reader should demand what all the above dissertation on *ssŭ* has to do with Sons and

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Grandsons, the title of this paper, I should be driven, with apologies to the late W. S. Gilbert, to remark that Every little son and grandson that is born alive, Must have been an embryonic *ssŭ* preparing to survive.

And now having finished with 巳 *ssŭ*, the human embryo, we should naturally come to the examination of 子 *tzŭ*, the human babe, in the most usual of the several types found in archaic Chinese to write the word, as we shall see shortly. But between the pre-natal and the post-natal stages of development there intervenes a momentous act and function—a crisis, a down-thrust, a rending, a delivery—the accomplishment of parturition and child-birth.

Naturally the Chinese language contains words for such physiological events. But what we had not seen before the Honan Relics displayed them to us, are in various manners, Pictograms or rather Diagrams, the import of which is unmistakable, though the actual corresponding words indicated may be less easy to show.

It is true the *Shuo Wên* contains two characters of this kind, 𠫑 and 𠫓 in modern writing,[1] but in the Lesser Seal, inversions of 𠫑 and 𠫓, *tzŭ* "son", and it states that they had the same sound as 突 *t'u* "abrupt, sudden", explaining them by the words, 不順忽出也, *pu shun hu ch'u yeh* "not smoothly, suddenly appearing". But it is clear Hsü Shên misunderstood the significance of these inverted forms, for as the author of the *Liu Shu Ku* rather drily observes, "At childbirth the head is the first to descend. Hsü treats the right presentation as an unfavourable one, not having inquired into the natural course of events." And whatever the ancient sound of these two characters may have been, whether

[1] These two forms are never found alone, but only in composition, and it may be suspected that Hsü Shên guessed at their sound. Further, the second form mostly appears in compounds whose sound is *liu*, notably in 流 *liu* "to flow", of which perhaps it may be the earlier scription.

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both were *t'u*, or one were *t'u* and the other *liu*, or both were *liu*, it is reasonably certain that both were intended to represent a new-born infant. How otherwise can we explain the forms of 弃 and 棄 *ch'i* "to cast away, abandon", where in the old scription the two hands, or the two hands holding a winnowing basket, are casting out a new-born but unwanted infant? An allusion to Chinese infanticide, as Wieger remarks. And even more obvious is the significance of such forms as and found in the Honan Relics,[1] when the upper part is recognized as 母 *mu* "mother", and the lower as 充 or 士, the inverted figure of 子 *tzŭ* "son", being, as thus combined, a diagram of the act of parturition. Still more crudely frank are the more linearized designs and from the same source, and listed by Wang Hsiang of Tientsin among the variants of 育 *t'u* (now read *yü*), following the decision of Wang Kuo-wei.

We might now harden our hearts and abandon our new-born infant, were it not for a unique form found on the Honan Relics, which appears to be essentially related to this topic. This form is and is followed by *tzŭ* "son", and was at first included in his collection of "unknown characters awaiting investigation", by Lo Chên-yü. The original fragment with its inscription may be seen in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i, Hou Pien*, 下, p. 18, from which I have copied the figure. Takada inserts it under the character 孟 *mêng*, and, of course, 孟子 *mêng tzŭ* would make good sense, provided the lower part of the form could be regarded as a variant of 皿 *min* "food-vessel", but its unlikeness to any known example of the latter is too great for the identity to be accepted.

[1] *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, ch. 2, pp. 24 and 25. See also my "The Honan Relics", in *JRAS.* for Jan., 1921.

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A rival and interesting view of the value of the character, and of its composition, has been put forward in the *Yin Hsü Wên Tzŭ Lei P'ien*, ch. xiv, p. 13, by Shang Ch'êng-tsu (商承祚), a pupil of Lo Chên-yü, and is seemingly accepted by the latter.

In their view is a variant of 育 *yü* "to give birth", and consists of 子 *tzŭ* "son" over 也 *yeh*, and they call in support of this identification the *Shuo Wên*'s often derided explanation of the Lesser Seal version , as 女陰 *nü yin*, the female pudenda. Should this decision be approved, it would not only justify the *Shuo Wên*'s dictum, but we should have to see in the form a crude diagram of the uterine cavity and vagina.

Two critical points, however, may be made on this. One is that, assuming the correctness of Shang's analysis of this at present unique character, why is not the course of nature realistically represented, and the whole character inverted ?

The second is that though Shang and with him Lo may have rightly grasped the significance of the diagram, it does not necessarily follow that the *word*, the unit of speech in question, is 育 *yü* "to give birth". It might be some other word, such as 產 *ch'an*, of equivalent sense.

子 *tzŭ* "Son, Child", First and Normal Type

Having now, owing to certain maternal contours, safely inferred the existence of our subject as a human embryo; having later assisted at his appearance as a new-born child, we are now to meet him again as an infant in arms.

For that is what the average most ancient type is meant to indicate diagrammatically. It is not for nothing that both arms are shown, but not both legs. Chinese scholars agree that the undivided line downwards suggests the enwrapping swaddling clothes confining and concealing the infant's legs. And this interpretation is confirmed by the

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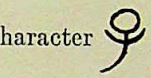
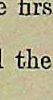
earlier formation of another character, now written 保 *pao* "to protect, preserve", already discussed towards the beginning of this paper. This earlier scription was and , the latter much the commoner, and according to the *Liu Shu Ku* (*Six Scripts*) meant 嬰 兒 衣 *ying erh i* "a baby's clothing", and depicted an infant in its long skirt and jacket, 象 子 在 裙 襦 中 *hsiang tzŭ tsai ch'ün ju chung.*

Somewhere also in years gone by, in some Chinese writer, I remember a passage, not noted down at the time, in which the author opined that the ancient character  was intended to convey in graphic fashion the joyous motions of very young children who throw up and down their quick arms, sometimes together, sometimes, , one up and one down. It seems a happy and acute observation of natural facts.

We do not know by what criterion Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wên*, divided the many additional forms he arranged under the headings 古 文 *ku wên* "ancient forms", and 籀 文 *chou wên*, or "oracle forms", as I believe the term really meant. Whatever it may have been, the Honan Relics exhibit many examples of each, not seldom of both, in the same inscription. And under the 525th "Radical" we find entered as the *ku wên* version of 子 *tzŭ*, the form , where the author describes the three upper strokes as the hair. Two confirmations of this figure can be given from the Honan Bones. One comes from a fragment in my collection, H. 556, and is the second in a line of four characters, the first being 貞 *chêng*, the second  *tzŭ*, the third 有 *yu*, and the fourth an unknown one, written .

The other confirmation is from Lo Chên-yü's work, *Yin*

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Hsü Shu Ch'i, ch. 6, p. 42, where a broken passage consists of four characters, on the right are = 卜 子 *pu tzŭ*, and on the left = 子 (?), *tzŭ* (?). By a curious coincidence the same unknown form occurs in both passages, while the second passage contains two variants of 子 *tzŭ*. It is always agreeable to find statements in the *Shuo Wên* corroborated from the Honan Find when no other external support is accessible.

And now we have almost, but not quite, disentwined the entanglement of *tzŭ*, 子, and *ssŭ*, 巳, for there remains one small but obstinate knot in the recording of the Cyclic dates observed on the Honan Relics. We have seen that ever since Han times—say, from the opening of the Christian era, the Denary Cycle has comprised both 子 and 巳. We have had to recognize the surprising fact that in Yin-Shang calendars 子 *tzŭ* stands, as a rule, for 巳 *ssŭ*, and we shall see that, as a rule, the *Shuo Wên*'s *chou wên* form takes the place of 子 *tzŭ*, as the first of the Cycle of Ten. But these two rules are not absolute. My own collection affords four instances where 子 *tzŭ* is found, exceptionally, just as modern formulas would have it, e.g. three times after 甲 *chia*, once after 庚 *kêng*. All these are on artificial Cowrie miniatures, and two of these, H. 300 and H. 301, are otherwise so interesting that a photograph is included in Plate II, Figs. 2 and 1. These small artifacts, which are doubly pierced for suspension, and bear inscriptions averaging from twelve to sixteen characters on the upper surface, have evidently a talismanic value, as their legends prove. The reading of the latter is made unusually difficult from several causes, but chiefly owing to the confusing crowding of the characters, due to the need of conforming to the circumscribing oval outlines. From this embarrassment, as well as from the

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uncertainties of unknown characters, H. 300 and H. 301 are exceptionally and fortunately free. Accordingly, the following transcription in modern Chinese may be accepted as correct so far as the individual characters are concerned: 甲子田侯叔日得合璧樂祥兮. But one of the traps that have been set on these Cowrie legends is that, as elsewhere, things are not always what they seem, and that some rearrangement of the apparent sequence of the words is often required to reach the real import of the sentence. So here the four characters that fill the central space must be taken together, and the whole inscription will then run as follows: 甲子田侯叔日合璧樂得祥兮, *chia tzŭ t'ien hou, shu jih ho pi, lê tê hsiang hsi*, that is, "On the day *chia tzu*, being the initial day of the New Moon, May the Marquis of T'ien have the best of good fortune!"

A few notes in explanation and support of this rendering are required. 1. *Chia tzŭ* is the first day of the Cycle of Sixty. 2. The Marquis of T'ien: with these words we make contact with recorded Chinese history. T'ien was the family name adopted, in place of Ch'ên, by a certain Ch'ên Wan after taking refuge in the State of Ch'i in 672 B.C. His descendants ultimately ousted the rulers of that State, and became its Marquises. 3. The word 叔 *shu* must stand for 俶 *shu* "to begin, initial", given in the *Erh Ya* as a synonym of 初 *ch'u* "first". I take *shu jih* to be the first or initial day of some long stretch of time, perhaps a year, or a cycle of years. This expression is followed by the two characters 合璧 *ho pi*, which, on the face of it, mean "conjoint discs", and recur constantly on the seventy Cowries in my collection, where they seem to bear an astronomical import. But I have found no such explanation in any dictionary or other work I have been able to consult, with the single exception of the *Tz'ŭ Yüan*, which under the heading 日月合璧 *jih yüeh ho pi*, cites from the *Han Shu* the following passage, with the appended comment: 復覆太初曆．晦朔弦望皆最密．日月如合璧．五星如連珠．(注) 謂

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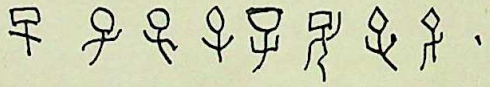
太初上元甲子夜半朔旦冬至時．七曜皆會聚斗牽牛分度夜盡如合璧連珠也, i.e. in English: "The recurrence of the Great Primordial Cycle; the Dark, the New, the Quarter, and the Full, all very close together; the Sun and the Moon like Discs in conjunction, the Five Planets like Strung Pearls. (*Commentary*) Denotes the time of the Winter Solstice at midnight before the dawn of the first Chia Tzu day of the Opening Period of the Great Primordial Cycle, when the Seven Luminaries are massed together in the stellar spaces of the Bushel and the Drover, and when the night ends, resemble conjoint Discs and strung Pearls."

May we infer from this passage that 合璧 *ho pi*, as used on these Cowries, denotes the night of *any* New Moon? How I wish that M. de Saussure were still living to consult!

The following series of figures fully represents the variations in this type of the character 子 *tzŭ*:—



This would have been the point where I should have introduced the second type of 子 *tzŭ*, viz. the form given by the *Shuo Wên* as the *Chou wên* scription, had not the character 孔 *k'ung* acted as the Wait-a-bit Thorn acts in South Africa, and detained us from hurrying on. For if the thesis about to be advanced be correct, we shall surprise our subject in a new attitude, and satisfying an eternal need. Let us first ascertain what is the received and authoritative meaning of this word *k'ung*, and examine what has been the Han scholars' explanation of the construction and the significance of the Lesser Seal character. The word *k'ung*, in modern usage written 孔, is current in speech and in literature. In the latter it appears also as a superlative adjective, "greatly, highly, very." In the former it means a cavity of various kinds, but is especially the term for the cavities, openings, passages, pores, and ducts in the human body. Thus 七孔 *ch'i k'ung* are the Seven Apertures in the head, 鼻孔 *pi k'ung* are the

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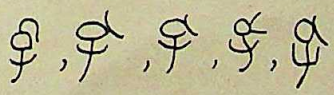
nostrils, 毛 孔 *mao k'ung*, lit. "hair-holes", are the pores of the skin, while in a general sense 孔 路 *k'ung lu* is "an open road, a thoroughfare", and 孔 方 *k'ung fang*, lit. "open square", is a term for the copper cash with its central square opening. So much for the modern shape, and the senses of the character *k'ung*. How has the author of the *Shuo Wên* dealt with its Lesser Seal form, ? Not, surely, very successfully nor lucidly.

Passing without comment the definition or explanation of that form by the gloss 通 *t'ung* "communicating", we find he dissects the character as being composed with 乞 *ya* "swallow" and 子 *tzŭ* "son", the two making a Suggestive Compound, and he then adds the words 乞 請 子 之 侯 鳥 也 *ya ch'ing tzŭ chih hou niao yeh* "The swallow is the migrant bird when male offspring is prayed for", and "The swallow having arrived and offspring appearing, the former is held in admiration".

Thus has Hsü Shên made shift to account for the Lesser Seal *form* of the character, but what relevance has this little fragment of Chinese folklore either to the senses borne by the word *k'ung*, or to the exegetic gloss supplied by Hsü ? It seems to have *no* relevance. Had *k'ung* meant either "son" or "swallow", it might have been deemed that the explanation had some bearing on it.

But the fact is that the Lesser Seal that Hsü Shên was at pains to account for differs markedly from the most ancient form, a form evidently unknown to Hsü, but shown below,



This ancient figure is seen to consist of the most usual form of 子 *tzŭ* "son", in contact at one point with a small arc of a circle, or sometimes of some other curve. Though these

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curves differ slightly in certain examples, contact is always kept, as it ought to be, if the explanation I now propose be the true one. In my view, then, we have here a picture, or, rather, a diagram, of a suckling, A CHILD AT BREAST. And if such an interpretation of the structure of the character leaves the connection between the design of the latter and the sense or senses of the word *k'ung* obscure, at least that interpretation is not based on a demonstrably wrong analysis of the component elements. But while it is hardly to be expected that this revolutionary view of 孔 *k'ung* as a scene of sweet domesticity will be received otherwise than incredulously, at

any rate at first, still I shall hope that—to detach and adapt a couplet of Pope to a narrower horizon and a less homiletic atmosphere—Yet seen more oft, its form in memory kept, We first deride, then ponder, then accept.

If opening, channel, duct, is really an original sense of *k'ung*, and the *Shuo Wên*'s gloss 通 *t'ung* "communicating" is very compatible with such a sense, may not the archaic

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character be designed to illustrate one all-important channel, the lacteal meatus through which her babe absorbs his mother's milk from her nourishing breast?

Chou wên OR SECOND TYPE OF *Tzŭ* "SON"
Not found in Lesser Seal or Modern Forms

There must have once been a clearer and more self-revealing figure than either this or any of the very numerous variants exhibited on Bronzes and especially on the Honan Relics. But certainly we have a frontal aspect of a human being, in which we discern, as the *Shuo Wên* points out, the scalp with its hair, the arms, 臂 *pei*, the legs, 脛 *ching*, "upon a stool," 在几上也 *tsai chi shang yeh* (this last seems more doubtful). But these details are not entirely to be trusted, and I have thought it best to give some forty-two variants gathered from Bronze and Bone originals above. I call attention to Fig. 1 on Plate II, from a Cowrie in my collection, where it occurs in a most interesting instance of the phrase 子孫 *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons". There is no special significance in the arrangement of these forty-two examples, but they seemed to fall into these several groups. We can now leave our Second Type, with the satisfaction of feeling that we have set our infant on his feet at last. And among the strange contracted forms shown the child, it will be seen, almost always keeps his feet.

We come at last to the Third Type of *Tzŭ* , a type unknown in the Lesser Seal, and consequently unrecorded by Hsü Shên in his *Shuo Wên*. But this well-marked and rather arresting human figure facing the spectator, with legs wide apart, and arms spread outwards with hands downward, is of not uncommon occurrence on the older Bronzes and in the Honan Relics. In the former it is the first word in the expressions 子孫 *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons", and 子福 *tzŭ fu* "sons and happiness", but in the latter relics,

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though rarely, it appears in the Duodenary Cycle or Twelve Branches, (thus it is contained in the Cycle couplets 丙子 *ping tzŭ*, shown in Fig. 4, Plate II, and in 壬子 *jên tzŭ*, in H. 115), as well as in the ordinary sense of "son".

I call attention to the very striking mutual confirmation of the last two examples figured above, the third being from a Bronze, the fourth from a Bone in my collection (H. 115), the correspondence extending even to the discreet but unmistakable indication of sex, sufficing to prove that our subject is well on his way to man's estate. And at this stage in our subject's life we can for a time take leave of him, though we shall have to meet him again later.

孫 *Sun* "Grandson". First and Normal Type

This is one of the Suggestive Compound Class, in which neither of the components is used for its phonetic value, but each helps, by its association with the other, to point to the meaning of the combination. This is the only type of *sun* that survived into the Lesser Seal and Modern scriptions.

The coupling of the signs for *son* and *hsi* "connection, continuous, a line or string", was evidently held to be enough to indicate posterity, the much desiderated succession of offspring. The character abounds on Bronzes, and is found fairly often on the Honan Relics, where, however, other Types destined to future obsolescence are oftener present. Thus we have in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Hou Pien*, 下, p. 14, , and in H. 107 of my collection.

孫 *Sun* "Grandson". Second Type

So far as I am aware this Type, which is nothing but the normal Type lessened by 子, has not been observed by any

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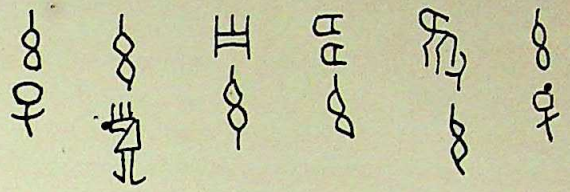
other student, Oriental or Western, yet six examples occur in my own collection. They appear thus :—



And reading from left to right these are *sun tzŭ*, *sun tzŭ*, *tzŭ sun*, *to sun*, *ch'an sun*, and *sun tzu*, in English "Grandsons and sons", "Sons and grandsons", "Many grandsons", "Ch'an's grandson", "Grandsons and sons"; and in modern writing the 1st, 2nd, and 6th are 孫 子, the 3rd *tzŭ sun*, the 4th 多 孫, and the 5th 敃 孫.

It is a curious and, to the poor drudge toiling amid this dusty ossuary, an irritating fact that, where difficulties abound on every side, a seemingly needless confusion should have been created by using this figure of 8, at one time for 玄 *hsüan* "sombre", at another for 午 *wu*, the 7th of the Duodenary Cycle, and at another for 孫 *sun* "grandson". Yet so it is.

孫 *Sun* "Grandson". Third Type

About the equivalence of this long obsolete figure to the later 孫 *sun* there can be no doubt. Yet whether we examine the more elaborate variants like the one above and the first four others below, or the more simplified designs such as the second small group of four also shown below, it is hard to detect more than a very crude conception of a human embryo seen frontally, and freely treated as regards details. Some of the examples rather suggest a goblin seen in a nightmare, others have a toad-like outline, and others, again, particularly those on the Honan Relics, recall a scarabæan beetle minus one pair of legs. But nearly always, when this type occurs on the older Bronzes (but not always

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on the Honan Bones), it is as the second in the group 子 孫 *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons", and is then preceded and surmounted by the figure (our Third Type of 子 *tzŭ* "son"). Oftener than not, this upper figure is drawn so as to bestride and almost to surround his embryonic descendant.

Although this close proximity of the embryonic body of the lower element to the legs of the upper figure is, physiologically speaking, impossible, and one of those "facts that are not so", yet it may be defended if taken after the Chinese manner as a proleptic symbol of offspring as yet unborn, but potentially existing in the loins of a progenitor.

孫 *Sun* "GRANDSON". FOURTH TYPE,

usually , sometimes

(It is to be noted that this character, alike in archaic and recent times, is used also for a word now pronounced *hsün*, meaning "to withdraw, give place to", and now written 遜. We shall see why this is a material fact.)

This expressive figure appears occasionally in the Honan Relics, but much oftener in an archaic formula very frequent on the older Bronzes, and consisting apparently (and in most cases, I believe, actually) of three words. It presents exceptional difficulties. These arise not merely from the fact that the first member of the formula has not yet been convincingly determined and its modern equivalent ascertained, but because an even more perplexing and unexpected obstacle is disclosed, since the discovery of the Honan Relics, to accepting all the examples of the formula as being identical.

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There follow here three from the thirty-nine I have extracted and copied from the nine volumes of the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên.*

The commonly accepted view of this ancient formula is rendered in modern writing by 析 子 孫 *hsi tzŭ sun*, a phrase taken to be desiderative of the perpetuation of male descendants. And whatever may be the real equation of the first of the three characters (𣏟), such, no doubt, is the general import of the sentence. And where the latter is part of an inscription long enough to require to be written in more than one column, these columns are usually made of equal vertical length. Consequently, with few and inconsiderable exceptions, they severally contain the same number of characters. It follows, therefore, that our formula, when present, should occupy the spaces of three characters. And in the great majority of cases it does. Thus in vol. vi, p. 40, of the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* we have an inscription of twenty-six characters in five columns of five characters each, except the second column, which has six. Here the formula fills the last three of the five spaces of the fifth column. So in vol. iv, p. 27, in an eight-character legend in two columns, the formula is the last three of the four in the second column. Numerous other instances in the same volume may be seen to the same effect. I have rather emphasized the point because one Chinese scholar, Mr. Ting Shan, 丁 山, has recently essayed to show that this formula consists not of three but of a single character, namely, in modern writing, 冀 *chi*, one of the Nine Chou or Regions of ancient China.[1]

[1] In an elaborate essay in vol. i, part 2, pp. 233–249, of *Academia Sinica*, which I have carefully read and in many ways admired, but I am quite unable to accept his conclusion.

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We must, then, in view of the large majority of the recorded instances, admit the triplicity of the formula. But in the course of extracting and copying the thirty-nine examples from the *Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên* I could not fail to note that in the simplicity of this triplicity lay, as it were, a certain implicity of duplicity in a minority of cases, an ambiguity affecting the primitive construction and intention of the lowermost character, the Type of 孫 *sun*, now being examined. For what are we to think when we look at such groups as Figs. 2 and 3 above? Why should the little upper figure be drawn on so much smaller a scale than the lower, and why so nearly integrated and incorporated in it? Does this minority group, in fact, really represent not the two words *tzŭ sun* "sons and grandsons", but the single word *sun* "grandson"? And, further, why, in any case, does a male figure, with arms raised above his head, stand for *grandson*? And why, if this is really so, should a small infantile and insignificant figure represent "son" and a large, adult, and gesticulating personage indicate "grandson"? These are points which seem to me to demand explanation. And, as often elsewhere, the Honan Find has provided the materials in which I venture to believe I have come upon the clue not discerned by any other investigators.[1] And, indeed, it cannot be deemed one that at once leaps to the eyes.

We have to note that the Honan Relics provide examples of all four Types of 孫 *sun* "grandson", and that of the fourth Type, the more common variant is used only in that sense, while of the five instances of the rarer variant combining two figures in one complex, one has too defective a context to be useful, one is followed by the obscure words 不其乎來 *pu ch'i hu lai*, but the three remaining examples

[1] However, this must be qualified to the extent that Mr. Tadasuke Takada cites four instances of Type Four, second variant, from Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, and gives them, which Lo does not, under his entry 孫 *sun*, but he does not give the explanation I put forward.

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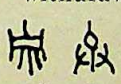
(including that shown in Fig. 3, Plate II) represent the word "retiring, withdrawing", now pronounced *hsün* and written 遜, which as used in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* is, Legge remarks,[1] "a euphemism for—to flee."

And it is curious that it should be in this less common sense, and ampler composition, that is to be found the true genesis of the character *sun* "grandson". Lo Chên-yü, in his *Y.H.S.K.K.S.*, p. 68, after citing four examples, among his unequated forms, adds the note: "depicts a man carrying on his neck and shoulders a small child," but goes no further.

Now my explanation of this old character is based, I think, not on fancy but on infancy. To my way of thinking, we see before us the joyous gesture of a happy father or grandfather hoisting aloft a delighted child in those moments of one-quarter panic three-quarters ecstasy familiar to children and their nurses by the expressive interjection "Upsidaisy!" And if that is so, we have the paradox that the adult figure with raised arms was *not* originally meant for the grandson, nor the little form here surmounting it meant for the son, but the two as grouped together in their relative positions were a diagram of a man holding up his own son (and his father's grandson), and thus *together* indicating grandson.

Let me add in conclusion an example of 孫 *sun* noteworthy for two reasons, one that it exhibits a sabotaged disguise and contraction of this same Type, and the other that it occurs in the original sense of "grandson", and not in the borrowed use of "withdrawing". It forms the second character in the phrase  *tzŭ sun* on a Cowrie, H. 289.

It may be that here and there a reader may find points of interest or curiosity in the foregoing essay, but as was foretold in the opening of this paper, what he will *not* find is simplicity, it is a quality that this ancient race neither appreciates nor displays.

[1] *Chinese Classics*, vol. v, pt. 2, p. 900.

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Supplementary Note

On p. 79 of the foregoing paper, reference was made to two inscriptions occurring on the bone fragments of the Honan Find which merit a more extended description and comment than could be given to them there. One of them is in my own collection (H. 364), Fig. 3 on Plate II, and the other is shown in Lo Chên-yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, *chüan* 7, p. 2. They are almost, but not quite, duplicates, and are dated the same day, *Kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑, the 50th of the Cycle of Sixty. The latter appears again in Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wên Pien*, or "Chapter of Characters from the Waste of Yin awaiting investigation", p. 4. It is also cited and commented on by Mr. Tadasuke Takada in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, *chüan* 70, p. 7, under the character 孫 *sun*.

Each of these short legends provokes comment and suggests certain conjectures, the confirmation or disproof of which must be left for the future. Meantime, it is necessary to transcribe into modern writing, so far as that is possible, the text of each, leaving two or three unidentified or disputed characters in their original form. As Mr. Takada has given a transcription of the latter example, which in one point differs from my own, I reproduce his transcription also below. First shall be given my No. H. 364, which runs: 癸丑卜殼貞遜及[illegible]方, *kuei ch'ou pu k'o chêng hsün chi Jung fang*. Of this I propose the following tentative rendering: "On the day *kuei-ch'ou* divined by the tortoise-shell as to bandits, inquiring whether (they) would retire as far as the Jung country."

This is a rendering that may perhaps claim to have tentativeness without timidity, and must be defended by arguments whose aim is to be persuasive not peremptory.

And the first point that may be questioned is the rendering of 殼 *k'o* by the English word *bandits*, in Chinese 寇 *k'ou*. It is, of course, a conjecture, and I admit rather a bold one. I do not forget the ingenious proposal of one of the editors of

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Academia Sinica, Mr. Tung Tso-pin, who sees in this and some five other words often recurring in comparable passages, the names or designations of certain official diviners who, he supposes, used to come on duty at successive intervals. Almost he had persuaded me, but in the end the hypothesis seems to me not quite convincing. It appears reasonable to regard the words that intervene so constantly in the opening clause of these entries on the Honan Bones, between the 卜 *pu* "to divine by tortoise-shell", and 貞 *chêng* "to make inquiry", as the subject of divination, the topic on which guidance from above was urgently needed. And such a topic was certainly that of Bandits and their movements. But, it may be objected, neither the character *k'o* nor its numerous compounds are homophones of *k'ou*, nor have any of them the recorded meaning of "bandits" to justify such a rendering in the present case. However, that is not quite correct, as we see in the character 彀 *kou* "to draw a bow to the full", a compound of *k'o* which *is* a homophone (the aspirate is negligible). Nor is that all. Kanghsi's Dictionary, near the end of its entry under 彀 *k'o*, gives its exceptional or rhyming sound as 音 寇 *yin k'ou* "sounded *k'ou*". And my conjecture is that the character now pronounced *k'o* not only had the sound of *k'ou* (whatever that may have been in Yin times), but also its *sense*, or, otherwise put, was the then usual way of writing the word *k'ou* "bandit". But if we reject the bandit reading, whom can we imagine to be making the inquiry about retiring or withdrawing? Surely not the Yin sovereign himself. Then who else? Whereas if invaders or armed men had been giving trouble, this is just the question that would urgently demand an answer.

The character 孫 (now 遜) *hsün*, when meaning "to retire", where quoted in Chinese dictionaries and glossaries is, so far as I can find, always followed by 于 *yü* "to", but 及 *chi* "as far as" is the word found in both the inscriptions under examination.

And now I must face criticism on another and more daring

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conjecture or guess, in reading the form [illegible] as the ancient character for 戎 *Jung*. This obsolete, conspicuous, and very individual form is frequently met on the Honan Relics, and is mostly followed by the word 方 *fang* "region" or "country", showing that the previous word (whatever it is) represents some ethnic name. Lo Chên-yü on pp. 96–8 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* prints thirteen instances of the form with its contexts in modern script, but with facsimiles of this and some other unidentified characters. Of these thirteen, nine are followed by 方 *fang*, four are not, but are preceded by 戈 *fa* "to smite". Other ethnic names followed by 方 *fang* seen on the Honan Relics are 夷 *i*, the *I* tribes, 土 *t'u*, the indigenes (perhaps the Tunghus), [illegible], and [illegible], unidentified characters. But what is certainly strange is that neither here nor elsewhere among these oracular archives do we recognize the names of either the 狄 *Ti* or the 戎 *Jung* tribes. It is difficult to believe that there really is no mention of either of these notorious disturbers of the early Chinese peace, who were also their neighbours. And there is one interesting inscription of some length, which is transcribed by Lo Chên-yü (see his p. 98 *ubi supra*), from which I cite the following relevant clause: 告曰土方征于我東鄙(?)二邑[illegible]方亦牧我西鄙田, *kao yüeh t'u fang chêng yü wo tung pi* (?) *erh i* (Jung) *fang i mu wo hsi pi t'ien*, (in English) "Announced the attack by the Native tribes on (?), two cities of our Eastern frontier, and the harrying by the Jung tribes of the fields of our Western frontier."

These [illegible], who are here said to have harried the fields on "our Western frontier", will be, if my conjecture is right, some of those Western Jung whose country was to the west of the Yin "Empire".

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It would be idle, of course, to pretend that there are no objections to this identification. If the above form was in general use to write the name of Jung, why should it not have survived into the Lesser Seal and modern writing? The needed modification would have been easy, and would have resulted in a character closely resembling 昌 *ch'ang* "brilliant".

There the matter must be left for the time. The second inscription, that from Lo's *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* (ch. vii, p. 2, recto), being so nearly the same as that on H. 364, need not detain us long. At the end it is probably incomplete, but we can read the following: 癸丑卜 [illegible] 貞遜及 [illegible] 方, *kuei-ch'ou pu* (?) *chêng hsün chi Jung fang*, which I should render, "On the day *kuei-ch'ou* divined by the tortoise-shell as to ?, inquiring whether (they) would retire as far as the Jung country." The fourth character remains unknown, though Tung Tso-pin treats this also as the name of one of the official diviners. In my view, however, it would prove to be some term analogous to the *k'ou* "bandits" of the previous inscription.

Mr. Takada in *chüan* 70, p. 7, of his *Ku Chou P'ien* cites this same legend (under the character 孫 *sun*) with the same modern version, with one exception, but that involves a most surprising, indeed astonishing ascription. Where I write, as above, *one* character [illegible], he writes two, 丁 孳 *ting tzŭ* (which in his view represents the *Shuo Wên*'s *chou wen* form of 子 *tzŭ*, but as there is no such Cycle couplet, 丁 子 *ting tzŭ* would have to be read 丁 巳 *ting ssŭ*, which does exist). This disyllabic value he gives to [illegible] by cutting it in half horizontally, reading [illegible] as 丁 *ting* and [illegible] as one of the much contracted variants of the *chou wên* version of 子 *tzŭ*, we may suppose some such a form as [illegible].

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But the original Bone character occurs frequently in the Honan inscriptions, and always to other observers than Mr. Takada, as a *single* character. Furthermore, what possible meaning could the expression 丁 子 (or 丁 巳) 方 *ting tzŭ* (or *ting ssŭ*) *fang* "the country of *ting tzŭ*" have?

It is quite possible that my conjecture about the Jung may be proved wrong, but if so, I am sure that it will never, never be because Mr. Takada's view is shown to be right.

All the more agreeable, therefore, is it to find that the great Japanese scholar and myself concur as to the identity of the cheerful gentleman holding up an infant in his arms with the modern character 孫 *sun* "grandson".

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Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VII: Government and Social Conditions.

A. General; B. Documents (1, Officials; 2, Classes and persons; 3, Agriculture and crops, registration, taxation, survey; 4, Travel and animals; 5, Objects and presents; 6, Burial and mourning and other ceremonial; 7, Medicine; 8, Law; 9, Writing and letters).

By F. W. THOMAS

IN regard to civil conditions in Chinese Turkestan the documents are not much more widely informative than in regard to other matters. The states along the northern trade route, Karashahr, Kuca, Aksu, Kashgar, although from about A.D. 675 they were dominated (not indeed occupied) by the Tibetans, appear to escape all mention; and this is the more regrettable as these states would seem from the culture objects recovered by archæological research to have enjoyed a rather fuller development of material civilization than those south of the desert. Their natural resources were not inferior, they were aligned along a more profitable route of trade and communication, they were less exposed to encroachment of the desert; their archæological remains are more extensive and better preserved. To these states, and to the Wu-sun people of the Tian-shan valleys, we have perhaps—unless the Khu chief (*Khu Maṅ-po-rje*) of the Tibetan *Chronicle* is really the Khu ruler of Kao-chang—not a single reference. The twin states of "Anterior" and "Posterior" Chü-shih, i.e. Turfan-Kao-chang and Gu-chen at the extreme east of the Tian-shan, do indeed seem to be indicated as goal of hostile expeditions (1931, pp. 821 sqq.). As has been made clear by Chavannes in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 533–6, and Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 579–587, they maintained a precarious existence nearly to the end of the eighth century

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A.D., the Tibetans failing, despite their occupation of Kan-su, to secure possession of them either by diplomatic proposals to China [1] or by force until the year A.D. 790.

Of the more southern states, Yarkand, Karghalik, Khotan, Shan-shan, the two former are hardly more than mentioned in the documents (1930, pp. 288–291). But concerning Khotan and Shan-shan, and concerning the Śa-cu region of Chinese Kan-su, we have a certain amount of information. In the case of Khotan the allusions in the documents are supplemented, not only by the particulars recorded in Chinese works, but also by general impressions (largely of religious decadence) conveyed by the ecclesiastical annals and other literary texts which we have translated. For the Śa-cu region, where the conditions were mainly Chinese, but the Tibetans were during the period A.D. 781–850 politically dominant and long afterwards naturally influential as representing Buddhism, we have from Chinese sources general and also local information, the latter carefully edited in some valuable publications by Dr. Lionel Giles.[2] For the Shan-shan kingdom, extending from Lop-nor westwards as far as Cer-cen and (say) Niya, the Chinese supply valuable geographical and historical indications, of which the latest summary is contained in Dr. Giles' third paper noted *supra*. On the Tibetan side we have the mass of documents extracted from the fort of Mīrān and a number of references in the manuscript *Chronicle*. The area being practically identical with that covered by the Kharoṣṭhī documents of much (*c.* 400–600 years) earlier date, and points of contact being inevitable, it may be worth while to institute a slight comparison of the two groups of records. In number the Tibetan (about 1,500)

[1] Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, pp. 453–4; Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue Occidentaux*, pp. 179–182.

[2] "Tun Huang Lu: Notes on the District of Tun-huang": *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 703–728; 1915, pp. 41–7; "The Census of Tun-huang", *T'oung-pao*, xvi, 1915, pp. 468–488; "A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, pp. 825–846.

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have the advantage ; but in extent of matter, being mostly scrappy or very fragmentary, they are considerably inferior. Of the chief classes of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, (*a*) royal rescripts, (*b*) registers of persons and objects, (*c*) legal agreements, (*d*) semi-official and unofficial correspondence, the first is wanting in the Tibetan collection (there being no ruling king), which on its part presents a large number of items (lists, visiting cards, etc.) connected with the soldiery. The most sweeping difference between the two classes of documents consists in the fact that the Kharoṣṭhī records are native in character, while those in Tibetan are the work of foreigners administering an annexed country and not primarily interested in the (Ḫa-ža) population. This tends to enfeeble the light which they shed upon internal conditions, except in so far as those conditions had been introduced by the Tibetans themselves.

As regards Khotan, the new information may be briefly summarized. This state, of which the population was estimated about B.C. 30 at 19,300 and about A.D. 100 at 83,000, must during that interval have effected its recorded absorption of certain minor adjacent principalities.[1] Its eastern frontier was at Phye-ma, or at times somewhat further east, at Niña, where it adjoined Shan-shan, which on its part had extended westward by similar absorption of minor intervening states. In early days it had engaged in local wars with Yarkand, Kashgar, and even Kuca ; but its constant rival in later centuries had been Shan-shan, whose Tu-yu[k]-hun conquerors had in A.D. 445 wrought great havoc in Khotan (1926, p. 312). Like all the other principalities of Chinese Turkestan, it had been normally under domination either by the Chinese, or by invading peoples from the north, Hiung-nu, Juan-Juan, and Turks. But this domination was not of an interfering character ; and so the lineage of local kings, though some of them received a surname of perhaps

[1] Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, *La Haute Asie*, ii, p. 61 ; followed by A. Hermann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen*, p. 76.

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Juan-Juan origin (1931, pp. 831–2) and one of them was subject to the Turks [1] and some later ones had Tibetan names (*Asia Major*, ii, p. 252), is said to have persisted unbroken. A division of the country into five districts (the capital, Mdo-lo and Me-skar, Kam-śed, Ku-śed, and Koṅ-śed) has been traced.[2] But it would be difficult to select the "five large cities" (they would perhaps include Kilian, Guma, Phye-ma, and Niya (?)), which according to the Chinese [3] it contained. On the other hand, we have found (1930, pp. 50 sqq.) in Tibetan times abundant evidence of a division of the area into parishes (*tshar*) [4] and also numerous names of places either belonging or adjacent to the country. The "five towns" which composed the capital included, no doubt, the "Nectarean City" (*Dṅar-ldan*), the "Hog's-colour city" (*Phag-gi-mtshon*), and the "Old City" (*Rṅiṅ-ma*) named in the *Prophecy* of Vimalaprabhā. Was Khu-sen "the western city", "the city where the king resides," a fourth? There are several indications (*Asia Major*, ii, pp. 255–7) that the country as a whole bore a name *Kuśala*, rendered in Tibetan as *Dge-ba*, the capital also being *Kuśalī* or *Kuśalavatī* (Tibetan *Dge-ba-can*).

The celebrity of Khotan (according to Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah*, "the most famous of cities") rested upon its religious sanctity and its innumerable and splendid monasteries and shrines. There was some trace of Mazdaism,[5] possibly a survival from ancient times; and references to unbelieving kings and nobles (*A. Khotan*, p. 585) may be directed at them among others. But the country, "the pocket estate of the Buddhas of the Three Times," was overwhelmingly Buddhist, partly Māhāsaṃghika, partly Sarvāstivādin, but in later times

[1] Abel-Rémusat, *Ville de Khotan*, p. 35.
[2] *Asia Major*, ii, pp. 259–260.
[3] Abel-Rémusat, op. cit., pp. 19, 28, 30–1.
[4] Also a few districts in the vicinity of the capital with names ending in *-ti* (1930, p. 70).
[5] Grenard, op. cit., pp. 58, 68; Chavannes, *Tou-Kiue Occidentaux*, p. 125.

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mainly Mahāyānist.[1] Apparently (ibid., pp. 581–3) there was constant communication with the Buddhists of India, especially of Kashmir. The clerics, male and female, numbered, as estimated at one period, over 11,000 (ibid., p. 583), the large monasteries over 110.[2] The communities owned gardens and pleasances and large estates and water-rights. The rulers and their families, men and women, were attended by pious "confessors" or "chaplains" (*kalyāṇa-mitra*, ibid., pp. 581–3), under whose influence they were lavish in the foundation and endowment of shrines, monasteries, and nunneries. It was not unusual for persons of royal or noble blood to enter the Saṃgha, winning for the families the title of "Bodhi-sattva lineage".

The manners of the Khotanese were marked by mildness and ceremoniousness, which had, it was held, a humanizing effect upon foreign visitors and conquerors (ibid., p. 585). Hiuan-Tsang credits the people with politeness, justice, and a love of literature and arts, which opinion, confirmed by the *T'ang-shu* (Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 125–6), need not be, as Grenard suggests (op. cit., p. 67), due to Buddhist partiality. The sanctity of the country attracted sightseers and pilgrims, bringing riches to the shrines and to the peaceful and contented population. The local manufacture of silk, carpets and felt, the jade workings, and the mining for gold and copper in the mountains to the south brought merchants. Like all the other regions of Turkestan, Khotan was celebrated also for its fruit. In the documents there are some references to presents of silk (*men-tri*, *°hdri*) or carpets or fruit, purchase of turquoises, and so on (1930, pp. 60, etc.). The phrase "Khotan provisions" (*Li-brgyags*) recurs with, apparently, some special sense. One of the constant troubles of the country was incursions of freebooters from Tāshkurghān and

[1] *A. Khotan*, p. 585, and Fa-hian, trans. Legge, p. 16. So, too, Hiuan-Tsang.

[2] Hiuan-Tsang's figures are 5,000 and 100; Fa-hian says "even several myriads".

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the mountains to the south, preying upon the merchant caravans (*A. Khotan*, pp. 31, 521). We have quoted a letter from a Khotan king to the Tibetan authorities, wherein an investigation of robberies is reported, together with a reference to a donation, or fine, of fruit (1930, pp. 60 sqq.).

A feature, still noticeable, of Khotan life was the prominence of feminine interests and the freedom of women. In the religious sphere their participation was represented by numerous nunneries, founded in many cases by queens or princesses, who had feminine spiritual advisers (*kalyāṇa-mitra*) and themselves not infrequently "took the veil". The *Prophecy* of Vimalaprabhā (eighth century A.D.) proclaims perhaps the first recorded religious mission to women, inaugurated by a royal lady. A particular custom was seclusion during seven days after the death of a husband.[1]

We need not dwell upon features of Khotan life already known from Chinese sources, the religious car-processions and festivals, the fondness for music, the erection of tall funeral monuments (*stūpas*) in front of the (widely spaced) dwellings. Some of these are mentioned in our texts, which also speak of religious drama (*nole*, 1925, pp. 498 sqq.). Nor can we treat of the characteristics of the popular religion, in which a Buddhist mantle was thrown over a great amount of earlier superstition, whether indigenous (cult of "Nāgas" of localities and rivers and of demons, *Rākṣasas* and *Rākṣasīs*) or imported from India (worship of relics, vestments, and sacred footprints, use of charms, *mantras*, and magico-psychological phrases, *dhāraṇīs*, orally or in script, as amulets and inscriptions on banners and buildings). The pre-Buddhist religion of Chinese Turkestan, akin to Shamanism and the Tibetan *Bon*, is a subject upon which Grenard (op. cit., pp. 241–3) has some very just observations, but which is not yet ripe for discussion.

[1] Similarly in Karashahr (Grenard, Dutreuil de Rhins, *La Haute Asie*, ii, p. 246).

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The government was of the personal kind, with ministers (no doubt, nobles) holding office at the king's pleasure, with occasional tragedies and troubles during minorities (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) and much ecclesiastical influence. As has frequently been pointed out, the Chinese, with their policy of subordinating foreign princes by conferring upon them titles of honour, awarded to some of the Khotan (Kashgar, etc.) kings the rank of *amochih*, in the Tibetan texts *a-ma-ca*, representing, as Professor Lévi was the first to remark,[1] the Sanskrit *amātya* "councillor". From the documents (1930, pp. 72–5) we see that the title was borne also, in course of time, by non-royal persons in Khotan, and the same is evident from the local *Chronicle* (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 582–3). There is no evidence that in Khotan the title carried official functions. In regard to local administration and to law and justice we have no hints. But there was a regular assessment (*rtsis*) for purpose of revenue, and the supply of water was controlled.

The Tibetans, when, in the last half of the eighth century A.D., they occupied the country and established the fort of Mazār-Tāgh, left the general administration in the hands of the native king. There were, it is true, numerous military posts established by them in the country, especially on heights in the mountains (1930, p. 251), and even in the royal citadel a guard may have been posted (ibid., p. 65). But the presence of a general (*dmag-dpon*, p. 76) and of a minister of Inner Affairs (*naṅ-rje-po*, pp. 77–9) in the capital may have been merely occasional. The Tibetan headquarters must have been in Śiṅ-śan (Mazār-Tāgh), whither urgent dispatches were sometimes sent from the capital and persons are recalled (1930, pp. 78, 83). The supplies demanded from the Khotanese were based upon an assessment and received in bulk (1930, p. 81). The Khotanī authorities (*Li-mṅan*) in Śiṅ-śan and elsewhere collected their own dues from the tenants in detail

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, XI, v, 1915, p. 191.

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(M. Tāgh, a. iii, 0062). Khotanī persons (*Li*) were employed by the Tibetans, mostly, it seems, in subordinate capacities. Some served in the army, though we are not aware of any distinct Khotanī regiments. Naturally there were business transactions and legal agreements (p. 60). It seems that the natives were not esteemed by their rude conquerors (p. 278); there are several references to condign punishment of individuals, or even groups (pp. 49, 284).

The heads of Tibetan administration in Khotan were the *naṅ-rje-pos* ("Interior Lords") resident in Mazār-Tāgh, of whom in two letters (one quoted p. 66) three are addressed jointly. Presumably one was usually the leader (*rtse*, p. 90); but in regard to a distribution of functions we have no indication. The office of *naṅ-rje-po*, as also the titles *żaṅ-lon* and *rtse-rje*, recurs in the case of Shan-shan, and may be further considered in that connection.

It is probable that the Khotanīs, whose proficiency in literature, as well as their linguistic singularity, is recognized by the Chinese,[1] maintained a higher educational average than did the other states of Turkestan. It is therefore interesting to connect the story (*Asia Major*, ii, pp. 251–2) of the origination of the language, as taught to herdsmen children, with what is stated by Sir Aurel Stein[2] concerning unexpected smattering of education among children of nomad herdsmen along the Keriya river. For the rest, the Chinese noted[3] a greater likeness of feature to themselves in the people of Khotan than was the case in other states; and the native Khotan *Chronicle* remarks that "the manners of the laity agree for the most part with China".

The Śa-cu region being a part of Chinese Kan-su and accordingly a subject of much precise information and of special memoirs, of which three have been translated by Dr. Lionel Giles, the particulars ascertainable from Tibetan

[1] Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, ii, p. 309.
[2] *Ancient Khotan*, p. 143, n. 25.
[3] Grenard, op. cit., ii, p. 31.

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sources are perhaps of secondary interest. The Tibetans seem to have commenced their attacks on the city about A.D. 676; in A.D. 727 they captured Kva-cu Siṅ-caṅ (Tsin-ch'ang ?). It is very difficult to follow the vicissitudes of the struggle in this area, which must have been constantly overrun by the Tibetans; but from A.D. 781–851 [1] the region must have been definitely under Tibetan rule, except that during an interval of eleven years (A.D. 809–819 (?)) the city of Śa-cu was held for the Chinese.[2] The Tibetan information may relate mainly to the period A.D. 781–851, although the particulars connected with Buddhist monasteries would be consistent with a later date.

During this period the region seems to have been under the rule of a Dragon (*Ḫbrug*) dynasty, mentioned by the Chinese as Lung [3] and stated to have originated in Karashahr. The two Tibetan letters quoted *supra* (1927, p. 67), relating to delivery of requisitioned grain in bulk, seem to show that the Ḫbrug chief, from whom one of them emanates, retained the internal administration of his country. He was therefore in a position similar to that of the king of Khotan; near the end of the eighth century A.D. a king The-bo of Śa-cu, who would be a Ḫbrug, received a mission from his Khotan compeer, with a letter which has recently been published.[4] It seems likely that the Tibetans, as their invasions penetrated further into China, took over the administration of the Śa-cu country. For in other letters (pp. 808 sqq.) relating to requisition of grain we find mention of a division into Thousand-districts, a non-Chinese and specially Tibetan [5] organization, derived ultimately from

[1] L. Giles, *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 705–6.

[2] Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 514: cf. *supra*, 1927, pp. 815–16.

[3] L. Giles, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 844–5.

[4] *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, Oslo, 1929.

[5] It is not implied that prior to the Tibetan occupation no "Thousand-districts" existed in Shan-shan. Elsewhere I hope to show that the *toṃga* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents was really a *stoṅ-dpon*.

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India. The districts named are Rgod-sar, Stoṅ-sar, Spyi-lcogs, Sñiṅ-tsoms, Tshas-stobs, probably a complete list. Their geographical disposition is not evident; but Tshas-stobs may contain the name of a Tsha tribe, connected with a Tsha-śod district in north-eastern Tibet, and Rgod-sar, which *prima facie* may mean "New Rgod", was probably the most westerly, adjoining the Rgod District of the Shan-shan area. We have given (1927, pp. 71 sqq.) a long dossier of appeals in connection with an appointment to the office of *stoṅ-dpon* in this area.

Concerning towns in the Śa-cu region it is difficult to be precise, since from the Tibetan documents it is often not clear whether places there named belong to that region or to the adjacent parts of Tibet or to more easterly parts of Kan-su. Clearly we can leave out of account *Lem-cu* (Liang-chou) with Bog-yas, Daṅ-to-kun, which is, no doubt, T'ien-te Kun [1] on the bend of the Yellow River, and the places noted 1927, p. 816, as in Skyi. Disregarding some minor localities, we are left with practically only Kva-cu, Śa-cu, Mkhar-tsan (= Khar-tsa-cin, 1927, pp. 78 sqq.), 'Im-ka-cin, Sil-gu-cin, and Khu-ñe Mon-gaṅs, and residences Hi-ma-te (p. 825), Ma-ko-cin and 'O-dol-cu (p. 78). Of these Mkhar-tsan was a great city. Kva-cu and Śa-cu are well known from Chinese sources, and we need only add that the mention of *tshi-śi* and *tu-tuq* (pp. 816–17) as titles of their magistrates seems to indicate that the Tibetans did not modify their administration, the titles being Turco-Chinese. Concerning the other places we can add nothing to what is stated *supra*, 1927, pp. 83–4.

The other information supplied by the Tibetan writings concerning this Śa-cu region is partly of singular interest. The legal agreements indeed (1927, pp. 813–14) are similar to those adduced from Khotan and Shan-shan. But other records are of a kind not exampled elsewhere. There are lists (1927,

[1] L. Giles, op. cit., p. 834 (T'ien-tê Ch'êng); the *Thianté-Kiun* of Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, i, p. 286.

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pp. 826 sqq.) of personal (both masculine and feminine) names and clan-names or surnames, throwing light upon the system of nomenclature and upon the sociology ; lists (1928, pp. 66–9) of numerous shrines, probably some of the "Thousand Buddhas" of Tun-huang, with accounts of lands whereof they enjoyed the revenues ; particulars of donations, of oil, etc. (pp. 87–90), for their service ; references to their slaves (*lha-ḫbaṅs* "god's servant") ; an extensive description (1927, pp. 832 sqq.) of the operations of the monasteries in supplying manuscript copies of Buddhist canonical texts, Tibetan and Chinese, for the use of city libraries, etc., in procuring the labour and materials (paper and ink), in controlling the workers and providing for their rations, in totalling and dispatching the inscribed rolls, and in obtaining payment ; also in inspecting and reporting upon deterioration in the library collections. A growing intimacy with Tibet is illustrated by a very remarkable compilation (1928, pp. 70–87) of "messages" of felicitation, presented by the cities of Kva-cu and Mkhar-tsan (in conjunction with other authorities) upon the occasion of the foundation of a great monastery in the vicinity of the Koko-nor lake, to commemorate the pact of peace made between China, Tibet, and other powers in the years A.D. 783 and 822.

The two temples Leṅ-ho-si and Pho-kvaṅ-si, mentioned 1927, p. 829, we are not in a position to locate.[1] In regard to the document, 1928, pp. 63–5, containing succession-lists of the heads of certain famous Buddhist seminaries, it may be remarked that it has considerable importance in connection with ecclesiastical history. But the seminaries in question belong evidently in most cases to other provinces, and no one is demonstrably connected with the Śa-cu region.

When we come to the Nob Region, the old Shan-shan kingdom, we might hope, as the administration had been taken over by the Tibetans, to find in the Mīrān documents rather more definite indications of the actual manner of working. And it might be instructive to compare the

[1] Are they the *Ling-hu* and *P'u-kuang* of *Documents Chinois*, pp. 62, 130 ?

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information with what may be elicited from the earlier Kharoṣṭhī documents belonging to the same area. Something indeed may be noted.

The region was divided into Thousand-districts, named respectively Nag-śod, H̱dzom Upper (*Stod*) and Lower (*Smad*), Rgod Upper and Lower, Rgod-ldiṅ, and Kha-dro.

Of these Rgod, with Rgod-ldiṅ, must, for the reason stated above in connection with Rgod-sar, have been the most easterly. Nag-śod, one of the eighteen Śods reckoned in with Mdo-smad, would be its next neighbour. Kha-dro has a name which may be connected with the *Caḍ'ota* (the Niya site) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents; in which case H̱dzom would inevitably cover some area in the region of Endere or Cer-cen, and it is perhaps no accident that a regiment or province of "H̱zom-lom-stod" is named in a sgraffito in Endere fort.[1] In the Kharoṣṭhī documents Cer-cen (Calmadana) is under a Cojhbo (chief ruler) distinct from the Cojhbo of Caḍ'ota.

In each of the Thousand-districts we find mention of "the lord's land" (*rje-žiṅ*), and sometimes of special arrangements for its cultivation. Originally these lands may have been private property of the H̱a-ža king (*rje*) or of local chiefs, probably the former, since they were administered by the Tibetans. The phrase occurs thrice (ll. 158, 160, 163) in the Tibetan *Chronicle*, but without further indication.

The chief towns named in the documents are Little Nob, Great Nob, Ka-dag, Rtse-thon, and Cer-cen. From the character of the references it appears that Ka-dag was in the same general district as Nob; and this is in accord with the traditional location[2] at three days' journey south of the also ruined city of Lop. Rtse-thon, the *Ch'i-t'un* of the Chinese, was also in that quarter. Hence we have no difficulty in identifying Little and Great Nob together with Ka-dag as the "three towns" (*mkhar-gsum*, 1928, p. 569), and this triad together

[1] *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569.
[2] Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkund*, p. 27. Cf. Grenard, op. cit., iii, p. 147.

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with Rtse-thon as the "four towns" (*mkhar-bži*, p. 571) of Nob. Concerning Byeḫu-liṅ, Sta-gu, etc., see *supra*.

Whether there was a general council for the whole country is not apparent. It seems possible that the region was under the supervision of the council of the Bde region of Mdo-smad, the northern division of the north-east, Mdo, of Tibet. For the system is exhibited in the case of the felicitatory messages cited above, which are from the following in order, (*a*) the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams (*Khams*), (*b*) the councillors of Bde, (*c*)–(*d*) the cities of Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu, (*e*) the head of the Phyug-tsams Thousand-district, (*f*) the local people of Ḫbrom-khoṅ. Like Mkhar-tsan and Kva-cu in the Śa-cu region, the towns of Shan-shan may have been immediately under a council (*bkaḫ-ḫgros*, 1927, p. 821, etc.) presiding over the adjacent province of Tibet.

The officials in charge of the Thousand-districts, the *Stoṅ-dpoṇs*, may, like those in the Śa-cu region (1927, pp. 72–9), have been appointed directly by the *Rje-bla* "supreme lord", who would be the Tibetan minister of state, or some deputy. We have a mention also of a *Khri-dpon* "Myriad-commandant", who would be a superior of the *Stoṅ-dpon*, and also of a *Stoṅ-cuṅ* "Minor Thousand", who may have been an inferior colleague. Sometimes we meet with the phrase *dpon-sna*, which may mean either "chief *dpon*" or "the leading *dpons*", as an undefined group.

The functions of the *chaṅ-kyur*, who was plainly a superior official, are not clearly determinable; they may hereafter be determined, since the title may be recognized in literature and is obviously identical with the *caṃkura* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents.[1]

In the case of the towns the officials usually mentioned are the *rtse-rje*, *jo-co*, *naṅ-rje-po*, sometimes in conjunction with councillors (*blon*) or uncle-councillors (*žaṅ-lon*) or to these

[1] See now *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 68–70, where an endeavour is made to prove that *chaṅ-kyur* (*chaṅ-kyir*, *caṅ-khyir*) = *caṃkura* corresponds to Sanskrit *nagara-rakṣa* or *nāgaraka*.

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separately. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents the instructions are usually addressed to a *cojhbo* (sometimes plural), often associated with a *ṣoṭhaṃgha*, who may be a police officer and is in charge of granary and toll-stations (*drańga*), and sometimes with a *toṃgha*, who is concerned with post and transport. It is likely that the Tibetan *rtse-rje* or *jo-co* has taken over the functions of the *cojhbo*, and therefore that the expression *jo-co*, or *rjo-cho*, is in fact identical with *cojhbo*. *Rtse-rje* does not occur in the Tibetan dictionaries, although both its constituents are common : *jo-co* and *co-jo* are also unattested, *jo-bo* and *gtso-bo* being the usual expressions for a "chief" or "lord". As *co* clearly means "chief", since it appears in the phrase *H̲a-żahi-żań-lon-gyi-gco* (1927, p. 59) "*doyen* of the H̲a-ża Uncle-councillors", it seems likely that the older *cojhbo*, which was probably only a way of writing *co-zvo*, meant "chief-ruler" and *zvo* corresponds to Tibetan *rje*, so that the Tibetan *rtse-rje* may be a translation of this title. In the documents we have at times only the form *jo*, which means simply a "chief" or "lord".

The functions of the Councillors (*blon*) are not clearly distinguished ; but we have special titles for some of them, who are designated *nań-blon*, *phyi-blon* "councillor for internal, external affairs"[1] and *dgra-blon* "councillor for enemy affairs" ; possibly these would be found only in the chief administrative centre. The *żań-lon* "uncle-councillor", i.e. properly an uncle of the king functioning as councillor, is characteristically Tibetan ; but, since we cannot suppose that all the *żań-lons* recorded in Tibet and those who occur rather plentifully in the Turkestan documents are of that quality, it may be conjectured that the designation became hereditary and so acquired a wide extension ; in that case a *żań-lon* would be a councillor who was "of the blood", and perhaps such persons had a title to membership of councils wherever they were residing. In Turkestan the *żań-lons* may

[1] This title occurs, along with *nań-blon* "councillor for internal affairs", in the Lha-sa inscriptions (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 434).

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have been *local* nobles; for the Khotan Chronicle mentions them with reference to pre-Tibetan times, and very likely they may be the *Ogus* (Tib. *'a-khu* "uncle", the *'A-gus* of the Ge-sar legend) of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Shan-shan: see *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 58–9.[1]

Besides these persons of *blon*, or "Councillor", quality we hear of a number of titles of *dpons* or officials. To the *stoṅ-dpons* and *khri-dpons* we have already referred. The *ṅos-dpon*

[1] I must not omit to give reasons for not accepting the view, noticed previously (1927, p. 55), according to which *żaṅ* does not mean "uncle", but is a Chinese designation *shang* "chief". This view is carefully stated in one of Dr. Laufer's extraordinarily learned and valuable papers, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans* (*T'oung-pao*, 1914), pp. 103 sqq., and reinforced in another (ibid., 1916, p. 430). At first sight the argument seems conclusive: Dr. Laufer adduces a number of striking cases where the Tibetan *żaṅ* is represented in Chinese writing by *shang*. But let us first note some scruples: (1) if *żaṅ* were an adjective borrowed from Chinese, we should expect it to occur also in some other connections, whereas it appears only as a separate title or in the combination *żaṅ-lon* "*żaṅ* councillor"; (2) if *żaṅ-lon* means "chief councillor", then the common phrase *żaṅ-lon-chen-po* "great chief councillor" is rather otiose; (3) in the Lha-sa edicts several ministers are called *blon* (or *blon-po*)-*chen-po*, and in some cases *żaṅ* follows, and this is an indication that the *żaṅ* here attaches not to that phrase, but to the personal name which it precedes. All this is smoothed away if we accept Waddell's original explanation (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 1274) of *żaṅ-lon* as "uncle minister", meaning minister of the blood royal. The employment of *shang* in Chinese as a *transliteration* of *żaṅ* seems to have little bearing on the matter.

But really the most conclusive proof is supplied by some of Dr. Laufer's own examples. Three of these (pp. 74–8) are in the form *naṅ-blon-Mchims-żaṅ* "Interior Councillor Mchims-*żaṅ*", *phyi-blon-H̲bro-żaṅ* "Exterior Councillor H̲bro-*żaṅ*". Now *Mchims* and *H̲bro* are both tribal names, and the form of the expressions is exactly parallel to *Mchims-bza*, *H̲bro-bza*, *Tse-spoṅ-bza* "Mchims wife", "H̲bro wife", "Tse-spoṅ wife", meaning [royal] wives from those tribes. Moreover, we have other similar appellations, e.g. *Ma-żaṅ* "maternal uncle" (*Rgyal-rabs*, foll. 32*b*, 5, 33*b*, 1–2, 3, 5 of the India Office copy) and *Sna-nam-żaṅ-daṅ-Rgya-tsha* "Sna-nam uncle and China grandson", meaning that the person, whose name was Lha-snaṅ, was in avuncular relation to the Tibetan royal house and had a Chinese mother; cf. also the *H̲jaṅ-tsha*-Lha-dbaṅ who was a son of king Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan and had a H̲jaṅ mother (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 85). I may also refer to the *Dbon* "nephew" H̲a-żas noted above (1927, pp. 55–6). Preceding a personal name, *żaṅ* (also *żaṅ-po*, *żaṅ-chen-po*) is too common (1927, pp. 55, 59, 69; 1928, p. 72; 1930, p. 276; 1933, p. 398) to be local.

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"warden of a region" would be, no doubt, a person similar to the Indian *anta-pāla*, in charge of the approaches to the city from outside and of border transactions. The *khrims-dpoṅ* "law-officer" is a judge—there was one for Tshal-byi—and possibly he was identical with the *bkaḥ-luṅ* and *bkaḥ-blon* mentioned 1927, pp. 73, 815; 1928, pp. 582–3.

What was the office of *mgo-non* ("additional, or deputy, head" (?)), to which an appointment is made (1928, p. 586), does not appear. The *yul-mthoṅ* "country overseer" reports in *M.I.* xiii, 12, on the year's levy; probably, like the *yul-gzigs* of *M. Tāgh.* c. ii, 0011, he was a local surveyor. The *rgyal-gzigs*, whose designation translates the Sanskrit *rāja-cakṣus*, was perhaps a general representative of the king's special interests. We find also a *khral-dpon* "tax-master".

In Little Nob there was a person entitled *rtse-bla-daṅ-rtse-sman* "head-lama (?) and head-physician", to whom application is made in M.I. iv. 138 (cf. iv, 60) for a medical prescription. Elsewhere we find a *yul-sman*, "district" or "village physician", who appears in some ceremonial, not strictly medical, connection. Since here we have an appeal to *yul-lha-yul-bdag-daṅ-sman* "district god, district lord and physician", it seems clear that the persons in question combined religious with medical functions. I think that Dr. Francke was right (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 55–6) in suggesting that the documents exhibit traces of the Bon-po religion: see *supra*, p. 90, and compare the observation of Grenard cited *infra*, pp. 107–8.

In connection with legal transactions the old Kharoṣṭhī documents supply particulars of many cases. They may be classified as relating to either offences, or disputes, or agreements, whereof the last-named may in many instances represent the outcome of proceedings under the second. The cases of the first two kinds were in all instances decided either by the local officials, often upon reference through the king himself, or at "the king's gate"; and even matters of the third kind had often been brought to the cognizance of the

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officials. There seem to be some clear instances of reference to a court, ecclesiastical or otherwise. From the Tibetan documents we have cited a few cases which happen to include all the three kinds; and here also there seems to be, though not in every instance, official cognizance. In the fact that in two instances (1928, pp. 567, 584) there are indications pointing to a trial in a *grwa-tus*, which is probably an assemblage of an ecclesiastical character (a Buddhist *pariṣad*), we may perhaps find evidence of an extension of clerical influence; it will hardly have been due to the Tibetans, whose Buddhism was still in its infancy. There must have been some persons who acted practically as professional lawyers, since the *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes, like the *divira* Tamaspa of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, functions in a number of independent instances.

In cases not involving compatriots the Tibetans may very likely have administered not their own code, compiled for the great king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, but the local law or usage so often mentioned in the Kharoṣṭhī. This inference is suggested by citation of the "old town law" (*snoṅ-gyi-mkhar-khrims-rñiṅ*, 1928, pp. 572–3) and ancient custom (*riṅ-lugs*, ibid.). In the case of debts (*bu-lon*) and loans (or renewals of loan) it is usually laid down that in the event of default the person's goods may be summarily seized by any one in rightful possession of the deed (in one case, of the last of three deeds) without any complaint on the part of the defaulter; often the person bound has a guarantor (*khaḥdzin* or *khas-len*), who is involved in the obligation. The document terminates with the attestations (seals, signatures, or thumb-marks) of the witnesses (*dpaṅ-po*), often including councillors or other officials, and of the persons bound. A debtor is *skyin-pa* (also "a substitute") and the debt is said to attach (*chags*) to him. A "pledge" is *gtaḥ* (p. 813).

It may here be noted that banishment or exile has always been a feature of Chinese Turkestan. Banished men or refugees (*palāyanaka*) are constantly mentioned in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, and the Tibetan equivalent, *spyugs*,

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has been exemplified *supra*, 1927, p. 819. Modern Turkestanī has preserved the Sanskrit term in its *palā-māq* "to exile"; and Niya and Cer-cen have been used in modern times as convict settlements.[1] The Chinese sent convicted persons to serve in Turkestan [2]; and we have had (1928, p. 556) an instance of a Tibetan similarly treated.

Concerning the occupations and lives of the people not much information is to be expected from the documents. Even in modern times trades are not numerous in Chinese Turkestan, and the Shan-shan kingdom was perhaps the state most undeveloped economically. Some copper- and gold-mining and jade-working, leather-work, felt and ropes, carpentry, building and pottery, these perhaps comprise all that is ever mentioned as industry practised in the Nob region, except of course what was connected with the tillage of the land. The documents cannot be said to refer to any of the industries or to persons following them, except in the case of cup-making, (*supra*, 1928, p. 556) copper, and agriculture.

Breeding and letting of animals (camels, horses, asses) for purpose of transport must have provided part-time or whole-time occupation for a fair number of persons. The troubles of such a *rmaṅ-rogs* or *rta-rogs* (= *arivaǵa* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents and figured in a drawing, *Innermost Asia*, pl. vii) are recounted in a letter quoted 1930, p. 290. Among minor occupations we find mention of couriers or runners (*baṅ-chen* or *riṅ-lu*[*g*]*s*), porters (*ltaṅ-sogs*), bag-men (*sgyeḫu-ga*), and wood-gatherers (*śiṅ-thun*). The *sa-mkhan* (1928, p. 562) may be a guide, as may also *sa-stoṅ*, if intended for *sa-ston*; but see *infra*. There were paid workmen or servants (*las-myi*): also slaves (*gu-rib* ?), and "government-servants" (*mṅan-gyi-ḫbaṅs*, apparently persons under sentence) and "god's-servant" (*lha-ḫbaṅs*, slaves belonging to temples ?), who might be employed (*karmāvita*, *karma kārita* "made to

[1] Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkund*, pp. 34, 102.
[2] Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 107–8.

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labour", of the Kharoṣṭhī documents and the Sanskrit *Artha-śāstra*) on hire (*g-yar-por*) or lent out to individuals.

The use of money is even in modern times restricted in Chinese Turkestan, where domestic (farm) industries and barter at fairs are prevalent. In the documents wages (rations, *tshal-ma* and *gla*) were usually reckoned in grain; where money payment was requisite, it was in the form of Chinese coins (*doṅ-tse*) and copper *sraṅ* ("ounces"). It will be realized that a sparse employment of coin entails a resort to orders or drafts convertible locally by travellers into supplies; and such seem, in fact, to be denoted by the expression *brgyags-byaṅ* "provision-ticket". We also have the expressions "attested signature of the three times" (*dus-sum-gyi-dpaṅ-rgya*, 1928, pp. 574–5), which seems to be a bill payable at sight, and *bkaḥ-rims-phye* "circular order flour" (1927, p. 819), which must be an order to levy flour at successive points along a route.

As has been previously stated, a part of the land in each district was distinguished as "the lord's land". Special arrangements (*żiṅ-ḥgod*) seem to have been made for its cultivation, upon communal lines and with limited freedom on the part of the tillers.[1] The remaining land would be in the hands of private owners (*żiṅ-pon*) or held by official titles. The actual cultivator was called *żiṅ-pa* (Sk. *karṣaka*). The ploughing (*rmo-ba*) seems to have usually been done with the aid of teams (*dor*) supplied from or through the officials, being probably yaks of the kind still reared in places on the northern slopes of the mountain barrier[2]; the Kharoṣṭhī documents, however, do not seem to refer to yaks, and the teams of later times may indeed have been of oxen. One who takes care of fields is *chun-pa*. The crop (*skya*) was usually of wheat (*gro*), barley (*nas*), or millet (*khre*); whether the distinction of "white" (*dkar*) and "black" (*gnag*) was

[1] The *gtan-żiṅ* and *dbaṅ-thaṅ* of 1928, pp. 572–3, seem to mean "fixed allotments" and "special privileges" respectively.

[2] Grenard, op. cit., ii, pp. 182–3, 212. Forsyth, op. cit., pp. 70–1.

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between different kinds of wheat or otherwise, does not appear —the white seems to be the *śuka masu* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents. The grain was *stsaṅ*, and those who were engaged in conveying it from place to place were called *stsaṅ-ḫdren*; flour is *phye*.

It would seem that pits (*baṅ-doṅ*, p. 566) were used for storage of grain, as of other objects. The government portion taken as tax (*khral*) would, when not removed to headquarters, be deposited in toll and corn-stations (*rtsaṅ-gam*, the *draṅga* of the Kharoṣṭhī records), whence, no doubt, couriers and other persons provided with orders would be supplied.

Taxation will not have been confined to agricultural produce. We hear of a horse levied as a tax and of a carpet demanded upon a particular occasion. It is probable that the yield of animal breeding (including wool used for making felt and ropes), and also the occupations of craftsmen, were taxed. Of the system followed in regard to irrigation and supply of water, which must always have been important and is mentioned, 1928, p. 573, and in regard to gold or copper mining and jade-working, we have no inkling.

It is obvious that for the purposes of assessment and revenue, and also in connection with levies, assignments, and orders upon the store-houses, a system of accounts must have been necessary. Accordingly we have many references to the *rtsis* "census" or "assessment" or "accounts", both in regard to countries or districts as a whole, and in regard to estates (as well as in connection with the army, on which matter see 1933, p. 380); thus the Tibetan *Chronicle* records (ll. 158, 160, 163) a *rtsis* in connection with the demarking of certain "lord's lands" and in many other connections; the results of a *rtsis* are reported (1930, p. 81) from Khotan to the authorities in Śiṅ-śan; and the Gośṛṅga *Prophecy* speaks of the census-total of the country of Khotan. For these purposes use was made of wooden tablets such as those which have survived; we have *khram* accounts (*khram-tshan*) of revenues of monasteries in Śa-cu (1928, pp. 66–9). The Tibetan

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Chronicle has many references to these *khram's*, sometimes called red (*dmar*) *khram's*, and their revision, and in one instance we learn (l. 246) of a transfer of records from red *khrams* to yellow paper. For illustrations and descriptions of such *khrams* see Sir A. Stein's *Serindia*, pls. clxxi–ii. Not seldom they are notched or lined for numerical purposes, and often they have been cut away to serve as a tally.

For the purpose of an assessment a survey would be an occasional or permanent necessity. The *yul-mthoṅ* or *yul-zigs* would be the district surveyor or overseer; but we have also a fragment of a long document recording a survey of an obviously preliminary character. The Tibetan *Chronicle* uses the phrase *phyiṅ-ril* "circumference" (?), in connection with the *rtsis* of certain "lord's lands"; and it seems likely that a boundary palisade of trees is meant, such as we are told [1] that the Tibetans made on the Chinese frontier at Liang-chow, posting guards along it.

The measures used in connection with grain are *khal*, "load" (= Sanskrit *bhāra* or *vāha* or *khārī*) = 20 *bre*. Sometimes there is mention of a *rkaṅ*, "bundle" or "truss". For oil and flesh we have the *phul*, literally "handful", = 4 *khyor*; for wool the *phor* or *pho-re*; for butter (*mar*), etc., the *sraṅ* "ounce" = 10 *žo*. Measured lengths are in fathoms (*ḫdom*). A roll of silk or paper is *yug*, and a "bundle" of wood seems to be *ris*. A *pa-tsa* or *pha-tsha* is a packet.

Coming to matters of a more individualist character and extending to the whole country of Chinese Turkestan, we find much evidence of journeyings covering considerable stretches. This has always been, as it still is,[2] a feature of Central Asia. The extent of the country of Chinese Turkestan itself, about 1,000 miles from East to West by about 600 from North to South, and the uninhabited spaces separating the settled oases, might have been sufficient to engender this trait. But the almost incredibly long trade routes, from

[1] Bushell, *JRAS.*, 1880, p. 469.
[2] See Grenard, op. cit., ii, pp. 87–8.

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China to the Greek and Roman east, whereof the *traversée* of the whole country was only a stage; the dependence of the country upon distant China, interrupted only by domination of far-flung nomad powers issuing from Mongolia; the communications of China with its dependencies in and beyond the Pamirs; the passage in old days of Buddhist pilgrims from China to Bactria and India, then of Manichæans and Christians to Persia, later of Musalmans to Mecca, of Buddhists from Mongolia to Lhasa, must have accustomed the population at the several periods to contemplate a wide geographical horizon. This would certainly have undergone no contraction in Tibetan times. The mere presence in Turkestan of authorities from Lha-sa and of soldiers from all parts of the great country of Tibet, at a time when it was in military contact with the Chinese from Ssŭch'uan to Kan-su, with the Turks from the Tian-shan to the Pamir countries and even with the Arabs in Transoxiana, must have dwarfed the scale of mere internal communications in Turkestan itself. We have quoted (1927, p. 546) letters of introduction given by Tibetan authorities in Kan-su to a Buddhist pilgrim from the famous shrine of Wu-t'ai-shan in Shan-si, safeguarding him as far as Śa-cu, whence he was to make the grand pilgrimage to India. A mission from a Khotan king inspects all the towns to the east as far as Kan-su and Shan-si in China and includes in its survey the places in the Tian-shan region, and perhaps further west. A party of spies has been absent from Khotan nearly a year and has covered great distances, into Tibet (1930, p. 86); and other parties send missives to be passed on to the Nob region and then to Khotan (pp. 84–5). Certain emissaries are to follow a company of exiles from Nob as far as Kva-cu (1927, p. 819). A messenger arrives in the Khotan region with goods from remote Skyaṅ-ro in North-Eastern Tibet (1930, p. 273). These particulars are sufficient to account for the rather frequent references in the documents to journeys (*rad*) and to matters (*skyel*, "convoy" or "transport", *ri-skyel*, "mountain convoy",

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rad-gos "travel-clothes", *ri-zug* "mountain-sickness") and persons (*baṅ-chen*, *riṅ-lugs*, etc., 1927, p. 66), and to disputes in connection with these.

In the Kharoṣṭhī records the most frequently mentioned transport animal is the camel; but the horse and ox appear not rarely, and both are indigenous in the country. The Tibetan documents refer seldom to camels, which in Tibet itself are not liked. There is mention of riding-horses (*mchibs*, *rta*) not only in military connections, but also for private conveyance. But the place of pride in ordinary journeys belongs to the ass, the usual pack-animal. The sheep also serves (1927, p. 80) for conveyance, perhaps especially of corn; this expedient, the value of which has been estimated in modern times,[1] may have been introduced from Tibet. To wheeled transport or to sedan-chairs or palankeens there is no reference.

The only other animal mentioned is the dog, which, as in the Chinese references to the dogs of Turfan and Kuca, appears as an object of fancy (in Stein, *Innermost Asia*, p. 1087) or employed for hunting.

Some slight interest attaches to the objects, other than provisions, mentioned in law-cases or in letters, as required or received—silk, carpets, wool, cotton, ribbons, ropes, paper; oil; dress, overcoats, winter things; fire-stones, cups, baskets, copper vessels, iron, bell-metal; rings, turquoise, jade, seed-pearls, coral; medicines. There are some recipes and applications for medicines, and also inquiries addressed to the doctor, involving, it seems, divination by means of [sheep's] shoulder-blades (cf. Rubruquis' *Journey*, tr. Rockhill, pp. 187–8).

Burial was practised in Chinese Turkestan, as is proved by the archæological explorations of graves.[2] In Khotan the normal practice was cremation; but the kings were buried far out in the desert, temples being built and services held in their honour. Grenard has propounded the view that the

[1] Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkund*, pp. 492–3.
[2] Sir A. Stein, *Serindia* and *Innermost Asia*, s.v. burial.

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present shrines of Musalman saints in Khotan are really derived from cult of the royal tombs; and he even holds (op. cit., ii, pp. 240-3) that the Musalman sacred places in the country generally derive their sanctity from Buddhist and pre-Buddhist worship. In the documents we have reference to burial, both of soldiers and of civilians, and to a ceremony, apparently of mourning, wherein certain persons during certain days were to drink cups of liquid (? beer, *chaṅ*) to a prescribed extent. These ceremonies may, however, have been not Central-Asian, but Tibetan.

The Buddhist religion is a subject too extensive to consider here. And so we need only refer to the decadence lamented in the translated texts. Particular matters are the mention of appropriation of the property (*rkyen*) of religious establishments, including tombs (1928, p. 580), in secular exigencies and of monks taking to mundane and undignified occupations. In the documents, both Kharoṣṭhī and Tibetan, the individual *ban-de* appears sometimes in connection with business transactions, such as loan, rent, or sale.

Of the art of writing the Tibetans, as neighbours of the Chinese and still more proximately of the Tu-yu[k]-hun, who employed the Chinese script, must have been aware from old times. Their contact with the Shan-shan kingdom, early in the seventh century A.D., may have acquainted them with developed forms of the Indian Brāhmī. It was therefore an outcome of *amour-propre* and political self-assertion when the great king Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, about A.D. 640, dispatched a mission to Kashmir (1927, pp. 61 sqq.) with the object of designing a specially Tibetan alphabet. This alphabet, which differs widely from the Turkestan Brāhmī, developed quickly into cursive forms, normal in most of the documents, and in Kan-su was occasionally employed for writing Chinese and other languages. From the circumstance that non-cursive forms are rather more common in the documents from Mazār-Tāgh than in the (somewhat earlier) collection from Mīrān it may be inferred that writing was

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less practised in Tibet, whence the writers were more recently come, than in the Shan-shan area, where Tibetan rule was of older establishment upon a more cultivated local administrative basis. But in Tibet itself writing was in the eighth century very extensively practised for secretariat purposes and in elaborate systems of military (1933, p. 280) and other registration, for which, as well as for other short records, dockets, tallies, etc., for letters and visiting cards, the wooden tablets were profusely employed. The writing often continued into a second, or third, tablet, attached by a tie through the string-holes ; sometimes a paper missive was inserted between the split halves of a stick or pod. The paper, coarse, unglazed, and far inferior to the thin, smooth, yellow material devised by the Chinese, was designated *śog*, usually in the reduplicated form *śog-śog*. The scraping of the tablets for a second or third use and the inditing of letters on the *verso* of old ones or of Chinese literary MSS. show that economy was necessary in regard to both materials ; paper, indeed, is sometimes selected by correspondents as an acceptable present. The ink (*snag*) was ordinarily black, as indicated by its name ; but red was sometimes used for headings, and there was affectation of other sorts, gold, silver, and turquoise, for distinction or for ornamental and lapidary uses (1927, pp. 61–2). In the Buddhist monasteries there was, as we have seen, a regular business of copying MS., the hands being fairly calligraphic, though not attaining the beauty of some of the later Tibetan styles in Kan-su. The varieties of hand and of use in the documents and the *sgraffiti* in the Endere fort prove that a knowledge of writing was widespread.

The terminology applied to postal communications has already been frequently exemplified, so that here we may be content to assemble the expressions :—

> *byaṅ* " tablet ". *byaṅ-bu* " little tablet ". *ḫphrin-byaṅ* " missive tablet ". *bsñel* (or *rjed*)-*byaṅ* " reminder tablet ". *grans-byaṅ* " number tablet ". *bskyel-byaṅ* " convoy tablet ".

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brgyags-byaṅ "provision ticket".
so-byaṅ "soldier tablet".
so-res-byaṅ "soldier-relay tablet".
ḫphar-ma "pass"?
ḫdrul-ba "letter" or "postman".
spriṅ or *gtaṅ[d]* "to dispatch".
mjal (in sense=Hindī *mil*) "arrive", "be received".

The composition of the letters is in more or less stereotyped form. They begin with an address to the presence or feet (*ża-sṅa* = *pāda-mūla* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) of the correspondent, a date in terms of the Twelve-Year Cycle being sometimes prefixed; then comes the name of the person from whom the communication, usually designated "petition" (*gsol-ba*) or "letter-petition" (*mchid-gsol-ba*), comes. Next follow inquiries concerning health (*sñan-sñuṅs*) or expressions of pleasure or regret or hope according to news of the addressee's good or bad health, and, *casu obtinente*, of thanks for inquiries or for the favour of a letter, often termed a "command" (*bkaḫ*, 1927, pp. 67, 71, etc.). Then, often introduced by the expression *slan-cad* "next" or "for the rest", follows the business part of the letter, which frequently terminates with a reiteration of prayer for the correspondent's health or for an early meeting. Sometimes there is a postscript from the writer's wife or a member of his family, addressed either to the same person or to a relative.

The tone is highly courteous. Important persons address each other as "brother" (*mched* = *priya-bhrātu* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents) or are addressed as "equal to a theophany" or "to a god" (*ḫphrul-daṅ-mtshuṅs*, *lha-daṅ-mtshuṅs* = *pratyakṣa-devatā* of the Kharoṣṭhī) or *staṅs-dbyal* "of distinguished station". To have written is "a favour" (*ci-gnaṅ* "what a favour!"). Thanks are expressed by *gtan-rag-ḫtshal*. Trouble to be taken is *thugs-khral* "mind-tax"; and "will you be so good as to attend to?" is *thugs-pags-cir-mdzad* (or *gzigs*). Often a present is sent, with a request for the favour of its acceptance (*bżes-na-ci-gnaṅ* "do you consent to accept?");

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or there may be apology for the failure or the inadequacy of a gift. A rather peremptory request from a friend or superior will be in the form "not to do . . . is not good (*sman*) or not proper (*ruṅ*)". An underling, servant, or agent refers to himself as "my humble self" (*bdag-ṅan-pa*), makes excuses for failure, and hopes to escape punishment or reprimand. Often a friendly letter is sent merely to convey inquiries as to health, or an official one to "mark time"; and so the phrase *sñan-sñuṅs* seems to be used of such mere intimations of interest or good will. Despite the formalities the tone is often practical and of human interest, with signs of familiarity or even traces of jocosity between friends.

Official or semi-official occasions for letters would include such matters as replies to inquiry as to the gossip, *bkaḥ-mchid*, in such and such a place, questions concerning appointments or favours, requests for interviews and appeals against punishment. We have one, apparently anonymous, letter of denunciation.

The many points of resemblance between these Tibetan letters and the earlier Kharoṣṭhī ones (the Tibetan ones are, however, not so extravagant in personal eulogy) suffice to prove that they are following the, ultimately, Indian model of the latter.[1] In the Śaka-Khotanī language we possess a moderate number of similar documents, which may eventually, when read and understood, present material for comparison.

The function of the post-runner (traceable, perhaps, behind the Latin *acupedius*, Greek ὠκύπους, and the story of the Marathon messenger Pheidippides) was of high antiquity and importance in the east: it has curiously eluded the writers of romance, though Bāṇa does, in his *Harṣa-carita* (c. 5), depict the *dīrghādhvaga* Kuruṅgaka. For Central Asia we have the descriptions by Odoric de Pordenone and others cited in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, new ed., ii, pp. 232–3 and note; and in regard to Tibet Father Huc has a striking passage (Paris, 1850, vol. ii, pp. 443–4) concerning the

[1] See *Acta Orientalia*, xii, pp. 62–5.

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short-lived couriers who had to "travel during the night among these mountains, where frightful precipices are encountered at almost every step". The documents use several designations, *rkaṅ-mgyogs* "swift-foot", *baṅ-chen* "great-speed (*or* leg)", *riṅ-lu(g)s* "distance-habit (*or* body)", *riṅs-pa* "fast", *ḫdrul(ḫgrul)-ba* "traveller", none of them rendering the Kharoṣṭhī *lekhaharaǵa*.

To books and literature the documents from Mīrān and Mazār-Tāgh do not allude (the Kharoṣṭhī has references to *pothi's*). There are a few fragments of exercises in the alphabet, in arithmetic and in forms of address, and one or two of Buddhist quotations or expressions. But from the hidden library of Tun-huang we have, beside masses of Buddhist literary texts, some pieces of quasi-secular writing, medical, narrative, etc., including the previously (*Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman*, pp. 193–212) reported epitome version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The extent of the business of copying religious works may be judged from the hundreds of surviving duplicates of certain short texts and from the mention in one of the documents cited above (p. 95) of eighty scribes (*yi-ge-pa*) and twenty revisors (*żu-che*[*n*]). These might be ecclesiastics. But the numerous legal and other documents, and a record of payment for a new copy of a letter damaged (?) in transit (M. Tāgh, b. i, 0051), imply, no doubt, professional scribes, distinct from the official persons and secretariats (*tshaṅ-lon* "councillor for accounts", in Śa-cu, 1927, p. 67). We have mention also of donations for the expense of copying, and of private persons themselves writing out texts as a work of merit (ibid., pp. 282–3).

178.

(*To be continued.*)

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SOME NOTES ON THE SAUNDARANANDAKĀVYA

[The following notes were kindly sent to me by Professor Jarl Charpentier for publication at my discretion. In many passages of this interesting poem I have so failed to attain finality in either the constitution or the interpretation of the text that other students may find the notes as deserving of serious consideration as I have. The suggested translations of *latā* in iii, 12, and of *manīṣā* in iv, 27, should certainly be accepted. I have added brief comments in square brackets on some of the other verses, but otherwise reserve my opinion.—E. H. JOHNSTON.]

While lecturing, with the help of Mr. Johnston's excellent text and translation, upon that very interesting but not always quite easy poem by Aśvaghoṣa, the *Saundarananda-kāvya*, I had to make some notes against passages where either the text or the translation seemed to me more or less doubtful. Most of these quite casual jottings are devoid of every value to all but myself; but some few of them I venture to give here as being not wholly without interest to scholars who occupy themselves with the fascinating works of Aśvaghoṣa. My notes so far refer only to Cantos i–iv.

ii, 28: *rakṣaṇāc caiva śauryāc ca nikhilāṃ gām avīvapat* |
spaṣṭayā daṇḍanītyā ca rātrisattrān avīvapat ||

"The entire earth was cultivated through his maintenance of order and was conquered through his heroism; and he put down nocturnal malefactors by his enlightened administration of justice." The commentary to the text explains *rātrisattrān* by pointing to *sattrājīvino rātricāriṇaḥ* in Kauṭilya, xiv, 1, 4.

However, *rātrisattrān* does not quite convince me. In the passage quoted from Kauṭilya *sattra* no doubt means

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"disguise, masking",[1] and has got nothing to do with *sattra* "assembly, festival". Another passage from Kauṭilya (viii, 4, 61, mentioned by Mr. Johnston in his commentary), however, better suits our text: *pratirodhakāṭavikayoḥ pratirodhakāḥ rātrisattraparāḥ śarīrākramiṇo nityāḥ*[2] *śatasahasrāpahāriṇaḥ* "of robbers and forest tribes the robbers have their assemblies at night, make bodily assaults on people, and are always carrying off hundreds of thousands". Thus *rātrisattra*, which in the *Śrautasūtras* denotes a nocturnal festival (Soma sacrifice), may also mean a "nocturnal assembly" (of thieves, robbers, etc.). This, I venture to think, will afford a clue to our verse, the second line of which ought perhaps to run thus:—

spaṣṭayā daṇḍanītyā ca rātrisattrāṇy avīvapat.

"And by his enlightened administration of justice he scattered the nocturnal assemblies (of malefactors)." The exchange of °*sattrān* against °*sattrāṇy* does not seem to me a very shocking one.

ii, 56*a–b*: *samāyayau yaśaḥketuṃ śreyaḥketukaraḥ paraḥ* |

"The Supreme One, the banner-bearer of the highest good, attained the pinnacle of fame," etc. Though very well possible, neither text nor translation appears to me wholly probable. Mr. Johnston himself is evidently at some difficulty to explain the curious compound *śreyaḥketukaraḥ*, which, as far as I can see, gets but scant illumination from the Atharvaveda-passage quoted in the note on his translation.

First of all I should feel wholly inclined to read *ketudharaḥ* instead of °*karaḥ*. For *ketudharaḥ* may really mean "ensign, banner-bearer", a sense which is perhaps less well expressed by *ketukaraḥ*. And, further, I venture to suggest that we ought to read not *yaśaḥketuṃ* but *yaśaḥketaṃ*, palæographically a fairly slight alteration which would, however, give a somewhat different sense to the passage.

[1] In this sense the word is found in several passages of the *Virāṭa-parvan*, etc.

[2] Thus Jolly's text; I prefer, however, to read *nityaṃ*.

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For °*keta* here, according to my humble opinion, would be = *niketa* and mean "house, abode".[1] And finally I want to sever *śreyaḥ* from *ketudharaḥ*, and explain it as meaning "supreme bliss". Consequently the translation of the half-verse: *samāyayau yaśaḥketaṃ śreyaḥ ketudharaḥ paraḥ* would run something like this: "The highest banner-bearer attained the supreme bliss, the abode of glory." May I be excused for thinking my alteration of the text fairly slight and still conveying a somewhat clearer sense?

[Alternatively, is *samāyayau* the correct restoration of the MS.'s *samāyayo*? Query *samāpa yo* or the like?—J.]

ii, 65: *udvegād apunarbhave manaḥ praṇidhāya*
sa yayau śayitavarānganād anāsthaḥ |
niśi nṛpatinilayanād vanagamanakṛtamanāḥ
sarasa iva mathitanalināt kalahaṃsaḥ ||

Mr. Johnston's translation rests upon the acceptance in *b* of Professor de la Vallée Poussin's conjecture *varānganāsv* (*anāsthaḥ*). It is, of course, with great diffidence that I venture to oppose my own humble opinion to that of these two eminent scholars; still, I must confess that *varānganāsv* is to me wholy unacceptable, the text being, as far as I can judge, entirely in order. The translation consequently ought to run thus: "In his agitation fixing his mind on non-rebirth and set upon retiring to the forest he, free from desire, departed at night from the royal palace with its sleeping women like a swan from a lake with uprooted lotuses." A parallel, affording an explanation, is found in the *Buddhacarita*, v, 62—

iti sattvakulānurūparūpaṃ
vividhaṃ sa pramadājanaḥ śayānaḥ |
sarasaḥ sadṛśam babhāra rūpaṃ
pavanāvarjitarugnapuṣkarasya ||

[1] As for *śreyaḥketo* in *AV.* v, 20, 10, I cannot believe with Mr. Johnston that it is really a vocative of *śreyaḥketu*. The *Prātiśākhya* (ii, 62) is certainly right in explaining it as a nominative. However, Whitney's translation (*Atharva-Veda*, p. 256), as often happens with him, is far from the point, as *śreyaḥketo* does not mean "aiming at advantage" but "abode of glory"

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where the sleeping zenana bears the likeness of a pond, the lotus-flowers of which have been torn to pieces by the wind.

iii, 12*a–b* : *iti duḥkham etad iyam asya*
samudayalatā pravarttikā |

Is translated by : "This is suffering, this is its origin which consists in the persistence of active being", and accompanied by this note : "The point of *latā* . . . is not clear to me except as filling up the verse."

But to me it seems quite obvious that *latā* is here used in the same sense as it is at times in the Pāli scriptures, where we hear about the *taṇhălatā* (e.g. *Therag.* 1094, cf. 1101 and 761 ; also *Dhp.* 340 ; *Udāna* 77, etc.) and where *latā* simply stands instead of *taṇhā* (*Nettipak.* 24) [1] or as a synonym of *lobha* (*Dhammas.* 1059) or of *abhijjhā* (ibid. 1136).[2] Thus *samudayalatā* must mean about the same as *samudayatṛṣṇā* "thirst of origin, of existence". The following *pravarttikā* is somewhat circumstantially rendered by : "Which consists in the persistence of active being"—probably in allusion to a certain sense of the Pāli *pavatta*. However, I am not quite prepared to accept this elaborate rendering of *pravarttikā*, for to me it simply means "giving rise, origin to". Thus the words *iyam asya samudayalatā pravarttikā* most naturally seem to resolve themselves into something like : "This is the thirst for existence, its cause of origin."

[*Pravartikā*, best "which causes *pravṛtti*" ; cf. xvi, 17, 18.—J.]

iv, 4 : The translation of the compound *svakuloditena* [3] is beset with some difficulties. The late Professor Gawroński [4] tried to put it in order, but his reference to *Kirātārjunīya*, i, 29, is not to the point. Nor can I feel convinced by the

[1] Cf. *vidhūtalatā* = *vigatataṇhā*, *Nettipak.* 141 (*PTS. Pāli Dict.* wrongly 121).

[2] Cf. also Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JPTS.* 1907, 130.

[3] Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* lxxii, 120, wanted to read *sukuloditena*, which does not materially help us.

[4] *Notes on the Saundarananda*, 2nd Series, p. 9 sq.

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suggestion of Mr. Johnston that *kula* should here mean the same as *kulaparvata*. As far as I understand, *svakuloditena* must mean that Sundarī and Nanda belonged to the same family, i.e. were blood-relations; and it also alludes to the traditional relationship between the sun and the *padminī* (the sun is *padminīkānta*, *padminīśa*, etc.).

iv, 5*d*. The words *sā sundarī strīṣu nareṣu nandaḥ* seem to me rather lacking in sense, but I do not know what to do with them. It would be quite possible to read *sā sundarī strī punar eṣa nandaḥ*; this, however, would presuppose for the word *nanda* a sense that is not known to me.

[For the text cf. *Nala*, i, 30.—J.]

iv, 11*c*: This passage, as Mr. Johnston himself remarks, has been restituted by somewhat desperate means, and I feel fairly sure that *'nyonyavinodanena* can scarcely have been the original reading of the text. But even the *tarṣabalena tena* of the *editio princeps*, though possible, can scarcely be said to be wholly satisfactory. However, *tarṣabale°* seems not impossible, as the reading °नर्थवले° in P. could well be a corruption of तर्षवले°. Perhaps one might venture the suggestion that *īraṇa* could be synonymous with *samīraṇa* "exciting", and consequently read thus:—

klamāntare tarṣabaleraṇena salīlam anyonyam amīmadac ca |

"And in the intervals of exhaustion they sportively intoxicated each other by means of the exciter of the strength of passion (i.e. liquor)."[1]

iv, 16*c*, *d*: I am at a loss to understand how this second half-verse—

pattrāṅgulim cārdhanimīlitākṣe vaktre 'sya tām eva vinirdudhāva

could be translated: "and rubbed the stick of paint she was using up and down his face while his eyes were half-shut." As far as I am aware, *pattrāṅguli* must mean *pattrabhaṅga*

[1] Cf. *madasamīraṇa* and *balasamīraṇa* as epithets of *pāna* (quoted from the Epics in *PW*.).

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"a flowery pattern". Consequently I suppose that we must read *vinīrdadhāva* (: [2]*dhāv-*), and translate somewhat in this way: "and rubbed the flowery pattern on to his face with its half-shut eyes." It is scarcely necessary to remark that in Aśvaghoṣa's language *nis-* and *ni-* may not always be severely kept apart; and thus *vi-nir-dhāv-* might quite well mean *vi-ni-dhāv-* for which the sense of "to rub on" may easily be suggested.

[This overlooks *tām eva* "the same", and on the above reading we must take the meaning to be that she rubbed off on to his face the lines she had just been putting on to her own; in fact, she rubbed her face against his. Alternatively, the reference may be, as in my translation, not to the decoration on her face, but to one of the means of painting, such as the *tamālapattra* of verses 20 and 21. The only other recorded occurrence of *pattrāṅguli* in literature is many centuries later at *Haravijaya*, xx, 45, where it is glossed *pattralatā*; there the moon's moisture provides the foundation for the painting (*pattrāṅgulīr iva rasārdratayā vidhitsor indoḥ*), as the *tamālapattra* does here, and the lunar rays by illuminating the smoke of the burning aloe-wood make it look like the powder which was put on the wet surface. "The stick of paint she was using" is too free and perhaps anachronistic, but may give the correct sense generally.—J.]

iv, 18: *nāgavṛkṣa* (translated by "*nāga*-tree") seems to denote a somewhat unknown species of tree. It may, however, be explained by P. *nāgarukkha*, which is said to mean iron-wood-tree (*Diospyros Ebenum*); it is the Bo-tree of one of the predecessors of Gautama Buddha, cf. *Jātaka*, i, 35; *Mahāvastu*, i, 249.[1] The same meaning is ascribed in Pāli to the word *nāgalatā*, which undoubtedly means a sort of wood used for making toothpicks (cf. *Jātaka*, i, 80, 232).

[Cf. vii, 9, for a more detailed description of this tree. The kind meant is apparently *Mesua Ferrea* as described by Brandis and Watts.—J.]

[1] Thus—not ii, 249, as misprinted in the *PTS. Pāli Dict.*

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iv, 27*d*: The words *Buddhasya vaiṣā niyatam manīṣā* must be in some way corrupt, and the translation "Or so the Buddha certainly thought" is unacceptable to me. For how could the Buddha, who is omniscient, cherish such an apparently false idea? According to my opinion, we must certainly read *caiṣā*, and translate: "And such was evidently the Buddha's wish," i.e. Buddha wished to pass unnoticed because he knew that he would thus force Nanda to pay him a visit.

v, 41: *kākṣa-* I have found in *MBh.* i, 68, 53 (Poona):—

sa tvaṃ svayam anuprāptaṃ sābhilāṣam imaṃ sutam |
prekṣamāṇaṃ ca kākṣeṇa kim artham avamanyase ||

And in *Bhaṭṭikāvya* v, 24:—

mām upāsta didṛkṣāvān yāṣṭīkavyāhato hariḥ |
ājñālābhonmukho dūrāt kākṣeṇānādarekṣitaḥ ||[1]

In neither of these passages is there any hint that *kākṣa* does really mean *ekākṣa*, nor is this, as far as I understand, the case here. Looking with a sidelong glance at Sundarī the impassioned Nanda was no more satisfied than is a thirsty man who drinks water out of one hand, i.e. a mouthful of water.

181. JARL CHARPENTIER.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le Conseil a éprouvé une perte douloureuse par le décès de M. C. van Vollenhoven, secrétaire-trésorier de la Fondation depuis 1907. Il fut remplacé par M. A. J. Wensinck. Conformément au statut M. J. J. Salverda de Grave, en quittant Amsterdam, se vit obligé de prendre sa démission comme membre du Conseil. Il fut remplacé par M. Paul Scholten.

Le Conseil est donc composé maintenant comme suit: MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

[1] **kākṣa* in Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.* ii, 1, 84, consequently should be altered into *kākṣa*.

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2. Le Conseil est heureux d'avoir pu faire paraître dans l'année écoulée comme dixième publication de la Fondation : *Das konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahā'* von . . . aṭ-Ṭabarī, herausgegeben von Joseph Schacht.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) *The Ḥamâsa of al-Buḥturî*, photographic reproduction of the MS. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) *The Fâkhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama*, ed. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâṭinijja-Sekte* (1916), fl. 4.50 ; (4) *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove*, translated by A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4.50 ; (5) C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), fl. 10 ; (7) *Averroes. Die Epitome* übersetzt . . . von S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7.50 ; (8) *Les "Livres des Chevaux" de Hišām b. al-Kalbī et Muḥ. b. al-A'rābī*, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927), fl. 5 ; (9) D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut* (1932), fl. 9 ; (10) *aṭ-Ṭabarī, Kitāb Iḫtilāf al-Fuqahā'. Das konstantinopler Fragment* herausg. von J. Schacht (1933), fl. 4.80.

LEIDEN.
November, 1933.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE LANGUAGE OF THE PENTATEUCH IN ITS RELATION TO EGYPTIAN. By A. S. YAHUDA. Vol. I. 10 × 7, pp. xxxviii + 310, pls. 16. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 25*s*.

PART II

The most interesting as it is the newest of Dr. Yahuda's lines of research is on the Garden of Eden, for he is not content with philological evidence only but works out the geographical indications as given in the Bible. The river that flowed through the Garden and then parted into four streams is, as it always has been, the chief indication. Here having broken away from the usually accepted idea that Eden was in Mesopotamia, Dr. Yahuda finds that the evidence points again to Egypt. He notes first that the river on which Eden was situated was one stream only, and that it was only in Trans-Eden that it split into four. In other words, "all that this passage sought to convey was that the one Paradise river gave origin to the four greatest world rivers, and that Paradise was the source of fertility and prosperity for the whole earth." The primitive ideas of the form of the world held by the author of Genesis must always be taken into account when considering the geographical position of Eden, and here the Egyptian cosmography is of importance. It is natural that to the Egyptian mind the Nile Valley was the type of the whole world, which would therefore be a kind of trough with hills to the east and hills to the west and a vault overhead over which the sun passed. Dr. Yahuda argues with much plausibility that Eden was situated on the eastern face of the west side of the trough, and was in fact an oasis. Its position is also shown by the fact that, when Adam was driven out, the cherubim and the flaming sword were placed at the east of the Garden, there was no danger of invasion from the west, that being over the edge of the world.

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The river of Eden was the fountain-head of the four world rivers, and the passage describing them could be well translated, "A river went forth from the oasis to water the garden, and thence it was severed, and became four head-springs." Dr. Yahuda suggests that the river "on leaving the oasis, ceased to flow on the surface, but continued its course subterraneously, its waters supplying the sources of the four rivers". A wealth of philological and other evidence is brought forward to establish these points, which if accepted make the account of Eden far more rational and exact than if it were placed in Mesopotamia.

Two of the rivers, Hiddekel (Tigris) and Euphrates, are of course easily identifiable, but Pison and Gihon have been more controversial. Yet seeing that the ancient Near East regarded the world as being bounded on the east by south-running rivers, it is only natural to suppose that there was a similar boundary of north-running rivers on the west. The symmetrization of geographical features is a common character of the pseudo-science of ancient times. The only north-flowing river on the west is the Nile, which would be the obvious parallel to the two streams of the east. If this is accepted, then the Kush through which Gihon flows must be Nubia (Ethiopia), Kush being the common Egyptian name for that part of the Nile Valley which lies between the first and second cataracts. The suggestion that Gihon and Pison are the names for the same river in its upper and lower reaches is well supported by the evidence both of antiquity and of the present day. A modern example is the Granta, which in its lower reaches becomes the Cam. Herodotus quotes the oracle of Amon that "all the country which the Nile irrigated was Egypt, and all those were Egyptians who dwelt below the city of Elephantine", which shows that the Nubian river was not regarded as the Nile in the Persian period. If Pison is identified as the northern portion of the Nile it becomes essential to identify the Land of Havilah with Egypt. This is the real crux of the whole theory. The

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products of Havilah are therefore of the greatest importance, "the gold of that land is good, there is bdellium and *shōham*-stone." Dr. Yahuda points out that the area lying between Upper Egypt and the Red Sea yields all these commodities. The "good gold" is a literal translation of the Egyptian *nb nfr*, which, however, was probably a technical term for a special kind of gold. Shōham is certainly not the onyx-stone of the A.V., and it is equally certain that it is not "malachite" as Dr. Yahuda suggests, for malachite was not used in Egypt in historic times. Dr. Yahuda equates shōham with the Egyptian *mfkꜣt*, but the Egyptian word refers in the first instance to a product of Sinai: it can therefore only mean turquoise. In the XIIth dynasty the reference was probably enlarged to include green felspar and beryl or emerald; and as there were emerald mines in that same area the identification of shōham with emerald is almost certainly correct. Bdellium is, as is well known, a resinous aromatic gum produced by various plants which grow well in the hot climate of Upper Egypt. If then the Land of Havilah be taken as the stretch of country from and including Upper Egypt to the Red Sea, Pison must be the Egyptian Nile. Dr. Yahuda gives an interesting derivation of the two Hebrew names of the Nile; Gihon, the Nubian Nile, is from a root meaning "to leap", and refers to the leaping waters of the cataracts, while Pison is derived from a word meaning "to increase, to flow over", which describes the phenomenon of the inundation.

Further indications as to the position of Eden in its relation to Egypt are brought forward. Emphasis is laid on the distinction between the fertility of the Garden and the aridity of the "red land", which Adam was set to till; such a distinction between a fertile soil and the "red land" or desert is known only in Egypt. Again in Gen. ii, 5, the fact that there was no rain, yet "every plant of the field and every herb of the field" grew there, is very significant when the rainless but fertile condition of Egypt is borne in mind. Even the strange statement that "a mist went up

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from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground" applies very well to Egypt, where in the winter months thick mists are not uncommon, mists which leave heavy moisture or dew on the ground. According to Dr. Yahuda the name of Eden, which has no real derivation, means an oasis; among other quotations brought forward in proof of this suggestion is Joel ii, 3, "the land is as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." Here, if the words "oasis-garden" are substituted for "garden of Eden", the vividly picturesque contrast is obtained. The close connection, almost identification, of the Garden of the Lord with Egypt is found in Gen. xiii, 10, where Lot looked out over the well-watered land, which was "as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt".

The Tree of Life in the midst of the Garden is purely Egyptian. By the middle of the VIth dynasty it was an established theological theory, and when the Pharaoh went to the field of Offerings over which the Never-Setting Stars hover, they (the Stars) give to him that Tree of Life on which they themselves live. The identification of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil with the fig-tree is not quite convincing. It is based largely on the idea that the fig-tree was the love-tree, and that the use of fig-leaves conveys "the veiled hint that they were from the very tree the fruit of which had aroused in the first human couple the consciousness of love".

To anyone acquainted with Egyptian mythology the phrase "to be as God" expresses the current belief that the Pharaoh, or anyone with the knowledge of the correct magical spells, could be the equal of the gods. This idea is one of the main theories of Egyptian eschatology.

Another point which Dr. Yahuda has brought out is the curse against the serpent in Gen. iii, 15, "thou shalt bruise his head and he shall bruise thy heel." The Hebrew word used of the injury done reciprocally by Man (i.e. the descendant of Eve) and the serpent is translated in the A.V.

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by *bruise*, a totally inadequate word to describe a snake's method of attack, though quite legitimate for the method of killing a snake. The Hebrew also has only one word, and Biblical scholars usually consider either that the Hebrew word has developed from two roots of different meanings, or that the word itself has a meaning which expresses the two very different methods of attack employed by man or snake. The Egyptian language and religious conceptions solve the difficulty. All Egyptologists are familiar with the dogma that the great serpent was killed by a god, and there are many representations of the god (or man) piercing the head of the snake with a spear, while the snake is about to bite the foot of its slayer. There are two Egyptian words which can be used equally well to express the action of the two protagonists in the scene, *psḫ* and *dm*, both of which mean "to pierce" either with a weapon or a tooth. It is probable then that the Hebrew word has the same meaning and should be translated *pierce*; for on the two other occasions on which it occurs in the Bible the meaning of *pierce* would not be amiss.

Though it has been possible to give only some out of the wealth of important and interesting suggestions which Dr. Yahuda has brought forward, enough has been said to show that he has opened up a new field of Biblical research. It is not surprising that much of the mythology and of the language of Egypt should be found in a country so closely connected with Egypt as Palestine, the really surprising thing is that the connections have not been noted before, or if noted have been neglected as of no importance. Though Dr. Yahuda has not always succeeded in fully establishing some of his theories, he has proved so many of his suggestions that even the most prejudiced Biblical critic must accept them. But it is a curious fact that when any new form of criticism, whether destructive or constructive, is brought to bear on the Bible it rouses hostility among other sections of scholars. Yet if the new criticism is founded on facts it will prevail

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in the end and will become part of the general stock of knowledge in the world. This is bound to be the fate of Dr. Yahuda's contribution to Biblical criticism. His vast linguistic knowledge makes that contribution extraordinarily valuable; and as his criticisms are constructive they will undoubtedly have as great an effect and last longer than the destructive criticisms of another school of thought.

872. M. A. MURRAY.

VICITRAKARṆIKĀVADĀNODDHṚTA. A Collection of Buddhistic Legends. By H. JÓRGENSEN. 8¼ × 5½, pp. 344. London: Royal Asiatic Society (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxxi), 1931.

Newārī,[1] which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family, was the chief language of the valley of Nepal up to the time of the Gurkha conquest in 1768, since when it has been supplanted by the Indo-Aryan Nepali as the language of administration. A large literature exists in manuscript, for the most part translations of, or commentaries on, Sanskrit Buddhistic works, which go back at least 500 years. Yet up to the present very little attention has been paid either by linguists or by Buddhist scholars to this language: the list of references to Newārī compiled by Professor Konow in *LSI.*, iii, 1, p. 215, shows how meagre this attention has been. The first scientific treatment of the language was Conrady's two articles in *ZDMG.* (1891 and 1893). The present author continued this work with the publication of two stories translated into Newārī from the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* in 1921 (*ZDMG.*, 75) and the beginnings of a dictionary in 1927 (Acta Orientalia, vi). Now for the first time a complete text in Newārī has been published, together with an English translation, and an index of words not already

[1] The word Newār is derived from, or at least has the same origin as, Skt. *nepāla-*, Pkt. *nevāla-*. It is perhaps the form of the name used by neighbours speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Bihāri type, in which *-l-* > *-r-*. Compare Skt. *naipālī* "Jasminum Sambac", which appears as Hi. *newārī*, but Or. *niāḷi* and Mar. *nevāḷ, nevāḷī*.

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found in the author's previous vocabulary. This marks a great step forward, and will be invaluable for any who wish to pursue the comparative study of the Tibeto-Burman languages, or to follow the history of the *avadāna* literature in its various translations.

The text is rightly given in transliteration: it maintains the high standard of Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons' work. It may be regretted that the text and translation, which are of nearly equal length, were not printed opposite each other. The use of captions in both text and translation might have made subsequent reference easier.

The glossary contains useful additions to the already existing vocabularies. The vocabulary borrows very largely from Sanskrit; but there is a fair sprinkling of loanwords from Modern Indo-Aryan languages. Mr. Jórgensen has noted some of these. I add others below. Where possible, I have quoted both Hindi and Nepali forms, the exact dialect from which these loans were made not yet being known. One of the most interesting is *lāchi* "main road," for the only descendant of Skt. *rathyā*, Pa. Pkt. *racchā* that I have found is Mid. Bg. *lācha* (S. K. Chatterji, *Bg. Lang.* Index s.v.). I append some notes :—

aghor = *ghor* is Nep.

āśrā 'hope' or perhaps better 'refuge' is not loanword direct from Skt. *āśā*, but from Hi. *āsrā*, Nep. *āsro* etc. which is perhaps < **āśara-*, cf. *śaraṇá-* 'protecting', *āśāra-* 'protection', *āśāraiṣín-* 'seeking protection'. If so, Pj. *āsrā*, Si. *āsiro* are either lws. from Hi. type, or < MI. **āssara-* with analogical doubling of initial consonant of second member of compound.

upar 'in', *upor taya* 'add' (?) perhaps lw. Hi. *ūpar*.

kun 'corner', lw. Hi. *kōn*, Nep. *kunu*.

khāl 'ditch', lw. Hi. *khāl*, cf. Nep. *khālci*.

khul 'lame', lw. Hi. *khorā*, cf. Nep. *khoraṇḍo*.

kher 'pastime', perh. from an EHi. form **kher* with *-r-* < *-l-*, cf. Or *kheḷa* < *-l-*, as opposed to Si. *khela* < *-ll-*.

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But *bor* lw. Hi. *bol* (with MI *-ll-*) indicates possibility of a Newārī change of *l* > *r*.

khyāl: the text has *khyār*.

cūk 'courtyard (?)', lw. Hi. *cauk*, Nep. *cok* 'courtyard'. In reference to trans. read 181, 2.

jari also in Hi. *zarī*, Nep. *jari*, 'thread, lace.'.

jas 'fame', rather direct from Hi. Nep. *jas*.

jiwoy, juya 'to be alive', lw. Hi. *jīnā*, Nep. *jiunu*.

jitay yāya 'to conquer', lw. Hi. *jītnā*, Nep. *jitnu*.

ju 'term of respect', lw. Nep. *jiu*.

talas (text *taras*) 'below', lw. Hi. *tale*, Nep. *tala*.

thuthā 'crippled, withered', lw. Nep. *ṭhoṭo* 'stump, hornless', Si. *ṭhoṭho* 'withered', Bg. *ṭhōṭā* 'maimed, stump'.

dām 'gift', prob. rather assimilation from *dān biya*.

dhik 'bank', lw. Hi. *ḍhīg* 'mass', Nep. *ḍhig* 'bank'.

pak 'ripe', lw. Nep. *pāko* 'ripe'.

putā 'O son', lw. Hi. *pūt*, Nep. *put*.

bahuli 'a musical instrument' < **basuri* (?), cf. *bāsiri* = *bāhiri*, lw. Hi. *bāsulī*, Nep. *bāsuri*.

bāhāl 'shoulder', perh. lw. Nep. *bā(h)ulo* 'sleeve', cf. Pk. *bāhulaga* 'arm', Mar. *bāhuḷā* 'region of the shoulder'.

bedā 'dismissal', lw. Hi. Nep. *bidā*, lw. Ar.

manik, the text has *maṇik*.

may-ju 'lady', perh. lw. Nep. *maiju* 'mother's brother's wife'.

lāchi 'main road', lw. O Bg. *lācha* < Skt. *rathyā*.

lyākh 'reckoning (?)', perh. rather lw. Hi. *lekhā*, Nep. *lekho* 'accounts' with *yā* written for *e*, as often in Nep.

sukhu 'dry', lw. Hi. *sūkhā*, Nep. *sukho*.

In his preface Mr. Jórgensen offers his thanks to the Directors of the Carlsberg Fund for financial aid. By an oversight, doubtless, he makes no acknowledgment of the Royal Asiatic Society's part in undertaking the whole cost of printing and publishing his work.

427. R. L. TURNER.

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EXTRACTS FROM ABÛ EL MAḤÂSIN'S CHRONICLE ENTITLED *Ḥawâdith ad-Duhûr*. Edited by WILLIAM POPPER. Part 1, A.H. 845–856; Part 2, A.H. 857–864; Part 3, A.H. 865–874. 10 × 7. Arabic text, pp. A, B + 735. Editor's note in English i, ii. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930–2.

Abû el Maḥâsin, who was a pupil of El Maqrîzî, continued his master's history of Egypt entitled *Es Sulûk* from its conclusion at the end of the year 844/1441 until 874/1469, the year of his own death, and called his book *Ḥawâdith ed Duhûr*. The extracts from Abû el Maḥâsin's continuation published here by Mr. Popper consist of the portions not incorporated literally or substantially by Abû el Maḥâsin in the seventh volume of his other history *En Nujûm ez Zâhira*, which has been published already under the editorship of Mr. Popper. Both the extracts and *En Nujûm* are marked to show the place in the latter to which each addition from *Ḥawâdith ed Duhûr* belongs. Part 4 of the book is still in preparation and will contain indexes and a glossary.

The book is not one to be read by itself, but as a supplement to *En Nujûm*. It contains a good deal of historical information, mostly on minor matters in Egypt, some of which is curious and interesting. The thirty years which it covers were not a time of great events in Egypt, but the state of affairs there then will be found to be well worth studying. Abû el Maḥâsin was an industrious chronicler if not a very gifted author, and he writes here as a contemporary. It is most useful to have the whole of his account of the time made available in the way that Mr. Popper has produced it. There are a number of other authorities for the same history and one would like to know how far they are independent. Perhaps Mr. Popper will deal with this point in Part 4.

782. R. GUEST.

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SOMANĀTHA AND OTHER MEDIAEVAL TEMPLES IN KĀṢHIĀWĀD. Being vol. xlv, Imperial Series, Archæological Survey of India. By the late HENRY COUSENS, M.R.A.S. Calcutta, 1931. Rs. 26.12 or 41*s.* 6*d.*

This volume of a well-known series contains a large number of beautiful photographs and plans illustrating the temples and mosques of an interesting part of India. Of these photographs and plans it is perhaps sufficient praise to say that they fully come up to the high standard set by earlier volumes of the Archæological Survey. The introductory letterpress is also satisfying, and in places Mr. Cousens gives us interesting descriptions, as, for example, where he pictures for us a pilgrimage to the temple-crowned hill of Śatrunjaya. There are a few minor defects which might have been avoided. The map of Kāṭhiāwāḍ should have been brought up to date. It purports to show the railways, but leaves out the Amrelī line and the Dwārka-Jāmnagar line, both of which have existed for many years now. In the introduction it gives one a shock to find the second word "geopraphical", and a few lines further on to meet the strange form "worhisp". There are too many of such oversights, especially in the first few pages. In future volumes it would be well to have Muslim words and names properly transliterated by someone who knows a little Persian. Such forms as Dazlullāh, Magare-bi-Shāh, Shaik Fahqruddin, Jāgīdār, Masjīd, are hardly admissible.

704. C. N. SEDDON.

LAPP DICTIONARY, BASED ON THE DIALECTS OF POLMAK, KARASJOK [KARASYOK], AND KAUTOKEINO. By K. NIELSEN. 9½ × 7½, pp. (Vol. I) lxviii + 666. Oslo: R. Aschehoug (W. Nygaard). London: Williams and Norgate, 1932.

I have been asked (by the Royal Asiatic Society) to review a Lapp dictionary, subsidized and published in the summer,

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1932, at Oslo by the Institute for Comparative Cultural Research, of which the first part has now appeared, written and compiled by Professor Konrad Nielsen. This part contains lxviii + 666 pages. The complete dictionary with translations, not only into Norwegian but also into English, was intended to appear in four volumes. As it will probably not be possible to publish it within the very near future, it may be of interest to the readers of the *JRAS.* to say a few words about this standard work, of which the publication has now begun. In the preface the author mentions that the material regarding the Lapp dialects in Karasyok, Kautokeino, and Polmak, all spoken in Norway, already began to be collected in 1906. Originally it was planned to publish the material collected up to 1909 in Budapest, but soon the plan was changed inasmuch as the publishing of the work was to be undertaken in Helsingfors through the Finno-Ugrian Society. Under the title, "Lappisches Wörterbuch nach den Dialekten von Polmak, Karasjok und Kautokeino," was published in 1913 the first part of a glossary in which the author made it his chief object to explain the pronunciation of the said dialects, as well as to account for the extremely detailed transcription of the pronunciation. The printing of this glossary was never completed, partly owing to the fact that the author had collected abundant new material during his many travels, and partly owing to his having arrived at a different opinion concerning the possibility of carrying through in the glossary all the many distinctions, especially regarding the quantity of the consonants. On p. x of the preface the author mentions that a continued study of the language gave him a clearer conception of how widespread the individual differences of pronunciation were—especially the differences in a qualitative respect. In view thereof he came to the conclusion that the transcription could in many respects be simplified, without the necessity of relinquishing that accuracy regarding the pronunciation which had characterized the part published earlier at Helsingfors. The Institute in Oslo having promised

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liberally to subsidize the work in question, an extension of the size of the glossary as originally planned has been rendered possible. The expansion of phraseology, not to mention other additions, has enlarged the glossary so much that the first part has been extended by more than one-third, even without the double translation, which has caused the book to swell out considerably.

As far as I know, the material for the glossary is intended to be published in three volumes. The fourth volume is to contain a classified list of words with an "Einteilung nach Begriffskreisen" and an ethnological "Realwörterbuch", supplied with illustrations and drawings. It is further to contain a list of Lapp words, which in scientific literature have been treated etymologically. I entertain the lively hope that the plan may be realized, as it would greatly facilitate the arduous task not only of experts but also of all other scholars interested in the Lapp language. While I here draw the attention of linguists to that part of the Dictionary recently published, a standard work in the best sense of the word, I express the hope that the author will find occasion to finish this great and valuable work in conformity with his original plan.

681. KAI DONNER.

IBN YAMÍN. One hundred short poems. The Persian text with paraphrase. By BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. H. RODWELL. 10 × 6¾, pp. xiv + 48. London: Kegan Paul, 1933. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Most English verse-translations of Persian minor poets lie beyond the purview of a scientific journal, being too often the work of amateurs whose learning is no greater than their skill in versifying. The present volume, though to some extent (as will be shown below) typical of its class, is distinguished by meritorious features. Besides a biography of the poet, based on Rashíd-i Yásimí's *Aḥwál-i Ibn-i Yamín*

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(Teheran, A.H. 1303), it contains the original text of the hundred *qiṭ'as* selected for translation. Ibn Yamin writes easily and elegantly, and these extracts would form a useful introduction to the study of Persian poetry; from that point of view the fact that they deal with commonplace topics and hardly do justice to deeper aspects of the poet's philosophy is rather an advantage than otherwise. Moreover, since both the Indian editions (Bhopal and Calcutta) of Ibn Yamin are practically inaccessible, the text now published has a value of its own. In preparing it the author was aided by Professor Maḥfúẓu'l-Ḥaqq and other Indian scholars. I have collated portions of it with a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Muqaṭṭa'át* numbered V 20 in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Oriental MSS.* belonging to the late Professor Browne, and append a few necessary corrections together with some variant readings that seem to me worthy of consideration.

P. 2, l. 6, read باید for باشد. P. 4, penult., read اصلی for اصلا. In the last line of the same page V 20 has بتمویج سراب. P. 5, l. 12, V 20 reads هستیت را for هستیت داد. P. 6, l. 14, read صعودی, which is the obvious antithesis to سقوطی. P. 6, penult., insert زآن پس after خود. V 20 نام و ننگ تو. P. 7, l. 13, the opposite of خواری is not غیرت, but عزّت. Read عزّتی. P. 8, l. 5 from foot, read کاغیار غم کس است که او یار عقل نیست, "the stranger to sorrow is he (alone) who is not associated with intellect." In the next line V 20 reads بلبلان for باغبان. P. 9, l. 13, read زآنکه در مجلس, and in the next line ناقص القول. P. 13, l. 4, read with V 20 انتظاری for اعتباری, which has already been used as a rhyme-word. P. 14, l. 7, کسی کو is a better reading. P. 16, l. 2, V 20 تا بمانی مگرد ازین منهاج. P. 16, 5 from foot, read خود بلا نبود. P. 17, l. 8, read بیاید بگذرد, "comes and goes." P. 18, l. 3, V 20 درکشت زار دهر. P. 23, l. 4, the metre

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requires همنشین. In l. 14 read with V 20 ارچه که بس نزدیکم.

P. 30, l. 5, the metre requires نصیبی. P. 31, l. 7, the metre requires خوش نظران. V 20 has خوش پسران.

P. 33, l. 10, read نیائی برم. P. 35, l. 9, read با عقل کار دیده.

P. 42, l. 12, the metre requires نمای. P. 43, penult., read with V 20 گر از خود آگهی خواهی.

The English version and notes are less satisfactory. The former is described as "a simple paraphrase" and as a rule it conveys the general sense of the Persian faithfully enough, though not so artistically as the free rendering in German verse by Schlechta-Wssehrd. At the same time one cannot help observing a good many lapses, e.g.

P. 2, l. 5 from foot.

"As shepherd take a lamb that watches late
Rather than dog that has a wolf to mate."

This would surely be a counsel of despair. What Ibn Yamin says is that lambs are better guarded by their shepherd than by a treacherous dog.

P. 15, l. 7, the words نه تو خودرا عفو همی خوانی are rendered "Thy mercy is for Thy frail creatures meant", with note "Lit. *Thou dost not pardon Thyself*". The correct translation, of course, is "Dost not Thou call Thyself the Pardoner". See *Qur'án*, xxii, 59.

P. 18, penult. The storm-wind is said to

"Uproot old cypress trees with its fierce gust
But feed the humble pasture lands with dust."

The second line, literally translated, runs: "How should dust (calamity) overtake the grass?" The proud are felled, the lowly have nothing to fear.

P. 30, l. 6, "Avoid the devil—choose the angel's part," with note "Lit. *Pass to excellence from the angel*". Correct translation: "Abandon devilry and surpass the angels in excellence."

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Such examples make one hesitate to recommend to young students a work which, as I have pointed out, is of some interest to scholars. Personally, I feel grateful to the author for having caused me to improve my acquaintance with Ibn Yamin.

893. R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE ANIMAL STYLE AMONG THE NOMAD TRIBES OF NORTHERN TIBET. By J. N. ROERICH. 11¼ × 9, pp. 42, pls. 5, ills. 10. Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum, 1930.

Der Autor geht von der Annahme aus, dass die durch chinesische Quellenschriften verbürgten Kontakte zwischen den Vorfahren der Tibeter und den alten Bewohnern der eurasischen Steppe auch in der Kunst einen Niederschlag gefunden haben müssen. Man besass bisher nichts, was mit Sicherheit auf die "Man" der Urzeit oder die "Tangut" der Mitte des nachchristl. Jahrtausends zurückgeführt werden könnte, während man gerade in den letzten Jahren Kunstgut der gleichzeitigen Bewohner des Steppengürtels in grosser Anzahl gefunden hat. Roerich zählt die nordasiatischen Gegenden auf, in denen der Spaten des Archäologen noch nicht angesetzt wurde. Unter diesen ist jetzt Uriangkhai, die Sowjet-Republik Tannu Tuwa zu streichen, dort grub 1929 S. Teplooukhoff mit grossem Erfolg. Seine Funde harren freilich noch der Veröffentlichung. Roerich fand bei seinen Arbeiten in Tibet drei Gruppen von Denkmälern: (1) Gräber, (2) Megalithe, (3) Gegenstände des Tierstils. Der Archäologie gehören die beiden ersten an. Diese liefern gewiss interessante Parallelen zu nordwestlichen Dingen, sie sind aber noch in keiner Weise datierbar und enthalten nicht die geringste Spur des Tierstils. Der Roerich-Expedition war freilich eine systematische Untersuchung von Gräbern untersagt. Die Tiermotive, von denen im Titel der Arbeit die Rede ist, finden sich also nur an

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ethnographischem Material, d.h. an relativ späten Dingen. Der Autor grenzt ihr Verbreitungsgebiet im nördlichen Tibet ab und liefert damit einen nützlichen Beitrag zur Völkerkunde. Wenn er aber die Tierbilder mit der Beimischung iranischen oder skythischen Blutes in bestimmten Teilen Tibets in Verbindung bringt, so geht er zu weit. Diese Rehe (figs. 6 and 7, pls. I, II (1 and 3), III (2)) und Vögel (pl. II (2)) hängen nicht mit der Kunst des Steppengürtels sondern nur mit dem letzten, nach 1000 nach Chr. anzusetzenden Tierstil der nordchinesischen Grenze zusammen. Sie gehören also wie auch die Fabeltiere (fig. 8, pl. III (3), pl. IV) zum chinesischen Import. Dass dieser selbst bei den Huftieren (aber nicht bei den Phantasiewesen) von der Steppenkunst angeregt wurde, ist nicht zu bestreiten. Aber der Weg der Filtration verläuft anders, als Roerich annimmt. Diese degenerierten tibetischen Metallarbeiten gehen in ihren kaum erkennbaren Darstellungen (auf pl. I (2), sind es nicht Füchse sondern wieder Rehe, die um einen Baum stehen) nicht auf südrussische Funde, nicht auf die Metallplatten von Noin ulla zurück, sondern direkt auf eine Sonderentwicklung der nordchinesischen Grenze. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Schwert der Tibeter und dem der alten Sarmaten scheinen nach den Ausführungen des Autors gleichfalls nicht gesichert. Zur Methode der Darlegung wäre zu sagen, dass moderne Arbeiten nicht für alte Formbeziehungen herangezogen werden sollten; Ethnographie und Kunstgeschichte können sich erst ergänzen, wenn die grossen zeitlichen Spannungen zwischen ihren Materialien durch Denkmäler überbrückt sind.

734. ALFRED SALMONY.

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DIE MATERIELLE KULTUR DES KABULGEBIETES. By Dr. BRUNO MARKOWSKI. (Publications of the Geographical Institute of the Albertus University, Königsberg in Prussia, New Series, Ethnography, No. 2.) 10 × 7, pp. viii + 154, pls. 35. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major G.m.b.H., 1932. RM. 17; bound 20.

Dr. Markowski was Master of German at the Amania College at Kābul from 1923 to 1926, founded by the ex-King Amanullāh Khān. He made excellent use of the time he spent in Afghānistān. He had an open eye for everything around him, and his keen interest in customs of a foreign land, his deep sympathy with the Afghāns, and his perseverance in securing information resulted in a collection of objects and data of everyday life in Afghānistān that reminds us of the Arab geographers. If might be argued that his book is rather dry to read and has something of the style of an article in an encyclopædia. On the other hand, however, nobody can disagree that the whole book is packed with information from cover to cover on almost every conceivable matter.

Exception must be taken, however, to the first part of the book which bears the title, *Die Grundlagen der materiellen Kultur des Kabulgebietes*. These "Foundations", covering some thirty pages, contain very little original matter or genuine personal information. They are, in fact, compiled mainly from books chosen with little discrimination. English readers will be somewhat surprised to hear that among the authorities quoted there are only two English ones, one dated 1815 (Elphinstone, *Caubul*), and another dated 1878 (Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*). As excellent as these are, there are certainly many modern works which the author could have consulted with much profit. French authorities are similarly badly represented, and the "Literaturverzeichnis" containing forty-two items, is not much better. The reader is, therefore, advised to leave this introductory portion on geography, flora, fauna, inhabitants, languages, and religion unread, and

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begin on page 31. One could discuss quite a number of assertions in that first chapter, but as they are taken almost entirely from other, mostly very old, books, we shall not waste our space with these. Let us, however, mention that very few people will agree with the author on his explanation of Alexander the Great's retreat through Gedrosia—a theory which he took from a book published in 1849!

Part ii is entirely different. Here Dr. Markowski provides us with first-hand information under eight main headings, viz. Building, Clothing, Food, Servants, Agriculture, Commerce and Traffic, Currency, and Industry, and there is also a table of Afghān measures at the end. Under each heading one gets exhaustive and obviously thoroughly reliable information on more matters than one could expect. The author goes into the most minute details, and one feels that while following his description one could almost build an Afghān house, from the manufacture of the bricks up to the roof, and I believe that his recipes on food would be sufficient for a good cook to prepare any of the Afghān dishes he mentions! Chapter ii, on clothing, is very instructive. Both male and female clothes are minutely described, including such accessories of dressing as bags for tobacco and kohl, etc. There is useful information in chapter iv about servants, and the reference to the successful abolishment of serfdom will be received with satisfaction in the West. The technical knowledge of the author on every possible subject, including the manufacture of textiles, carpets, etc., is truly astonishing.

It is a matter of regret that not all his photographs could be published owing to financial considerations. Those reproduced are very good, and the drawings, from the author's own hand, serve a useful purpose. Their numbering, however, is rather embarrassing, as e.g. Fig. 7 contains ten drawings which are again numbered Fig. 1, Fig. 2, etc. This could easily have been avoided by calling all the plates simply *Tafel*.

More objectionable is the author's spelling of indigenous

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words and names. *Chorosan*, *Badachschan*, *Lachman*, *Siahpusch*, *Peissäh* (Paisa !), *Belutschistan*, *Kuh-i schähr derwasa*, *Penschir*, *Pagmahn*, *Schindauel* (in a note the author adds: "pronounce: *Schindawel*"), *Nidschrau*, and *Hilment* are a few instances. It cannot even be said that this is a German phonetic spelling, for if he writes *Pagmahn* with an *h* to show the length of the vowel, then he ought to put *Baluhtschistahn*, *Kahbul*, and *Khorahsahn*. Once he writes *tachta*, another time *Takht*. On p. 8 we see *Shakardara*, and on p. 9 *Hadj*, which, according to German spelling would be *Schakardara* and *Hadsch*. Very few people will guess what the word *Orduh* means; "the present language of communication in India which is understood in the whole of Northern India and partly up to Kabul," says Dr. Markowski. We recommend him the spelling Urdū or Urdu, accepted already by thousands if not by millions of writers. The "almost pure Sanskrit" *schungas putro* (p. 28) means not "verfluchter Hund" but rather "Hundensohn".

All these matter little, and can be easily explained and forgiven. But there is one thing one does not forgive. It is the lack of an index.

556. C. L. FÁBRI.

A MALAY-ENGLISH DICTIONARY (ROMANIZED). By R. J. WILKINSON. 12 × 9, pt. i, pp. iv + 631; pt. ii, pp. 664. Mytilene: Salavopoulos & Kinderlis, 1932.

The author of this dictionary is not by any means "a man of one book". He has many *opuscula* to his credit, but this is his *magnum opus*—a gigantic work for one man to have carried out, even when every allowance has been made for contributions received from others. In the first edition, which began to appear in 1901, the Malay catchwords were printed in the Arabic character and in the corresponding alphabetical order, but accompanied by romanized equivalents and (where necessary) citations. I confess that I do not

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consider the new arrangement an improvement ; but no doubt it has facilitated the printing of the work in the remote Greek island where the author now lives. It is difficult to estimate the number of words dealt with, as it varies a good deal from page to page. If, at a rough guess, we take it to average twenty, the total works out at over 25,000, considerably exceeding that of the first edition, in which the author avowedly did not aim at completeness ; and it fully proves the fact, perhaps not generally recognized, that the Malay language possesses a respectably large vocabulary. In a good many cases various dialect forms are given, which will be useful to students of the colloquial stationed in the regions where they prevail. Many of the words are illustrated by quotations ; but I regret to observe that some of those which appeared in the first edition have been excluded from the new one although in certain cases others have been added.

There is another, more fundamental, point which calls for notice. Malay words can be divided, both scientifically and practically, into two main classes, viz. simple words, being such as are morphologically and semantically indivisible, and derived words made up from simple ones by the addition of formative syllables. Dictionaries are usually, and rightly, arranged in the alphabetical order of the simple words, any words derived from a simple word being then given under it in the same entry. This arrangement of course involves some knowledge of the morphology of the language, which the student must get from a grammar before he can efficiently use his dictionary. Malay possesses an apparatus of about a dozen formatives, including prefixes and suffixes, which, either singly or in a limited number of permissible combinations, can be attached to some of the simple words and thereby affect their function or meaning. But not every word is capable of taking on every one of such possible accretions ; and the change in meaning caused by the addition of a given formative is not always precisely the same.

It follows, therefore, that the ideally complete dictionary

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should contain all the derived words that can be recorded as being actually in use, either in the colloquial or in the texts, together with their shades of meaning. If anyone suggests that the proper place for this is a grammar, the answer is that the mass of such material would swell the grammar to the dimensions of a dictionary. To illustrate the point by a concrete case, there is a word *mĕnyĕrtaï*, derived from *sĕrta* (which is the Sanskrit *sartha*). It should therefore appear under *sĕrta*; and in the first edition of this dictionary it duly did so, together with its meaning and five text references. In the new edition it is not to be found, though the word occurs in more than one book and several times in the *Hikayat Abdullah*. It is only one among many in that work that are missing; and in reading the same author's *Pĕlayaran* and also the extracts from the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu* (styled in its English translation "Malay Annals") and the *Hang Tuah*, contained in the *Malay Reader* (Oxford, 1917, pp. 40–91), all of which are well-known works duly listed among the author's sources, I have met with a considerable number of words, mostly derived forms, which are either not in the dictionary at all or not entered with the particular shade of meaning indicated by the context. The same remark applies to certain cases of idiom where two or more words are used in a sense that does not follow obviously from the ordinary meaning of either of them (as, for example, in English the use of "look out!" in the sense of "take care!"). In particular it would have added to the value of the dictionary if there had been an indication of the appropriate prepositions used with verbs, especially when the usage differs from our own. Thus a Malay says that he "has separated with" (not "from") his wife, when he means that he has divorced her. Owing to the number of such cases the dictionary seems to be the proper place for recording them.

In spite, however, of these shortcomings there can be no doubt at all that this is the best Malay dictionary in existence and will hold that position for a long time. Although reference

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to other works may still on occasion be necessary, it will stand as a worthy monument to its author, whose name will be remembered as long as Malay studies are of any interest to English readers.

In his preface the author gives an account of the genesis and development of the work from its early beginnings in 1895 to the issue of the new edition, including the story of the lamentable loss of much irreplaceable manuscript material when the Turks burnt Smyrna in 1922. It is a very interesting narrative and apart from illustrating the author's devotion to lexicography, which he pursued while carrying on his official duties, it reveals his love of the people and country which he served so well in both of these ways. Acknowledgments are duly made of the assistance given by other persons, among whom the first was Mr. W. W. Skeat, who originally suggested the undertaking and entered into a collaboration which lasted during its early stages but was unfortunately destined, though through no choice of his, to come to a premature end.

The printing is excellent and the proof-reading has been carefully done. I have noticed the following errors. The catchword *gĕrtak* appears as *gĕrsut* and under *chupak* it is stated that the official *chupak* "contains 2·1441 litres or just over a quart". The ordinary tables of weights and measures tell us that one quart equals 1·1365 litre and one gallon is 4·5459 litres. I presume, therefore, that for "2·1441 litres" we should read "1·1441 litre". Also *chupak* is termed, by a slip of the pen, "a measure of weight," instead of "a measure of capacity".

C. O. BLAGDEN.

562.

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GRAMMAIRE ÉLÉMENTAIRE DU SANSKRIT CLASSIQUE. By HENRI COURBIN. Publié sous les auspices de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne de Paris. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Première Partie : Grammaire, pp. 128. Deuxième Partie : Exercises, pp. 117. Paris : Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1931. Frs. 50.

This work is intended for the beginner. The first part contains a descriptive grammar of Classical Sanskrit, the second a few extracts from Sanskrit texts, followed by exercises in French for translation into Sanskrit ; each of these sections is provided with a vocabulary. Roman transliteration has wisely been employed throughout, but the devanāgarī alphabet is explained in an appendix. The whole is in handwriting reproduced by some photographic process ; a truly beautiful calligraphy, but with the inconveniences inseparable from such a manner of composition.

The descriptive part of the work is on the whole clear and well planned, though there are some points which might have been better put. In particular the sections on pronunciation may be cited. For the author appears to describe a pronunciation which does not agree either with what we know of the earlier pronunciation of Sanskrit or with any system employed in India. *a* should not be pronounced as in French, but as [ʌ]. Why should Greek and Latin words be given as models for the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* ? Anusvāra is something other than the nasalization of a preceding vowel. Apart from the descriptions of the grammarians we have the evidence of the modern languages, in which the group *aṁs* > *ãs* precisely as the group *att* > *āt*. Nor is it correct to say that in the case of final *-m* before a labial, the use of *-ṁ* was purely graphic. The final sounds of Sanskrit were unexploded (the author makes no mention of this important fact of pronunciation), and *-ṁ* represents the unexploded final *-m*, the subsequent history of which differed from that of *m* proper before a labial in the middle of a word. The statement that in practice the cerebral *ṭ* is pronounced like the dental *t* is

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modified by a proviso that in principle it is like the English *t*. English *t* is strongly aspirated, the point of contact with the roof of the mouth is in front of the teeth ridge (not behind), and the contact is made with the tongue tip (not the underside of the tip). After remarking that *h* is included among the voiced sounds the author likens its pronunciation to that of initial English or German *h*. These are unvoiced: Skt. *h* was voiced, and in the majority of the Indo-Aryan languages has remained voiced to this day.

There are some omissions. On p. 14 on the use of the indeclinable participle there is no mention of the fact (important for the beginner) that its subject is the logical subject of the sentence. On p. 98 the statement that to form its causative *ruh-* inserts a *p* ("consonne de transition") between root and suffix would not enable the student to arrive at *ropayati*.

But the main defect of the book—and it is a serious one—is that the author does not content himself with description, but attempts historical explanation without apparently possessing the necessary linguistic equipment. This has led to many mistakes, especially regrettable in a work designed for the beginner. On p. 9 *-y-* and *-n-* of the forms *pāpāyās*, etc., and *pāpānām* are wrongly called "consonnes de transition". On p. 10 *asi* is derived from **as-si*, whereas Gk. *εἶ* points to IE. **esi*. On p. 25 the sandhi of final *-as* before a vowel other than *a* is explained by the sequence *-as* > *-o* > *-av* > *-a*, instead of *-as* > **-az* (with unexploded *z*) > *-a*. On p. 31 *ś*, *j*, and *h* are called "d'origine cérébrale": they may under certain circumstances *result* in cerebrals, they are certainly not cerebrals by origin. In explaining that *rūḍha-* (p. 32) is derived from *rudh-ta-* the author writes "l'occlusive dentale sonore aspirée (*dh*) s'affaiblit, *dans des conditions qui ne sont pas claires*, en une sifflante cérébrale sonore aspirée **ẓh*", and in a note even suggests that *dh* after a vowel other than *a* was subject to cerebralization. He entirely ignores the accepted theory that between two dentals

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in IE. there developed a sibilant, thus **rudh-to* > ** rudʰdho-* and that in a group *dzd* the *d* was lost in pre-Sanskrit. While, therefore, assuming a root **rudh-*, *rūḍha-* displays a perfectly regular development, it is *buddha-* beside Av. *buždo* which requires a special explanation. From the historical point of view it is misleading to say (p. 33) that in *dhokṣyati* (as opposed to *duhanti*) the initial aspirate reappears. In face of other IE. forms, it is at least rash, and quite unnecessary, to state (p. 56) that the *ṣ* of *teṣām* is analogical after *teṣu*, or the *sy* of *tasyās*, etc., after *tasya*.

If anyone thinks too great stress has been laid upon these defects in a work which has certain definite merits of clearness and arrangement, let him ponder Meillet's words (*BSL.*, 94, p. 14), "Toutes les fois que des grammairiens qui n'étaient pas des linguistes avertis ont voulu expliquer des faits des langues qu'ils décrivaient, ils ont accumulé les erreurs."

296. R. L. TURNER.

RESEARCHES IN MANICHAEISM: With special reference to the Turfan Fragments. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxxviii + 394, figs. 1. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 31*s*.

Professor Jackson's interest in Oriental religions has long been attested by his work on the Zoroastrian religion. He has brought the same enthusiasm to the study of the Manichean texts, and has here presented the results of his researches which have occupied him more than ten years, as he himself has noted. After an introduction intended for the general reader, the two cosmogonic texts, M. 98–9 and S. 9, are treated in detail. It is curious that it should have escaped the author's notice that S. 9 is an acrostic poem, as has since been proved by Henning in *NGGW*. 1932. Professor Jackson has added copious notes, in which not rarely he has been able to incorporate matter the result of later research. On many points more recent publications have thrown light. Thus we

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now know the *mazan* as a sea-monster (see Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, i), and hence on p. 68 the word *zrḥyg* is certainly *zrihīγ* "marine". It may be suggested that the uncertain *'npspyn* on p. 30 is **an-aspīn* "restless", if we compare the Pāzand *aspīn* "rest". The word occurs also in Pahlavi. The meaning of *ahrēvar* is probably given by the Avestan *aṇrāi.vairi* of Aogəmaedaēča 28 (where Geiger's emendation, adopted in the *AIW.*, is not acceptable).

It is useful to have these texts once more easily accessible. They had quickly become unprocurable in the German and Russian editions.

A new study of the *ŠGV.* passage criticising Manicheism is given on p. 176 fol., and also a reprint of the article on the Dēnkart attack on Mānī. Here I would prefer to read the epithet of Mānī as *druž astak Mānē* comparing Avestan *drūǰō dəmānāi astayō*.

Part iv contains a new rendering of the passage of Bar Konai treating of Manicheism It is almost entirely the work of A. Yohannan. It is of value to have this independent translation.

The author has throughout carefully studied and utilized all the numerous works on his subject and has recorded his indebtedness with unfailing courtesy. The result is a pleasant and interesting book.

635. H. W. Bailey.

Études d'Éthiopien Méridional. By Marcel Cohen. In the *Collection d'ouvrages orientaux*, published by the Société Asiatique. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 416. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 100.

Every member of the small band of students of Ethiopia and her history and languages, ancient and modern, will welcome the appearance of this learned but highly technical work. It is a continuation of the series of printed monographs which we owe to the distinguished Oriental philologist, M. Marcel Cohen, and contains much which supplements his

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article in the *Journal Asiatique* (vol. xxvii, p. 169, 1927), his larger work entitled *Mission linguistique* (Paris, 1912), and his *Langues du Monde*, Paris, 1924. The first book of the *Études* contains four chapters dealing with ancient Ethiopia, interpretation, characteristic features of the languages of Abyssinia, and ends with an outline map showing where the different languages are spoken. Book II deals with the Gouragué language. Book III with the Harari language. Book IV with Argobba and the neighbouring dialects, and book V with Amharic. These books are divided into chapters, in which step by step the mysteries of the various grammars of the dialects are made clear. The book dealing with the Gouragué dialects will prove the most interesting to scholars, although much has been written about them by Praetorius, Chiarini, Mondon-Vidailhet, and Azaïs and Chambard. The people of the Gouragué district speak a Semitic dialect which has found its way among the Sidama peoples, with whom they have intermarried. The philological problems connected with this Semitic dialect are difficult to solve, but the labours of M. Cohen will certainly make them easier. The chapter on Gouragué grammar and the transcripts of Gouragué and Harari texts with interlinear translations will be to the general student the most interesting parts of the book. The reproductions of Harari texts in Arabic letters on pp. 336–7, 344–5, are most helpful. Marcel Cohen's results should be studied side by side with those obtained by Azaïs and Chambard (*Cinq Années de Recherches Archéologiques en Éthiopié*, text and plates, Paris, 1931), for taken together they throw a flood of light on the language, religion, and manners and customs of many of the peoples of Southern Ethiopia which until now have been practically unknown. M. Cohen's chapters supply much new material which we must add to our dictionaries, and in saying this we do not for one moment forget the great debt which we owe to Father J. Baeteman for his *Dictionnaire Amarigna-Français* (Dire-Daoua (Ethiopia), 1929).

435. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

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MOSES IM LICHTE DER AGADA. Von Dr. PHIL. AARON ROSMARIN. 9 × 6, pp. 157. New York: The Goldblatt Publishing Co., 1932.

In this monograph the author's aim has been to construct a continuous narrative of the life of the great Jewish law-giver by piecing together the various accounts found in the Midrashic and Agadic literatures. The composite narrative thus produced fails to achieve any organic or artistic unity, but consists rather of a series of minute and laboriously constructed mosaics. The value of the book, however, lies in the wealth of references to Midrashic and allied sources, which will be invaluable to students of the subject.

If we miss in the author's introduction any attempt to deal scientifically with the growth and evolution of the Mosaic legends; to separate the earlier strata from the later accretions; to classify and co-ordinate the material; to establish the affiliations, to offer suggestions as to the chronological order of the Midhrāshīm—we are none the less grateful for what Dr. Rosmarin has actually done.

647. J. LEVEEN.

THE LIFE OF A MOGUL PRINCESS: JAHĀNARĀ BEGUM, DAUGHTER OF SHAHJEHAN. By ANDREA BUTENSCHÖN, with an Introduction by LAURENCE BINYON. 8½ × 5½, pp. xiii + 221, ills. 26. London: Routledge, 1931.

This is a novel of the last days of Shāh Jahān, depicting the struggle in which Aurangzeb finally disposed of the rightful heir, Dārā Shikoh. It professes to be a translation from the Persian of Jahānarā Begum, sister of the two princes, who witnesses the misfortunes of her favourite brother, at the same time suffering from a secret and unhappy love affair. The author has brought off her "translation from the Persian" with fair success, but there are passages which rather recall Ouida.

407. J. ALLAN.

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HISTORY OF PRE-MUSULMAN INDIA. By V. RANGACHARYA. Vol. I, Prehistoric India. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vii + 247. Madras: Huxley Press, 1929. 4*s.* 6*d.*

This is the first volume of an ambitious work to be completed in nine volumes. It covers the prehistoric period in India down to the coming of the Aryans. The author has collected and presented in readable fashion the results of recent research on the early history of man in India, the palæolithic and neolithic ages in India, the early use or absence of metals in India, and the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. A concluding chapter, dealing with the Aryans and theories of their origin, while quite up-to-date, revives too much, old and modern, that had better be forgotten. The author has rendered a great service in bringing together much that is only available in widely scattered sources. It is a pity that the proofs of so useful a book have not been corrected with more care.

81. J. ALLAN.

THE ART OF WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA. By GOVIND TRYAMBAK DATE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 61 + 86 + vi, pl. 1. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929. 4*s.* 6*d.*

This little book gives the outlines of the Hindu art of war as gleaned from the epics and the Arthaśāstra. There is not really much about tactics and strategy in it, the bulk of the book dealing with weapons and other paraphernalia of war. The author concludes with some remarks on the ethics of warfare and the causes of the military disasters so regularly suffered by the Hindus. Naval warfare is not mentioned. While quite a useful compilation so far as it goes, the book does not deserve its ambitious title. Much more use should have been made of medieval literature.

80. J. ALLAN.

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MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 23. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments. By R. D. BANERJI. 13½ × 10, pp. iv + 152, pls. 57. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1931. £1 17*s.* 6*d.*

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 24. Rock-paintings and other Antiquities of Prehistoric and Later Times. By MANORANJAM GHOSH. 13½ × 10, pp. vi + 26, pls. 28. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1932. £1 1*s.* 9*d.*

Mr. Banerji has undertaken an archæological survey which should be of great importance for the reconstruction of an obscure period of Indian history. The region of his explorations is within the Baghelkhand Agency, and he tells us that he succeeded in revising and exploring all the important archæological sites in the Rewa State situated in the northern and southern parganas. He first analyses the chronological evidence, to which he has added by discovering six new inscriptions with dates beginning from the tenth century. He describes the monuments, images, and sculptures, and discusses Śaiva influence, especially as seen in a succession of Śaiva ascetics. There are also traces of Jainism, but very little of Buddhism.

Mr. Ghosh's study of the rock-paintings is welcome for more than one reason. Except for those at Hoshangabad they have been known for some time, and an accurate description of what is actually there is highly important, not only for Indian archæology, but for the purpose of comparison with other cultures. In 1923, Mr. P. Mitra reproduced some of them, but he also included others, which really belong to places as far away as Egypt and Spain. This error has already produced unfortunate results among archæologists, who were unable to check the ascriptions. In the copy of Mr. Mitra's work in the Cambridge University Library, Dr. Haddon and Mr. M. C. Burkitt have identified their real source. It is necessary to point this out, because even in his

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second edition Mr. Mitra has retained three of his unintentional mystifications.

Mr. Ghosh visited four sites, all in the central plateau, which has been least touched by later cultures. At Singanpur and Hoshangabad (both in the Central Provinces) and in the Son valley in the Mirzapur District he found rock-paintings. They are pictures of animals, hunting scenes, and conventional symbols. Mr. Percy Brown is quoted as saying that the Mirzapur paintings bear a resemblance to those of Cogul in Spain, but Mr. Ghosh puts the date of these as from the fourth to the tenth century A.D. The accompanying painted inscriptions are of that date, and Mr. Ghosh says they are contemporary.

At these places and at Chakradharpur (Chhota Nagpur Division) a large number of palæolithic implements were found. Their description appears to be scarcely sufficient to make it possible to give a due estimate of their archæological significance.

624, 630. E. J. THOMAS.

CHINA YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY. By E. T. WILLIAMS. Publisher: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.

To students of Chinese the surname of Williams has been very familiar for a very long time, for in 1833, S. Wells Williams arrived at Canton and in 1848 published his work entitled *The Middle Kingdom*, which in 1895 was republished under the title *The Middle Kingdom: a Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts, and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants.* This work for long was the textbook which students of Chinese, who desired to gain a general knowledge of China, studied, its predecessor *The Chinese: a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants*, by John Francis Davies, F.R.S., etc., late His Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China, first published in 1836, having become difficult to procure owing to its various

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editions being out of print. *The Middle Kingdom* will always remain a useful work, the author having been long resident in China and well acquainted with the language and its people. But between 1895, the date of the last edition of *The Middle Kingdom*, and 1933, the date of the last issue of the work under review, is a long interval during which many stirring events have happened in China and great changes have taken place. The time was, therefore, fully ripe for a work that would be able to bring the labours of Wells Williams up to date, and would, at the same time, be useful to students as a textbook. In his work, *China Yesterday and To-day*, Professor Williams has well performed this task, and it is a curious coincidence that his surname is the same as that of the author of *The Middle Kingdom* and, like him also, he hails from the United States of America. His work was first published in 1923 and its popularity is shown by the fact that it has passed through five editions, the fifth revised edition having appeared in 1932. The author, unlike many who have written confidently regarding China and the Chinese without possessing any real knowledge of the country or its people, is exceptionally qualified for his task. He may have been born in China, at any rate he resided there for many years : speaks its language : reads its literature : served in the Legation of the United States of America at Peking, where he became Chargé d'Affaires : was Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the Department of State : and is the Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in the University of California. With such qualifications as these it is not surprising that Professor Williams has written a standard work which will be of great value to all who are interested in China and will be a useful textbook for students who have to pay particular attention to that part of the world. Owing to want of space, it is impossible to deal in detail with the various chapters of this work, which cover so much ground and such a long period of time. It must suffice here to state generally that the author has

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treated the various subjects with which he deals in a scholarly and efficient manner, and his chapters on the recent history of events in China are especially interesting. The chapter on literature has little or no reference to the literary renascence in China which is an omission that should be rectified in a future edition. The bibliography, which is useful so far as it goes and which does not profess to be complete, should be enlarged and such authorities as R. F. Johnston, T. Watters, J. Chalmers, E. Faber, Forke, Wilhelm, as well as others, should certainly be included. In the account of the T'aip'ing Rebellion, the author has not given to Tsêng Kuo-fan as much credit as he deserves for the prominent part he played for many years in the suppression of the Rebellion, and the bibliography has no mention of W. J. Hail's *Tsêng Kuo-fan and the T'aip'ing Rebellion*, the best book in English hitherto published on the subject.

The publishers, Messrs. G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., are to be congratulated on the excellent manner in which the work has been produced and on the illustrations.

Professor Williams' work is a worthy successor to *The Middle Kingdom* of his fellow-countryman, S. Wells Williams, and can be strongly recommended to the ever-increasing number of those who are interested in China.

875. J. H. STEWART LOCKHART.

DER TELL HALAF, EINE NEUE KULTUR IM ÄLTESTEN MESOPOTAMIEN. By MAX FR. VON OPPENHEIM. 9 × 6, pp. 276, ills. 131, plans 2. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhous, 1931. M. 12 and 14.

Since I have already written a long review of this important book, *Oxford Magazine*, 15th June, 1933, 810–14, the main points may be treated summarily here. Professor Götze, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xli, 243–255, exposed the impossible thesis of Oppenheim and Herzfeld in assigning the sculptures of the Aramaic dynasty (1200–1000 B.C.) of Halaf to the early painted ware

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period. Tell Halaf, the Guzana of the Assyrian period, Gôzān of the Old Testament, to which Sargon transported Israelites in 722 B.C., is proved to have been a neolithic settlement on the western branch of the Habur. A long period consisting of three types of hand-made painted monochrome and polychrome ware succeeded the neolithic period reaching down to a period *circa* 3000 B.C. After a long lapse of time in which there are no monuments or objects of any kind, the Aramaic dynasty, of which Kapara, son of Ḫadiānu, seems to have been the last ruler, is richly represented by Hurrite monuments certainly not earlier than 1500 B.C. Oppenheim and, in Appendix I, Herzfeld defend the preposterous theory that the sculptures belong to the early period, the small orthostats in limestone being dated as early as 3100 and the great statues of gods in the time of Gudea. The rude but powerful art of the bas-reliefs and sculptures is definitely Hurrite, and many of the *motifs* are precisely similar to those on seals from Kerkuk (seventeenth–sixteenth centuries B.C.). Gold plaques found in royal tombs of the Aramaic period show the same *motifs* as the sculptures.

At Jebelet el Baiḍa, 70 kilometres south-east of Halaf, Oppenheim recovered a Sumerian statue of the very archaic period and two stelæ of a somewhat later Sumerian period. This was also a remarkable find, showing for the first time Sumerian culture *circa* 3000 B.C. so far west as the Habur Valley. The munificence and devotion to science shown by Baron von Oppenheim have thrown a new light upon the history of northern and western Asia. The religious *motifs* revealed by the sculptures of Hurrite civilization in the second half of the second millennium B.C. reveal a strange mixture of indigeneous conceptions mingled with Egyptian and Babylonian influences. But scholars will universally regret the theory (which runs through the entire book) that Kapara and his ancestors (*circa* 1200–1000 B.C.) found all these engraved slabs and statues in the early layer of painted ware and re-used them for their temple and palace. The scientific

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publication will presumably give a stratification table and publish the Cuneiform and Aramaic texts of the Assyrian period of the seventh century.

It is regrettable that a popular book of this excellent type should mislead amateur reviewers in the press. The book claims far too much for the newness of the material and its bearing upon the history and culture of ancient Subartu. The Carchemish excavations had already established practically the same series of painted ware [1] followed after a long interval by the Mitarini-Hurrite culture. The sculptures of Halaf surpass in variety of new designs and power of execution anything that has been found at Carchemish and Sendjirli. But the sub-title *Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien* applies only to Jebelet el Beiḍa.

454. S. LANGDON.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE ORIENTAL MSS. BELONGING TO THE LATE E. G. BROWNE. By E. G. BROWNE, completed and edited by R. A. NICHOLSON. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxii + 326. Cambridge: University Press, 1932. 42*s*.

In his lifetime E. G. Browne spread friendship round him and six years after his death the present volume appears as a token of the devotion of his intimate friends. No better service to his memory could be done, for E. G. B.'s manuscripts were his cherished children. He never missed the one wanted on the spur of the moment, he weighed his precious volumes in his hand so caressingly and with astonishing rapidity spotted the curious passages marked during a careful study of his new acquisitions.

Three hundred and eighty-six items of this *Catalogue* were compiled by Browne himself, and now eighty-two new ones have been added by Professor Nicholson.

[1] The same types of pre-Jemdet Nasr ware have been found at Arpachiyah and Tepe Gawra near Nineveh and at Nineveh itself by Thompson and Mallowan.

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Out of the total of 468 manuscripts, 149 deal with religion, 115 with poetry, 76 with history, and 43 with medical and natural sciences. Many interesting manuscripts were acquired by Browne during the later years of his life, namely those belonging to the former collections of Gen. Sir A. Houtum Schindler and H. 'Abd al-Majīd Belshah. If many of them do not now produce the impression of absolute novelty, it is chiefly due to the rapidity with which B. himself hastened to acquaint the learned world with his treasures. Numerous notices of the rare works were contributed by him to this JOURNAL and most of the MSS. were utilized by him in the preparation of the four volumes of his great *Literary History of Persia*. Where Browne has passed there is hardly anything to glean even in such interesting books as Māfarrukhī's *History of Iṣfahān* and the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn's letters. Still the publication of such rare texts would be highly advantageous as has already been that of the *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafawiya*. The *Ghāzān-nāma*, too, written in verse in 758/1357, may throw some new light on the reign of that remarkable ruler and man.

Most of B.'s MSS. are in Persian. Among the non-Persian minority the "Kurdish" *Kitāb-i Mullā Parīshān* looks curious. To judge by the phrase quoted and the colophon the dialect looks like Läkkī (southern Kurdish spoken on the confines of Luristān).

p. 98. The word کوچك is transcribed *kūchak*, as usual in Browne, but in the original Turkish the word is *küchik* (> *küchük*) and in Persian, too, it is کوچك, pronounced actually : *kūchĕk*.

In a footnote some minor suggestion of the present author is acknowledged by Browne, and this message, coming, as it were, from لا مكان, seems to fall upon the ear like a distant echo of a voice that is, alas, still.

654. V. MINORSKY.

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MÉLANGES DE PHILOLOGIE ORIENTALE. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 230, ills. 8. Liége: University of Liége, Imprimerie Orientaliste, 228 rue du Bruxelles. 1932.

This interesting volume has been published to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the opening of the Institut Supérieur of History and Oriental Literature in the University of Liége, and is dedicated to the memory of two scholars, Victor Chauvin and Charles Michel, who rendered notable service in the University in connection with Oriental studies. They died in 1913 and 1929 respectively.

The 233 pages of the book contain fourteen articles of different lengths and varying degrees of interest and importance dealing with widely divergent fields of Oriental scholarship. They may be briefly summarized as follows, viz. (1) two articles by Monsieur Bricteux and Monsieur de Generet giving the text and translation of Persian poems hitherto unpublished, (2) a short article by Mlle Gobeaux-Thonet dealing with the question of the identity of two Persian miniature-painters with similar names, (3) three contributions from Cotton, Mansion, and Fohalle connected with Vedic and classical Sanskrit, (4) an article by Janssens, giving the original and translation of a Syriac text in the India Office Library on the strange subject of the ten virtues of the dog, (5) a contribution from Van der Straeten, which does not come to any final conclusion, on the metres of the Hebrew text of the Book of Lamentations, (6) two short articles by Capart and Van de Walle on minor points of Egyptology, (7) two contributions from Dossin and Prickartz on Sumerian, (8) a short article by Gilbert on the origin of funeral pyramids, and lastly a joint article by Dossin and Fohalle on a passage in a Hittite treaty. It will be seen that these articles cover a very wide field, and it would not be possible within the limits of a short review to give any adequate description, much less criticism, of all of them. I propose to confine my remarks almost entirely to the first article, which occupies nearly a quarter of the book and which exceeds in length any

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three other articles combined, with the exception of Prickartz's article on the Goudea cylinder.

M. Auguste Bricteux has in this first article given the text and a French translation of a Persian poem of 83 quatrains written by Lisānī of Shīrāz, which is found in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, dated A.H. 994. These quatrains are entitled Shahr-Āshūb, a technical title for a poem of invective directed against the inhabitants of a city, but in this particular poem relating to the city of Tabrīz nothing uncomplimentary is said of the city or its people, on the contrary the city is said to be رشك بتخانهٔ چين, an object of envy of the pagoda of China. The editor does not seem to have realized the nature of the metrical scheme of the varieties of the Hazaj metre, which are used in rubā'īs. He divides the hemistich into three feet, whereas it is essentially a metre of four feet, each of which is a recognized deviation (زحاف) from the standard Hazaj foot, i.e. a short syllable followed by three long syllables. The real metrical scheme of the rubā'ī is not — — ⏑⏑ — | ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ | — ⏑⏑ — | as given by M. Bricteux, but — — ⏑ | ⏑ — ⏑⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ — — ⏑ | ⏑ — | subject to the operation of the contraction called تسكين, by which any two adjacent short syllables may be contracted into one long syllable. The French rendering of some lines seems very remote from the original. In quatrain 29 we have

جمعيّتِ عشق تنگدستی ببَرَد
آوازه کند بلند و پستی ببَرَد

This is rendered : "La prospérité de l'amour fait disparaître toute indigence. Le moindre de ses accents emporte tous les êtres grands et petits." The meaning of the original seems to be quite different, viz. : "The tranquillity of love removes indigence, it exalts fame and removes humiliation." In quatrain 42 خرد is rendered "mon esprit", whereas it means

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"Wisdom" (personified). Again in quatrain 62 the Persian words

آنچنان محتضرم
از ضعف که نیك در نیاید نظرم

are translated: "Je suis tellement émacié par la faiblesse que je ne vois plus qu'imparfaitement." This seems to be a reversal of the sense, which is: "I have become so emaciated by weakness that I can not easily be seen." The editor of the other Persian poem, a short elegy by Muḥtasham of Kāshān on the death of his brother, the text of which is to be found in the same manuscript of the Paris Library, is also at fault with regard to Persian metres. He states that the metre of the elegy is Muẓāri', but it is really Mujtass, i.e. ⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — — | ⏑ — ⏑ — | ⏑ ⏑ — | The metre and the sense both show that the reading آتش at the beginning of the eighteenth *bait* must be باآتش, and the same considerations indicate that the word گر in the second hemistich of the nineteenth *bait* must be omitted. The volume contains a long list of errata, but in one case the reading amended seems to be quite correct. This is the seventeenth *bait*, which runs as follows:—

شبی نمیگذرد کز غمت نمیگذرد
شرار آهم از انجم فغانم از افلاك

This is rendered: "Aucune nuit ne se passe que je ne me chagrine de toi, L'étincelle de mes soupirs va jusqu'aux orbes tournants." The real meaning seems to be: "Not a night passes in which my grief for thee does not cause the sparks from my sighs to pass beyond the stars and my lamentation beyond the skies."

It may be noted in conclusion that this book is printed on very good paper, and that the typography throughout is quite exceptionally excellent.

866. R. P. DEWHURST.

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THE LIVING GOD. Basal Forms of Personal Religion. By NATHAN SÖDERBLOM. Oxford: University Press, 1933. 18*s*.

In this important and most valuable volume we have the Gifford Lectures, delivered by the late Archbishop of Upsala in 1931, in which he distinguishes the principal types of religious experience and illustrates them from a rich store of relevant material. In a second series of lectures he expected to develop a philosophy of religion based on this historical outline, but his death prevented the realization of his hope, though these chapters sufficiently prove his case for belief in the living God.

The book is of special interest to Orientalists, for Söderblom early began the study of Iranian languages, in order to make a study of Oriental religion, for in his view the history of religions stood in organic relation to the central problems of divinity. He held the newly-founded chair in this subject at Leipzig from 1912–14, while also holding the chair of theology at Upsala. By far the greater part of this book is concerned with the religions of the Orient.

Dr. Söderblom begins with a section on training and inspiration in primitive religion, and shows that religion is first personal and then tribal. "If we want to study the essence and elementary forms of religion, we must study the soul-life of the individual." Man covets supernatural experience, because in him the Divine and human meet, and however closely he may be tied to this visible world, he has never forgotten his links with the invisible. This supernatural experience is sought by means of asceticism, some form of self-discipline which makes man more fit to draw near to the Divine; but action is not limited to man. Even among primitive peoples there is found a consciousness of Divine action, and it is this which they feel to be the essential part of religion.

In dealing with the higher forms of religion, Dr. Söderblom considers them as representing different types, a "method",

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a psychology, devotion, a search for salvation, a struggle between good and evil, conscientious conviction, a revelation in time, a historic incarnation. Religion as "method" he takes to be best represented by Yoga, in which ascetic training reaches its perfection. Religion, and indeed all activity of the mind and soul, demands "ascesis", that is, exercise and self-discipline, and this can be negative, taking the form of the removal of all hindrances, so that the mind may become empty and free, which is the aim of Yoga, or positive, the unconditional occupation of the mind by God, and this has been the aim of Christian and Islamic mystics. But Dr. Söderblom holds that the method of Yoga, while it can accomplish much, cannot impart faith or "sight". Faith is the gift of God, and only by faith joined with thought can man draw nigh to God and obtain knowledge of Him. Passing on to the consideration of religion as a psychological system, as represented by Jainism and Hinayana Buddhism, Dr. Söderblom notes that Buddhism has taken over a good deal from Yoga, and that in Buddhism, Yoga, checked in its excesses, has, in a sense, found its fulfilment, a rational self-salvation. No real god being left in that method of salvation, it has become a religion without divinity.

In the doctrine of Bhakti, religion considered as a form of devotion, we find a new and more popular faith, and belief in a personal relation between the human and the Divine, for the god Krishna is born into the world from time to time, as men need him, and it is through love and trust and faith that man is saved. Here we meet the idea of the living God who has made himself known and come close to man. Love towards God is to fill the whole life of man, his daily work as well as his devotional exercises; in its highest form, therefore, Bhakti is devotion directed towards a personal god. Dr. Söderblom proceeds to deal with the union of Bhakti with Buddhism, in the doctrine of Mahayana, and shows how Buddhism, in spite of its early atheism, found an object of worship in the historic personality of its founder; how, too,

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instead of the individual's path to Nirvana, the ideal became that of following the example of the Buddha, to undertake all suffering, so that those who suffer may be saved, and pity becomes the chief of all virtues. "When faith in God and care for one's fellow-men have gained such place and power in religion, the reign of self-salvation is at an end."

In Zarathushtra, the preacher of a doctrine in which religion is regarded as a fight against evil, Dr. Söderblom finds a great significance for the history of religion, as being perhaps the only real counterpart of the Old Testament prophets and their less original successor, Muḥammad. With the name of Zarathushtra is bound up a spiritual, moral, and social regeneration, which was the result of a Divine commission, and the underlying cause of his zeal was his consciousness that he had met and communed with God Himself. But to his teaching of trust in, and worship of, the All-Wise Lord, he adds the doctrine of dualism in existence, and its extension beyond the limits of earthly life and present history. He seems to be the first to teach clearly the doctrine of a double retribution after death, on moral grounds, the first to create a doctrine of the fulfilment of history.

Not the least interesting section of this book is that on Socrates, the representative of the "religion of good conscience". Here it is shown plainly that the basic element of Socrates' life and work was not examination and criticism, but a firm and unswerving faith; his actions were the result of a mystical experience, which carried with it an inward compulsion. His Daimonion helped him to this faith, for it was to him the "sign of God". There follows a comparison between Socratic Trust and Platonic Mysticism, which is of great interest, and Dr. Söderblom's conclusion is that while Plato, and Aristotle too, had a profound influence on Christian theology and the religion of the West, yet neither of them directly reveals a Divine reality, as did Socrates.

Next, Dr. Söderblom turns to Mosaism as a religion of revelation in history, and points the contrast between it and

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the religions of India. Though in both there is to be found a belief in the unity, the spirituality, and the sufficiency of God, in Mosaism we find the new elements of exclusiveness and intolerance, and a new emphasis on the activity of God. Now history is brought into the sphere of religion, all is dramatic, living, tangible; above all, this is a founded religion, starting from a Personality to Whom it never ceases to refer. The characteristics of Old Testament religion are intensified and carried to completion in the Gospel and the Christian Church, preaching the religion of incarnation. The Old Testament proclaimed a general relation of God, the New Testament proclaims a special, unique revelation of God in Christ, Who claimed to be, not one in a pantheon, but the complete and perfect revelation of the One Almighty God. In His life and teaching, above all in His Redemptive Death, we see the essentially unique character in Christianity, for it is not the work of man seeking God, but the work of God seeking man. It is to this unique faith that the author, having examined the claims of so many other faiths, gives his own personal adherence.

853. MARGARET SMITH.

LANGUES ET ÉCRITURES SÉMITIQUES. By LE P. P. DHORME. Études Sémitiques: 1. 10 × 6¼, pp. 73. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930. Frs. 25.

Since the late Professor Noeldeke published his famous standard essay, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, nothing of a similar kind has been attempted.

This book, which first appeared as an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is now difficult to obtain. Dr. Dhorme's work enlarges its scope by including Accadian, which is only called Semitic in a broader sense. Strictly speaking, Semitic writing begins with the Phœnician inscriptions.

Another edition of Noeldeke's work has never appeared, nor have his researches been followed up, in spite of the new

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material available. An attempt in this direction has now been made by the author of the above-mentioned book. He goes carefully through the various Semitic dialects, but the expression "Speech of Canaan" lacks precision. In general it means Phœnician, and one must agree with the author that alphabetical writing starts with that nation. No attempts to derive the alphabet from other sources are well authenticated. There was scarcely any uniformity in the languages spoken in Canaan, as we gather from the differences of dialect even between Hebrew and Phœnician. There occurs a sufficient number of words in Phœnician inscriptions which still remain unexplained, and as far as vocalization is concerned the situation is practically hopeless. What, e.g., is אטמטא in the inscription of Marseille? Or who can say with certainty how the first word in the Hebrew Siloam inscription is to be read? Hebrew offers enough puzzles, and many difficulties have been added through the tight fetters of the Māsōrāh. Hebrew is a much older language than documents of any kind reveal, as is proved by the tablets of Tel Amarna. There occur in the KLMU stone, words and construction of pure Hebrew character.

Although Dr. Dhorme does not carry all his statements to final results, the work is a scholarly and useful survey of the material in hand. On one point the author deserves full consent when he maintains that it was the Phoenicians who are responsible for the invention and development of alphabetical writing, and this should be upheld against all assertions that either Babylon or Egypt taught the world to employ consonants detached from a concomitant vowel. A chapter on the characteristic features of the Semitic languages concludes the book. The sections are short, but clear. The style is attractive and stimulates the further study of details.

Altogether, Dr. Dhorme's essay is both interesting and instructive, and the author is entitled to the best thanks of all students of Semitics.

197. H. HIRSCHFELD.

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THE ITALIAN EXPEDITION TO THE HIMALAYA, KARAKORAM, AND EASTERN TURKESTAN (1913–14). By FILIPPO DE FILIPPI. With chapters by G. DAINELLI and J. A. SPRANGER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvi + 528, pls. col. 2, maps col. 4, panoramas 15, illus. 300. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1932. 50*s*.

In this splendidly illustrated volume, translated from the Italian original which was published in 1923, Dr. Filippo De Filippi has given a comprehensive and delightfully readable account of the great scientific expedition which in 1913–14 he led from Kashmir through Baltistān and Ladāk to the Karakoram range and the adjacent portion of Chinese Turkestān. No single trans-continental expedition is likely to have ever been carried out with so wide and so carefully prepared a programme of scientific research into manifold aspects of the physical and human geography of a region presenting equally great difficulties of nature. A grand series of detailed reports in thirteen quarto volumes bears testimony to the extent and value of the results achieved. They deal with the geology, geophysics, topography, anthropology, etc., of what in many respects is perhaps the most interesting portion of the great mountain barrier separating India from Central Asia and Tibet.

Such varied and thorough results could be secured only by the devoted efforts of not less than eleven European fellow-workers, nine among them Italian and two British, and with the willing support given by both the Italian and Indian Governments. But it needed Dr. De Filippi's often proved powers of systematic organization and leadership to assure for this great staff of scientists the fullest measure of opportunities to gather their abundant harvest within the available limits of time. The accounts published by him of the Duke of the Abruzzi's successive expeditions, in which he had taken a prominent share, to Mount Elias, Ruwenzori, and the great glaciers girding K_2 or Mount Godwin Austin on the Karakoram have made geographical students before familiar

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with Dr. De Filippi's exceptional qualities as an explorer. In him organizing capacity is combined with rare keenness of observation for things physical and human as well as with the gift of clear and graphic description.

It was fit that this record of a memorable scientific enterprise should be made accessible also in English. Its successful achievement was greatly facilitated by the ready help of the Indian Government and its Survey Department, then under the direction of Sir Sidney Burrard. Its scene lay in a fascinating mountain region presenting manifold interest to the student of the geography, ethnology, and history of India's northernmost borders.

The chapters devoted by Dr. De Filippi to those portions of the expedition's work which concerned Baltistān and Ladāk, and to the relations, past and present, linking these mountain territories with Kashmir, Tibet, and the Tārīm basin, bring out clearly the special attraction presented to him by the study of their people, their conditions of life, and their history. It seems hence appropriate that in the brief notice desired by the Editor of this JOURNAL particular attention should be drawn to the mass of carefully gathered observations bearing on the racial characteristics, customs, traditions, and general cultural conditions of Baltistān and Ladāk. These observations strikingly illustrate the differences which Islām on the one side and Tibetan Buddhism on the other have introduced between populations separated neither by great geographical barriers nor by very marked diversity of language, race, or natural surroundings. These observations are usefully supplemented by the information which two chapters contributed by Professor Dainelli on his separate tours record about small communities of Dard origin scattered in valleys off the main route between Skardo and Leh.

The long series of gravimetric, magnetic, and meteorological and other geophysical observations necessitated protracted stays of the main body of the expedition at Skardo and Leh before the difficult exploratory tasks on the high

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barren plateaux of the Karakoram were undertaken in the summer of 1914. The arrangements for "supplies and transport" needed to maintain so large an expedition, encumbered by elaborate and heavy scientific equipment, for months at a stretch on elevated ground utterly devoid of resources might well by themselves have sufficed to absorb the leader's energy and attention. All the same Dr. De Filippi managed to find time during those stays for a careful study of varied aspects of local life, customs, religious organization, architecture, etc.

To this we owe *inter alia* the detailed description contained in chapter vi of the monastic institutions of Ladāk, their structures, art, etc. Illustrated by a wealth of excellent photographs, which the skill of Colonel Antilli provided as for the rest of the book, this chapter helps the general reader perhaps better than any previous book of travel to realize the remarkable wealth of products of local industry, art, and craft to be found in that comparatively small portion of Western Tibet. Considering the very limited extent of arable ground, the adversity of climatic conditions at those great altitudes, and the very scanty population—the Census of 1911 gave for Ladāk and adjacent tracts only some 36,511 Buddhists—the abundance of monasteries, shrines, religious monuments, and other structures, whether maintained or in ruins, must impress every visitor. By contrast with the Dard and Baltī tracts, which also were once Buddhist, this wealth conveys a very instructive lesson to the antiquarian student as to the way in which peculiar cultural factors may affect the extent of structural and other remains of the past in neighbouring territories.

A distinctive and very useful feature of the book is the diligent, one might almost say loving, care which Dr. De Filippi has bestowed upon notices of previous travellers' visits to those regions and of the records left of their observations and labours. All students interested in the geography and history of that fascinating borderland between India and Central Asia must feel grateful for this

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care. It is characteristic of the thoroughness of the explorer and scholar who has quite recently given us an admirably documented edition of his countryman, P. Ippolito Desideri's important account of Tibet, including Leh, as he saw it in 1712–17.

None of the earlier European travellers whose records have come down to us seems to have escaped Dr. De Filippi's attention. But in connection with that ill-fated and often inadequately judged explorer Moorcroft mention might have been made of Csoma de Körös. This devoted Hungarian scholar in 1820 came to Leh with Moorcroft and was there led by him to take up the labours which, after years of great hardships spent in a Zanskar monastery, made him the true pioneer of modern Tibetan studies. As regards Baltistān a reference might perhaps have been made to a brief but interesting notice in the *Letter from Kashmir*[1] of that most observant of early French travellers to India, Dr. François Bernier. It tells us how the Emperor Aurangzeb's short-lived invasion of Ladāk led to the closing of the Karakoram–Leh route and for a time diverted trade from Eastern Turkestān to the still more difficult route leading over the glacier pass of Muztāgh to Baltistān.

This cannot be the place to attempt an appreciation of the remarkable achievements described in the latter half of the book. It deals with the very arduous and scientifically very fruitful explorations in which all members of the expedition were engaged from a base established at 17,600 feet above sea-level on the Depsang plateau to the south of the Karakoram Pass. These finally determined the sources of the Yārkand and Shāyok rivers issuing from the huge Rimu glaciers; located for the first time the head of the former river's chief tributary in the Shaksgam valley and led to other notable discoveries. Magnificent photographic panoramas taken by Colonel Antilli, a worthy successor of that great artist Signor Sella, illustrate those explorations. Reproduced

[1] *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, A.D. 1656–68. *The Ninth Letter to the Same. Written in Kachemire.* By François Bernier.

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and printed in Italy these plates have fortunately escaped the less effective treatment which many of the half-tone illustrations in the text as printed in the English edition have suffered.

In the account of these trying explorations, continued for fully three months and closing with the descent down the Raskam Daryā to Yārkand, the observant reader will be impressed as throughout the book with the self-effacing modesty displayed by the leader in his record. It has its worthy counterpart in the generous tribute paid throughout to the efforts of all those who shared the toils of the expedition, including Indian surveyors, Ghulām Rasūl Galwān, the best of " Caravan-bashis ", and ever cheerful Ladākī porters. None of the Italian scientists had ever set foot before in Asia, and this must have made them particularly grateful for such leading and for such experienced care about their well-being.

Inadequate as this notice for various reasons must be, it may suffice to show that Italy has reason to feel proud of the work of her scientists as recorded by Dr. De Filippi's pen. To British readers of the book it is gratifying to think that India through its Survey Department was enabled to contribute to the elucidation of important geographical problems concerning the northernmost borderland. Equally pleased they must be to note the excellence of the translation by which Mrs. Low-Porter has done justice to the clear and vivid style of the original text.

598. AUREL STEIN.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC AND GARSHUNI. Edited and translated with a critical apparatus, by A. MINGANA. Woodbrooke Studies, vol. vi, Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Lord's Prayer and on the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. 10 × 6½, pp. xxv + 265. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933. 21*s*. net.

In this volume Dr. Mingana gives us the second part of

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the Syriac version of the work by Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Liber ad Baptizandos* (according to a Latin title), of which the first part (on the Nicene Creed) appeared in volume v of the Woodbrooke Studies. The headings of the work in the MS. (Mingana Syriac 561) give this part of it as a separate treatise, but the copyist, who was presumably the author of the headings, places it in an unbroken sequence with the text of the Commentary on the Nicene Creed. At the same time, readers of the Syriac text will agree with Dr. Mingana that the translator cannot have been one and the same person. This is clear on linguistic grounds, and it may be that, as Dr. Mingana suggests, the translator of the second part lived some years later than the translator of the first part.

The work now published is far more interesting and, in our opinion, much more important than the Commentary on the Nicene Creed. In particular, the sections on Baptism and the Eucharist may be said to be of quite outstanding value for the history and interpretation of these two sacraments. Since the Eucharist is treated in relation to the Liturgy, the work is valuable also for liturgical purposes. Indeed, it may be stated confidently that no student of Christian institutions can afford to ignore volume vi of the Woodbrooke Studies. It should find a place in every academic library.

The Syriac text is again difficult, and few translators could have handled it as successfully as Dr. Mingana. This is not to say that it will not sometimes be felt to be open to criticism. Dr. Mingana is rather fond of using terms, sometimes theological, which are best avoided. For instance, the Syriac text follows the practice, common in the Peshitta, of often using "life" instead of "salvation"; or it uses the term "life" in addition to the term "salvation".[1] On p. 4 (Syriac, p. 128), however, we find "for our Life and our salvation" translated "for our salvation and deliverance". On p. 27 (S., p. 156) "our Life and salvation" is translated "our

[1] "Life" is *ḥayye*. The word for salvation is *purḳānā*.

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deliverance and salvation". On p. 81 (S., p. 218), we have "salvation and deliverance" for "salvation and Life". On p. 85 (S., p. 222) "saved us and delivered us" for "saved us and gave us Life". On p. 86 (S., p. 222) "our deliverance and our salvation" for "our Life and our salvation". On p. 89 (S., p. 226), "the salvation and the deliverance of men" for "the salvation and Life of men". On p. 118 (S., p. 259), "a deliverance and a salvation" for "Life and salvation". The avoidance of the word "Life" is unfortunate, for the frequent use of the word here seems to show that the Syriac text is inclined to follow Aramaic rather than Greek usage. Syriac, on the whole, prefers "Life" to "salvation", "life-giving" to "saving", and "Giver of Life" to "Saviour".[1] Why, then, to give other examples, translate "an awe-inspiring salvation" (S., p. 189; E.T., p. 56) instead of "awe-inspiring Life"; "the vivifying Spirit" (S., p. 211; E.T., p. 76) instead of "the life-giving Spirit"; "salvation-giving Passion" (S., p. 223; E.T. p. 86) instead of "life-giving Passion"; "vivifying bread" (S., p. 246; E.T., p. 106) instead of "life-giving bread"? On p. 57 (S., p. 190) "life from the dead" is translated "resurrection from the dead".

The author of the Syriac text reproduced in volume v of the Woodbrooke Studies, in quotations from the New Testament seems always to follow the Greek. In the text reproduced in volume vi there is an interesting quotation which seems to show that the writer here was familiar with the Peshitta. Dr. Mingana translates (E.T., p. 122; S., p. 264) "with such an one no not to eat". This is the translation of R.V., following the Greek. But the Syriac text here actually has "with such an one one should not eat *bread*"; and this is the reading of the Peshitta, and also of the Vulgate.[2]

[1] The more usual expression for Giver of Life is *maḥyānā*, lit. "he who causes to live", but *yāhēb ḥayye* is found also. The latter expression occurs in fact in the Syriac text before us (p. 212): "While he might have said, It is I who give Life" (so Mingana, p. 76; but we might translate, "It is I who am the Giver of Life").

[2] 1 Corinthians v, 11. These readings are not mentioned by A. Plummer in his Commentary on *I Corinthians* in ICC.

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Occasionally words have slipped out in the translation. On p. 94 (S., p. 231) the words, "the one who has been sinned against must accept the reconciliation of the one who had sinned against him," require the addition: (must accept) *without delay*. On p. 100 (S., p. 239) the words, "since they were looking downwards and covering their faces completely with their wings," require the addition: (and covering) *their feet and* (their faces).

As in the other text (vol. v), the expression *deḫlath 'alāhā* is translated "religion" (S., p. 124, E.T., p. 1; S., p. 152, E.T., p. 24; S. p. 169, E.T., p. 40; S., p. 172, E.T., p. 42; S., p. 264, E.T., p. 122). A better translation would surely be "the (true) worship of God". Another expression in the Syriac presents difficulty. ܕܝܬܩܐ ܚܕܬܐ can mean either "New Testament" or "new covenant". Dr. Mingana translates New Testament where, in our opinion, "new covenant" would be better. On p. 70 (S., p. 204) we read: "We must first of all realize that we perform a sacrifice of which we eat, and that it is the office of the priest of the New Testament to offer this sacrifice, as it is through it (*or* him) that the New Covenant appears to be maintained" (cf. p. 79, S., p. 214). It should be, we submit, first "New Covenant" instead of New Testament, and then "new covenant" (*without* capitals) instead of "New Covenant". On p. 82 (S., p. 218) and p. 83 (S., p. 219) again we read of "the priests of the New Testament"![1]

On the whole the text is well printed, but occasionally there are defects or misprints. e.g.:—

p. 88: *For* "run" *read* "ran".
p. 152, l. 3 from end: Fifth word defective.
p. 182, last word: *Read* ܐܝ.
p. 210, l. 4 from end: *Read* ܕܡܫܬܡܫ.
p. 214, l. 14: ܕܡܫܬܡܫ defectively printed.

[1] On p. 77 (S., p. 213) ܕܝܬܩܐ ܥܬܝܩܬܐ is translated "Old Testament". Should it not be "Old Covenant"?

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p. 215, l. 6, last word; and p. 227, l. 5 from end: *For* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

p. 222, l. 1, last word: *For* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

p. 256, l. 6, end: *For* [illegible] *read* [illegible].

846. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

KĀVYĀLAṄKĀRA-SĀRA-SAṂGRAHA OF UDBHAṬA WITH THE VIVṚTI, critically edited with introduction and indices by K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI SIROMANI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LV. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xlviii + 62. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 2.

The text of Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sāra-saṃgraha*, accompanied by its illustrative verses, was first edited tentatively by Jacob in *JRAS.*, 1897, but it was subsequently published with the *Laghuvṛtti* of Pratīhārendurāja by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, in 1915. The imperfections of both these editions were remedied by a more elaborate edition of the work prepared by N. D. Banhatti in the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series in 1925. This publication contained the same commentary, but it was based on better manuscript material and was furnished with an introduction, elaborate notes, and all the necessary critical apparatus. The interest of the present edition published by the Gaekwad's Series, however, is the publication of a new anonymous commentary, entitled *Vivṛti*, a copy of which, discovered in Malabar in 1919–1920, exists in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Attention was drawn to this commentary in 1925 by the present reviewer in *BSOS.*, iv, p. 279, as well as by Banhatti about the same time. It is a matter of congratulation that the work is now made available to students of Sanskrit Poetics in this well-known Series; and so far as a work can be edited from a single manuscript, which in itself is far from being a perfect specimen, the work has been very well edited.

The commentary is anonymous, but that it is fairly late

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is evidenced not only by its matter, but also by its citation of a verse from Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, as well as by its obvious appropriation of Mammaṭa's standard work. Jayaratha, commenting on Ruyyaka's (or Rucaka's) *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*, refers in more than one place to an *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicāra* by Rājānaka Tilaka, and states that Ruyyaka generally followed the views propounded by Tilaka. We know that a Rājānaka Tilaka was Ruyyaka's father. The question naturally arises whether the present *Vivṛti* is identical with the *Viveka* or *Vicāra* cited by Jayaratha. Banhatti is rather cautious in his discussion of the question, but he appears to be inclined to the view that the *Vivṛti* is "evidently a distinct work from *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or °*vicāra* by Rājānaka Tilaka mentioned by Jayaratha". Our editor, however, declines to accept this opinion, and makes an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the *Vivṛti* cannot but be taken as the lost *Viveka* or *Vicāra* of Tilaka. The evidence adduced is plausible indeed, but does not appear to be conclusive, and in the absence of more definite data it would be better to leave the question open.

The new commentary is interesting from many points of view, and these have been detailed by the editor in his able and fairly exhaustive Sanskrit introduction; but its value as an exegetical work need not be placed too high. It is, however, worth publishing because of the light it throws on certain phases of the development of the views of the Alaṅkāra school of Sanskrit Poetics.

714. S. K. De.

Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine. 11 × 8. Jerusalem: Published for the Government of Palestine by Oxford University Press, London. Each part, 5*s*.

Vol. i, No. 3, pp. 49, pls. 19, figs. 29. 1931.

There is little of human interest in this issue of the *Palestine Quarterly* except perhaps the Greek mosiac dedication panel

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from the floor of the Byzantine Church at Mukhmās, the Michmash of the Old Testament, which in a prayer for remembrance carries down the name of Valentinus and the fact of the existence of his wife and children.

The continuation of the article on little known or unpublished local varieties of coins in the Palestine Museum (9 pp. and 3 pls.) contains details of thirty-three bronze coins from Ascalon, Eleutheropolis, Gaza, Raphia, Cæsarea (Samaria), Diospolis-Lydda, Ptolemais-Ace, Nysa-Scythopolis, Sebaste, Dora, Bostra, Damascus, Gadara, and Philadelphia, covering the period as far as datable, from 56–55 B.C. to A.D. 260 and preserving on the obverse heads of Heracles (?), Poseidon (?), Augustus, Nero, Marcus Aurelius, Macrinus, Severus Alexander, Geta, Caracalla, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Valerian, Gordian III, Julia Domma, the Elder and Younger Philip, and Oticilia Severa, the wife of the former and mother of the latter, whom the opinion of the ancients, the definite assertion of the Alexandrian Chronicle, and the imputation of Eusebius indicate as having been a Christian.

This issue also contains a further instalment of the Select Bibliography of Excavations in Palestine commenced in No. 2, and a brief account of a tomb chamber in the Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem. The chief finds here were two gold ear-rings, the one similar to those found at Karm al-Shaikh, Jerusalem (vol. i, No. 1), which from similar ear-rings found in Egypt is dated in the second century A.D., and the other with pearls and a gem apparently of a very rare type (see pl. 38, fig. 2).

The longest article (19 pp., 14 pls., and 29 figs.) discusses the excavations at 'Atlit (*Pilgrims' Castle*).

This castle stands on a rock peninsula, fortified at the neck, whence beaches run east and south.

The site was primarily a *point d'appui*, a stage on the road to Jerusalem, and possibly a port of entry whence the Templars escorted the pilgrims inland.

Early in the thirteenth century 'Atlit was the Crusaders'

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only permanent foothold between Cayphas (Haifa) and Cæsarea, and was built in order to check enemy forays from Mount Tabor ; it was the first-fruits of the Austro-Hungarian crusade of 1218.

When this crusade spent itself at Damietta, 'Atlit passed to the Templars, under whom it became one of the finest Latin castles in the East, defied Frederick II's crusade in 1229, and only fell when Acre did in 1291.

The remaining buildings are described in detail with full plans and elevations. It is interesting to note that in the building of it caves and ancient tombs were utilized. The rooms contain rock-cut cupboards and inside one of the rooms a stone sleeping bench came to light. Other finds were stables with stone mangers and baths (probably Mamlūk).

The castle was in Mamlūk hands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and subsequently with the town wall became a quarry for the early nineteenth century pashas of Acre.

The final article in this issue is a continuation of the account of the excavations of ancient street levels in the Tyropœon Valley, Jerusalem, commenced in No. 2 (*JRAS.*, January, 1933, p. 174).

Two further shafts have now been sunk, one 20 metres south of that mentioned in the previous article. This digging has resulted in the discovery of two street levels, the upper one probably early Byzantine and the lower probably Herodian. The general lay-out of these pavements and accompanying sewers is described fully and illustrated with plans, and the connection between them as revealed by the other shafts and the construction of the channels discussed.

It is possible that we have here the remains of a main thoroughfare bordered with raised colonnades. Various figures in outline illustrate the types of pottery found below the second pavement, a hard red ware finely ribbed and a pink ware with cream external slip being the most common.

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Only two of the coins found, both bronze, are identifiable, the first of the second year of the first Jewish Revolt, A.D. 67–8, and the other of Antiochus VII, 138–129 B.C. (Jerusalem mint).

Vol. i, No. 4, pp. 49, pls. 4. 1932

The greater part of this issue is taken up with a special section of the Concise Bibliography of Excavations in Palestine devoted to Jerusalem. There is also a map of Jerusalem based on the Survey of Palestine map of August, 1925 (scale 1 : 10,000), to illustrate the special Jerusalem bibliography.

A bibliography is given for excavations during 1931 as well as short notices of work at Irq el Ahmar Rock-shelter, Khirbat et Tubeiqa (Beth-zur), Ramát Rahél, Wādī el Maghāra, and Megiddo.

The work at the Irq el Ahmar Rock-shelter in the Wādī Khureitūn revealed six levels of deposits (A to F):

(*A*) E. and M. Bronze Age remains, (*B*) Microlithic remains corresponding to the Lower Natufian of the Maghārat el Wād, (*C*) Lower Natufian and Aurignacian remains, (*D*) Lower Middle Aurignacian remains, (*E*) Lower Middle Aurignacian remains, and (*F*) a few atypical blades and flakes. Animal remains were found in (*B*) to (*F*), and human remains in (*F*).

The excavations at Khirbat et Tubeiqa were confined to the top of the hill, except for tracing 150 metres of city wall. The walls centred round a Hellenistic fortress of three different periods (which showed evidence of having been once burnt), surrounded by a complex of stores and houses, with a street and an open place before the east gate, and in the market were what appeared to be a *khan* and wine-shop. Two cisterns and a reservoir were completely cleared, the latter a natural cave approached from the north by steps descending in a curved staircase with a rock-cut balustrade. Of the M. Bronze Age was an example of early Canaanitish art, a bone carving of a standing man with the right arm raised in a

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ceremonial attitude, and of E. Iron II the wax impression of a seal inscribed " Of Gealyahu, the son of the king ".

The city flourished after the Exile, and reached its zenith under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), but as a result of its capture by Simon the Maccabee (144–135 B.C.) was abandoned by 100 B.C.

The excavations at Ramát Rahél, between Talpiyot and Giv'at Eliyáhu (Khirbat Sālih), resulted in the discovery of a rock-hewn tomb-cave, consisting of a courtyard with a large niche on the north, an ossuary chamber to the east, and a bone chamber on the south. Three of the ossuaries found there were decorated with rosettes ; one had a gable lid and another a wall represented on its sides. Among the finds was a meleki-stone capital with Cypro-Phœnician ornamentation.

The excavations in the caves of the Wādī el Maghara were carried on at three sites : the Cave of the Valley, the Cave of the Kids, and the Cave of the Oven. The work in Cave 1 resulted in the identification of two phases of the Mesolithic industry of Palestine, the Upper and Lower Natufian, whilst Cave 2 yielded a single archæological deposit of the Mousterian Age, with the skeleton of a young child towards the base, and Cave 3, containing a very deep deposit, Mousterian remains identical with 2, associated with a well-preserved fauna.

Mr. P. L. O. Guy's excavations at Megiddó uncovered a water supply system. In the Bronze Age a cave was hacked out, access to it from the town above being perhaps obtained by a masonry passage, apparently of L. Bronze Age. During the tenth century B.C. a vertical shaft and horizontal tunnel were seemingly added when the town was rebuilt and a water supply was necessary within the new fortifications. This being done, the older entrance was blocked. At the bottom of the system was a water-pool from which steps led upwards to an opening at the foot of the tell, inside which was a recess for the guard, whose skeleton and bronze mace-head were here discovered. The latest ruin discovered here dates from about 350 B.C.

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One interesting find was an intact vase (33 cm. high) with a remarkable design of goats, palm tree, birds, and a crab, as well as geometrical patterns.

Three short articles complete the issue, one on mosaic pavements at 'Ein el Fawwār in the Wādī Fāra, the second on an inscribed epitaph from Gaza, and the third on a rock-crystal portrait of Vitellius.

The epitaph from Gaza (2 ft. 9 in. high by 1 ft. 9 in. wide), which dates from the third century A.D., records a certain Charmadas and the early loss of those dear to him.

The portrait of Vitellius in rock-crystal, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches high, has features which hardly bear out the description of Suetonius, although they are those of a weak character. These rock-crystal heads were, as far as is known, confined to imperial portraits, and this particular one must, therefore, date from the last year of Vitellius' life.

Vol. ii, No. 1, pp. 40, pls. 12. 1932.

This issue of the *Palestine Quarterly* contains articles on coins found in Palestine, two third century portrait busts, pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery in Palestine, two inscriptions of Baybars, and a further instalment of the excavation of street levels in the Tyropœon Valley, Jerusalem.

The majority of the coins are thought to have formed part of a single hoard. They were covered with a thin even hard black patina, and needed very little cleaning. They date from the fifth century B.C. to the time of Alexander the Great, and fall into seven main groups: (1) Alexander the Great, (2) Athenian, (3) combinations of Athenian and other types, (4) Sidonian, (5) Tyrian, (6) Egypto-Arabian, Philisto-Arabian, etc., and (7) uncertain.

Certain of group (6) are in mint condition and are, therefore, probably the latest in date, especially a small group showing lions and other animals, possibly struck in Palestine or Egypt, but with some Cypriote or early Thracian and Macedonian characteristics.

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Some with bearded male heads in better style than most of the coins of this type in the Philisto-Arabian class are reminiscent of Cypriote sculpture.

The coins in group (2) are presumably later local copies of Athenian originals of, say, 400–375 B.C. One of these bears an inscription which, it is suggested, may refer to Mentor the Rhodian, the mercenary general first of Nectanebo II and later of Artaxerxes III.

The coins in Group (4) from Sidon are somewhat clumsily executed, and bear on the obverse the square or rounded stern of a galley, and on the reverse the Great King standing and grasping the head of an erect lion in the well-known Persepolitan style, or running or kneeling with bow, spear, or dagger.

The nations pre-eminent in antiquity for portrait sculpture were the Egyptians and, through the Etruscans, the Romans. It is, however, doubtful whether, despite the first or second dynasty ivory statuette of a king from Abydos, the Tell-el-Amarna portraits, or the work of the fourth, twelfth, and twenty-sixth dynasties, any Egyptian work excels the Roman portrait busts of the Republican period in the Boston and Copenhagen Museums, especially the terra-cotta in the former.

Two third-century busts in the Palestine Museum, possibly from Ascalon, are dealt with in this issue. One, of a matronly and masterful character, an imperial lady of the famous Syrian group which included Julia Domna and Otacilia Severa, is possibly identifiable as Cornelia Salonina, the wife of Gallienus (d. 268).

By the time of Diocletian this Eastern style (frontality and flatness of technique) had conquered even at Rome. Of the second portrait, also from Ascalon, neck, bust, and nose are missing. The technique and style are similar to those of the bust of Salonina, but with very different features. The original of this second bust may be Otacilia Severa.

The article on pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery in Palestine from fragments in the Palestine Museum aims at furnishing

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preliminary evidence for the importation of Greek pottery into Palestine before the conquests of Alexander in contradiction of the hitherto popular view. It is, in fact, maintained that the seventh to fourth century exporters, whose activities embraced the areas from South Russia to Spain and from the Alps to Egypt, did not for some obscure reason exclude Palestine.

Noteworthy are late fifth century Black Figure cups with the legend of Oedipus and the Sphinx on them from Tell Jemmeh, near Gaza, of the Boeotian Kabeiric class or one closely related to it. The presence of a sphinx on a Red Figure lekythos of the same date and provenance raises the question of a possible connection between Boeotia and South Palestine during the Theban hegemony.

Of the two inscriptions of the one-eyed Kipchak slave Baybars (1260–1277), whom Lane-Poole in his *Egypt in the Middle Ages* describes as the real founder of the Mamlūk Empire, one is the founder's text on a marble slab dated A.H. 668 in a funerary shrine south of Jericho, known locally as Maqām an-Nabī Mūsā, and the other an inscription in three fragments found near a well in the village of Damra, near Gaza, now in the Palestine Archæological Museum (Nos. I, 8727–8).

The shrine containing Inscription No. 1 has not apparently been noticed in existing European literature on the district. It records the ordering of the construction of the shrine over the "tomb of Moses, who spoke with God", by the Sultan after his return from Jerusalem.

The Tomb of Moses below the Turris Rubea of the Crusaders was but vaguely known even to Arab writers, and the correct site is first mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Baybars' building over it was not mentioned until the time of al-Kutubi (d. A.H. 764).

The second inscription is incomplete, but has been restored as giving the titles of Baybars, including, like Inscription I, that of "Associate of the Commander of the Faithful",

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referring to his institution of the second or Egyptian 'Abbāsid Khalifate.

A further description of the excavations carried out in 1931 in the course of the construction of a new sewer deals with the arch of the great Tyropœon viaduct beneath which ran the sewer and ancient street which formed the subject of the previous two articles.

776. E. B. W. CHAPPELOW.

MONGOLSKOE PRAVO, PREIMUSHCHESTVENNO OBYCHNOE (THE MONGOLIAN LAW, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CUSTOMARY LAW). By V. A. RIASANOVSKY. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 306 + 42 + ii. Harbin: N. E. Chinarev, 1931.

This work is in Russian, but is accompanied by a brief summary of its contents in English covering about three pages; it is divided into three parts, Mongol law proper, Buriat law, and Kalmuk law, and includes a good deal of new material derived from manuscript law codes in Mongol not yet published.

The author discusses the history of Mongol law, the extent to which it was influenced by and influenced Chinese and Russian law and its salient characteristics, and gives his reasons for concluding that fundamentally all the codes discussed are a true native product of the nomadic civilization of Mongolia.

The book is a pioneering work opening up new ground of considerable interest and deserves a hearty welcome; the English summary, however, is somewhat too scanty to enable scholars who cannot read Russian to derive very much benefit from it.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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Indochine, Indonesia, etc.

By C. O. Blagden

1. Le Temple d'Angkor Vat. Troisième Partie. La Galerie des Bas-reliefs. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 11$. (I) pp. 13, pls. 64, plans 4; (II) pp. 6, pls. 146, plans 5; (III) pp. 8, pls. 112, plans 3. Paris: G. van Oest, 1932.

These three volumes constitute the third part of *Mémoires archéologiques publiés par l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome ii, under the above title, which sufficiently indicates the subject of the whole. This part is devoted to the illustration of the bas-reliefs of the great temple, all of which (except a few as yet unidentified) point to the Vaiṣṇava sources that inspired their sculptors. For the most part they represent incidents from the legends of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, and Rāma; but a considerable portion of the third volume is taken up with representations of the founder of the temple, King Śrī Paramaviṣṇuloka, and his court, and it ends with pictures of the Hindu heavens and hells. In a brief introduction to the first volume, M. George Coedès explains these matters in outline, the more detailed discussion being reserved for a subsequent volume. The plates leave nothing to be desired, and the plans serve to locate the position of the several sections of the sculptures on the walls of the building.

661.

2. Bibliographie de l'Indochine Française, 1927–1929. Par Paul Boudet et Remi Bourgeois. $11 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii + 240. Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1932. $7.

This is a continuation of a bibliography covering 1913–1926, which appeared in 1929 and served as a supplement to the well-known *Bibliotheca Indosinica* of the late Henri Cordier. As stated in the introduction, the arrangement of the present volume has been slightly modified in a manner which, it is hoped, will facilitate research; and it is intended that in

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future the issue shall be annual. The work falls into two parts, the first being arranged alphabetically under classified subject headings, which are very numerous, the second under the names of authors. It is published by the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in the excellent style which we are accustomed to expect from that institution.

751.

3. MEGALITHIC REMAINS IN SOUTH SUMATRA. By Dr. A. N. J. TH. À TH. VAN DER HOOP. Translated by WILLIAM SHIRLAW. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 191, ills. 226, maps 17. Zutphen : W. J. Thieme & Cie., 1932.

This sumptuously illustrated work is mainly concerned with southern Sumatra, but a few monuments of the Bantam region (western Java) have also been included. The survey on which it is based was made in 1931, and took about six months, a large number of sites being visited. The objects described, and in many cases illustrated, comprise statues, stones with cup-shaped hollows, troughs, upright megaliths and symmetrical groups of such, dolmens, stone cists, terrace graves, and a variety of others. They are enumerated and described in the first four chapters ; these are preceded by a brief preface and an introduction, which amongst other information gives some account of earlier prehistoric field-work in southern Sumatra. In chapters v to xiii the several items above indicated are discussed in succession ; and chapter xiv deals with the orientation of the megaliths (which is also displayed synoptically in illustration 226). Chapter xv contains the author's general conclusions, after which comes an appendix on the chemical and mineralogical analysis of a few of the objects. An ample and very valuable bibliography, two indexes, and the illustrations and maps, preceded by a list of them, complete the volume.

The plates are very good. The statues, though crude and somewhat like the most recent efforts of a certain European school of sculpture, are really remarkable. It seems clear

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that they are almost all of earlier date than the introduction of Hinduism into Sumatra. But they, and the other stone remains, seem to be of various periods. Some were apparently contemporary with the local bronze age, and the author gives reasons for dating them in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the final chapter there is a concise list of the various types of megalithic remains of neighbouring countries (such as other islands of the Indian Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, Assam, and Burma). On the question of the relation of these to one another and to megalithic cultures in more distant parts of the world, he prudently takes up a non-committal attitude. After citing the views of several other authorities, he points out that, as the evidence is at present by no means complete, positive assertions would be premature, and the far-reaching speculations of some theorists are not based on sound foundations. He pleads, therefore, for a systematic survey of, at any rate, all the megalithic remains of the Indian Archipelago; and it is to be hoped that the proposal will be carried, for his monograph is a fine specimen of the results of such investigations.

749.

4. Die zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer (Ostafrika, Abessinien, Arabien, Persien, Vorder- und Hinterindien, Malaiischer Archipel, Philippinen, China und Japan) zur Zeit des Franz Xaver (1538–1552). Von Georg Schurhammer S.J. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xlvii + 522, pls. 30. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major G.m.b.H., 1932. RM. 53.

This catalogue refers mainly to manuscript sources, but a number of printed works and inscriptions are also listed in it. Although the title specifies the period 1538–1552, the first section (twenty pages) of the catalogue deals with a selection of documents from 1438 to 1537; and the last one (beginning at p. 443, not 433 as stated in the table of contents) has more

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than thirty pages of entries running from 1553 to 1624, making the total number 6,236, instead of the 6,080 given on the title page. The notices are, of course, brief, but they serve to indicate the subject matter of the several documents and their importance as materials for history. The plates, which are good though rather small in scale, give a large number of specimens of handwriting in many different scripts and languages, largely Oriental. The catalogue itself is preceded by a preface, table of contents, bibliography, list of abbreviations, and an introduction. This latter deals with the history of Portuguese Asia and neighbouring countries (1538–1552), the various kinds of documents listed, and the archives where they are preserved. The work ends with a useful index of thirty-six pages and a few addenda and corrigenda.

The book is one that it is hardly possible to review in detail, but it is impressive by reason of the great mass of material examined and the amount of scholarly labour and skill that must have been expended in cataloguing it. One can safely say (and it is no small praise) that it is worthy of the reputation of the Society to which its learned author belongs.

608.

THE LAW OF THE AIR. (The Tagore Law Lectures of 1931.) By A. D. McNAIR. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi + 250. London: Butterworth & Co., 1932.

Our English system of law has, in the course of its development, been influenced and moulded in no small degree by the progress of physical science. While new discoveries serve to bring the forces of nature under the further control of man and so place new resources and advantages at his disposal, they bring in their train new perils against which the law, in the interest of the common safety, must make it its business to provide protection.

Mechanical invention in the nineteenth century introduced

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many complexities into the structure of industrial and commercial life, and acted as a powerful stimulus to the growth of our law, particularly in the domain of the law of Negligence. The risks attendant on the use of high-powered and elaborate machinery rendered it necessary for the law to prescribe a higher standard of the duty to take care and to enforce liability in a more stringent degree, and much of the legislation of that period was devoted to measures for the defence of life and property against the further dangers which were so brought into being. The law must keep step with the advances of science, and must continually re-adjust its bearings in order to cope with the practical needs of changing social conditions.

We are now called upon to take notice of fresh combinations of circumstances created by the development of the science of aerial navigation. Now that the air has become a medium of human activity it is clear that difficult problems are bound to emerge from the ever-increasing resort to aviation, both as a means of travel and a means of transport. How are the principles and rules of law, defined both by legislation and judicial decision, to be applied to the regulation of air-borne traffic ? In what sense, for example, are our present legal conceptions of ownership and possession to be interpreted as regards the air-space ? Is there to be a doctrine of freedom of the air as well as of freedom of the seas ? Or is the right to fly to be subjected to restrictions ? If so, in what manner is the right to be effectively restrained ? What practical measures of protection can be secured to those whose life or property is exposed to jeopardy from the air ?

These and other kindred problems constitute the subject-matter of the book here under review which embodies the Tagore Law Lectures for 1931, delivered to the University of Calcutta by Dr. McNair, of Cambridge. Much of what he has to say about these matters is, as he admits, of a speculative nature ; for up to the present time there has been little case-law and little legislation on the subject of aerial navigation.

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The task of the author has to a large extent been that of forecasting the manner in which the common-law principles which deal with traffic on land and sea are likely to be applied by analogy to traffic in the air. The learned writer presents in a lucid and convincing manner the arguments by which he supports his conclusions, and, pending further legislation on the subject, it may safely be said that the views he expresses in this book are likely to hold the field.

One of the most interesting topics dealt with is that of Trespass. As Trespass is a wrong to possession, the question naturally arises how our existing law is to be connected with passage through the air. In what way can flight through the air-space amount to a disturbance of possession? In discussing this subject the author traces the history of the well-known maxim "*Cujus est solum, ejus est usque ad coelum et ad inferos*" so often cited as authority for the proposition that ownership of the superincumbent air-space is vested in the proprietor of the subjacent land.

While it is true that the maxim has not been uniformly accepted by our judges in this sense, it has certainly been given this effect in many English cases, notably those arising out of the fixing of overhead telegraph and telephone wires. It has even been suggested in connection with schemes for "Sky-writing" that it is possible for a person to be the owner of that portion of the sky which is vertically above his land.

The truth is, as Dr. McNair observes, that no systematic attempt has ever been made to think out the legal position of the air and air-space. The cases which have arisen have been concerned with a state of things at the height of a few feet above the ground level. Obviously the question has now assumed larger proportions and the theory of the extent of ownership must be subjected to revision.

We think there will be general agreement with the view of the author that the maxim can no longer serve as authority for any doctrine of ownership of the air-space up to an indefinite height. The correct view seems to be that previously

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suggested by Sir Frederick Pollock and others—namely, that the extent of the right of ownership must be limited by the power of effective control or occupation. To hold otherwise is to ignore all considerations of public convenience and to disregard the right of the public to make use of those elements of nature which, as Baron Parke once observed, are bestowed by Providence for the common benefit of man.

This more rational conception of ownership appears to underlie the provisions of section 9 of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, which declare that the mere flight of aircraft over any property at a height which is in the circumstances reasonable will not be deemed to cause disturbance of possession or enjoyment so as to give rise to an action for trespass or nuisance, provided always that no material damage or loss to person or property is thereby caused. Where such damage or loss arises the owner of the aircraft is liable unless he can establish negligence on the part of the plaintiff, who by the section is relieved of the duty of proving negligence, intention, or any other cause of action. The rule is a stringent one and is in keeping with the present tendency of the law towards the adoption of a standard of absolute liability—the doctrine that a man acts at his peril. In a mechanized age like the present it may fairly be said that no lower standard of care would provide adequate protection to those exposed to unforeseeable dangers.

The learned author deals with other matters concerning which the legislature has not, so far, chosen to intervene and which therefore fall to be determined by the common law. His discussion of these subjects suggests the reflexion that it might be well that legislative action should be taken, as has already been done concerning the law of Trespass and Nuisance, in order to anticipate the uncertainties which may arise in the attempt to apply old principles to novel conditions.

We may be permitted to express regret that in these lectures addressed to an Indian university, the learned author

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has not adverted to the state of the law of the air in India. So far, the only Indian legislation concerning aerial navigation consists of the Indian Aircraft Act of 1911 (amended in 1914) and a collection of statutory rules framed under this Act (the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1920).

The Act, which applies to the whole of British India, is a skeleton enactment intended to control the manufacture, possession, use, sale, export, and import of aircraft, power being taken to issue rules and notifications for these purposes. The rules relate mainly to technical matters such as registration, licensing, and the like, but those contained in Part II deal with general safety conditions and, in particular, prohibit flying over cities and towns which may be dangerous to public safety by reason of low altitude or proximity to persons or dwellings. Breaches of these rules are declared to be offences punishable with both fine and imprisonment. But nowhere in the Act or in the rules framed under it is there to be found any provision corresponding to section 9 of the Air Navigation Act, 1920, already referred to. There being no declaration of a right to sue for damages caused by dangerous flying, the question whether such a suit will lie at the instance of a private individual must be decided in accordance with the English common law which the courts in India, in the absence of statute law, apply as the rule of justice, equity, and good conscience. Nice questions may therefore arise touching this right of suit for breach of a statutory duty. In England, according to Dr. McNair, no suit by a private individual would lie for a breach of the provisions of the Act of 1920 or of the Orders in Council made thereunder. It is submitted, however, that in British India the right to sue in such cases would probably be conceded.

Another matter which is of peculiar interest in India is the right of privacy. In England no action would ordinarily lie for disturbance of privacy, as such a right is not recognized by the English law. In India, on the other hand, such a right is frequently allowed by way of customary easement, being

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based upon the Oriental practice of the seclusion of women. There can be little doubt that a disturbance of this right where it exists in India would be actionable.

Lastly, we may refer to another topic which might usefully have been discussed in its relation to India, namely, the doctrine of sovereignty.

Under Article 1 of the International Convention of the 13th October, 1919, the accepted theory is that every Power has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air-space above its territory. Under Article 2 of the Convention each of the contracting States accords to all the others freedom of innocent passage in time of peace, subject to compliance with the conditions expressed in the Convention.

This theory has been enunciated in wider language in the preamble to the Air Navigation Act of 1920, which does not, of course, extend to any part of India. How, then, is this conventional doctrine of sovereignty to be understood in relation to India? The native states of India are not independent sovereign states; they have no international status as such. They are under the suzerainty of the Crown as the paramount power, and are represented by the Crown in all international agreements. It would seem, therefore, that they are bound by this Convention, at any rate to the extent of being obliged to allow the right of innocent passage provided by Article 1.

On the other hand, it could hardly be contended that under this Article the Crown has "complete and exclusive sovereignty" over the air-space lying above, say, Hyderabad or Mysore, for these are in no sense national territory of the Crown or of Crown Colonies. Subject, therefore, to the right of passage just mentioned and to any other power of control necessarily involved in the elusive relation which goes by the name of Paramountcy, the position appears to be that it is within the competence of a native state in India to assert and to exercise jurisdiction over the air-space above its territory.

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We should have welcomed an expression of opinion on these and other similar matters which are of special interest to those who have to administer the law in India and we trust that in the second edition of this work, which we hope to see at no distant date, the author will be induced to add a chapter dealing particularly with the law of the air in India.

816. B. LINDSAY.

SAKA STUDIES. By Dr. STEN KONOW. Oslo Etnografiske Museum Bulletin 5. 12 × 9½, pp. viii + 198. Oslo, 1932. London: Luzac & Co.

The finds in Central Asia of documents in previously unknown languages have provided a rich field of research. Hoernle distinguished two main linguistic groups, an Indo-European "Language I", with two sub-groups, and a "Language II". Dr. Sten Konow has now investigated the language of the last group, which the late Professor Leumann thought to belong to a separate branch of the Aryan family and called North-Aryan. But it is now certain that it is East-Iranian. Dr. Konow, following Lüders, designates it Saka, East-Iranian being too wide a term, since it also includes Sogdian. He has discarded Staël Holstein's name Tokharian, which he at one time accepted, because the Uigurs so called a separate non-Iranian tongue, i.e. that treated by E. Sieg and W. Siegling in their *Tocharische Grammatik*, 1931.

This language was "for some centuries, the language of administration and literature in the Khotan country". The author elsewhere (*Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang*, Oslo, 1929) expressed the opinion that it was also "used in literature over a much wider area". Earlier "it was also used in the coin legends of the Kuṣāṇa ruler, Kaniṣka and his successors". On coins Kaniṣka calls himself *shaonano shao* (i.e. *ṣṣaunānu ṣṣau*) "king of kings". Saka is known "from

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numerous fragments of Buddhist literature, and from a series of documents" dating from the eighth century and earlier. The script of the manuscripts now dealt with is Brāhmī, with the addition of a few compound letters not used in India.

This book is dedicated to Sir George Macartney, for it is on manuscript leaves acquired by him that these *Saka Studies* are in the main based. These leaves contain "fragments of the Middle-Iranian version of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*, which has been made known by Professor Leumann", in *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, 1920. The author has edited a text from both Macartney's and Leumann's material. A few lines of text have also been taken from J. N. Reuter's article in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx, 37, and from Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*, 1026 ff. To this he has added the corresponding Tibetan version from the Kanjur and an English translation. Saka and Tibetan texts are given in Roman transliteration. Readers may regret the absence of any facsimile of the Macartney Brāhmī MS. The above occupies 48 of the total 198 pages.

The first part of the work (pp. 1–62) contains, besides a lucid discussion as to the correct appellation and classification of this language, a close analysis of its main features and structure under the heads of script and sounds, stress, vowels, consonants, and inflexional system. Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, and verbs are in turn examined.

A valuable feature of this book is the vocabulary in the last 76 pages. "It is not meant to be an etymological dictionary, but rather a grammatical index." Indeed, it is a complete record, with references, of the inflexional forms that occur in this Sūtra. It also includes many words from other Saka texts. The vocabulary, as also the grammar, contains many equivalents in other Iranian languages, Avestan, Pehlevi, Sogdian, and in Sanskrit. We learn that another scholar is compiling an etymological dictionary of Saka.

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It would obviously be presumptious for one familiar with neither Saka nor other Middle-Iranian tongues to venture more than general remarks on this volume. But even the non-expert will be impressed by the author's easy exposition of his difficult subject. Only a scholar of Dr. Sten Konow's linguistic calibre could throw so much light on the Saka word-forms and inflexional system, or so satisfactorily elucidate the ways in which Saka often modifies vowels and consonants in loan words from Sanskrit. For instance, we meet with (1) a shortening of unaccented syllables, long in Sanskrit, as *saṃkhārama*, from Skr. *saṃghārāma* "monastery"; (2) a change of consonant as *nāta* from Skr. *nāga*; (3) a change of vowel, *āśirī*, Skr. *ācārya*; *dīvata*, Skr. *devatā*.

A feature that at once strikes the eye in the Saka text is the doubling of certain consonants, which indicate different values from the single letters. Tocharian shows a similar phenomenon. Such are the doublets, *dd*, *gg*, *śś*, *tt*, which often indicate sounds, represented by single letters in Sanskrit. We may instance *chäddra* (*chidra*) *Ggaṃgga* (*Ganges*), *Śśakra* (*Śakra*), *anaṃtta* (*ananta*). *R* is doubled as in *rre* "king". While Saka *t* is a voiced dental *d*, *tt* = Skr. *t*, and *d* is a voiced dental fricative. Of the compound letters peculiar to Saka *tc* and *js*, with certain qualifications, "are the regular representatives of Aryan *č*, *ǰ* respectively." *ts* and *ys* we find even in loan-words, as *saṃtsāra* (Skr. *saṃsāra*), *āysana* (*āsana*). *ys* is the voiced dental *s*, a *z*.

A peculiarity of Saka is that all words end in vowels, in which respect it differs from Tocharian, Pehlevi, and modern Iranian. Even short final vowels are preserved, though a non-final vowel is often shortened or dropped before or after an accented syllable. Such vowel endings are the nominative singular in *ä* (= *i*) and *a* (*gyastä*, Avestan *yazata*, "god", *kantha* "town"), the nom. plurals in *a* and *e* (*gyasta*, *kanthe*).

We are told that material for a complete sketch of the Saka inflexional system is as yet insufficient, and that much

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of Leumann's material awaits publication. But clearly the author has used such documents as were available to the best advantage. Here we can notice only a few points of interest. In plurals of nouns traces of the dual are preserved. Medieval Saka has three genders, unlike "the modern Saka dialects, such as Pashto and the Pamir vernaculars, where only the masculine and feminine genders remain". Neuter plural terminations are the same as in Avestan. There are traces of inflexional bases; the six cases are only complete in words of the *a*-base (nom. sing. *ä* = *i* > Iranian **ah*). The inflexion of *a*- and *ā*- bases has been extended to others, such as the *i*- and *u*- bases. Where Saka drops an earlier consonantal final, the noun often falls into the *a* class. Thus *ysärä* "heart", corresponds to Av. *zərəd*. The interrogative-relative base *ka* in *kāma* "which", *kă*, *ku* "when", *kuṣṭa* "where", suggests the modern Persian *kih*, *kai*, *kū*. Many numerals such as *paṃjsa*, *dasau*, *bistä*, *satä*, and *ysāru* resemble modern Persian.

So too with verbs, some bases and even verbal inflexions (if we omit the Saka final vowel) have their counterparts in the Iranian of to-day. We may instance *di* (*did*) "see", *stā* "stand", *niṣad* (*nihad*) "sit down", and the inflexion of the present tense of the verb substantive *ah* (*īmä*, *ī*, *aśtä*, *mä*, *sta*, *īndä*). Verbs have three voices, but "only the active is fully developed". Traces of a passive are few, and the middle is found only in the singular and in the third person plural of the present. From base *bud* "understand", we have sing. 1 *bve*, 2 *bva*, 3 *butte*, and plural 3 *bvāre*, *buvāre*. Some verbs have third person singulars, middle in form but active in sense, as *dṛysde* "holds", *yande* "makes". The base *yan* "make" or "do", is freely used in verbal compounds. While paradigms for the conjunctive and for some past tenses are given, there are many gaps elsewhere, e.g. in the optative and past compound tenses. There is a variety of forms for the imperative singular and for the infinitive. Among the latter (*-tave*, *-te*, or *tä -ä*, *-tanu*,

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-āna) the author recognizes in *-tanu* the modern Iranian infinitive *-tan*, which comes from old Persian *-tanaiy*.

The Saka has both prepositions and postpositions. The *haṃ* element of the Saka postpositions *haṃdrri*, *haṃtsa*, etc., is apparently the same as in *ham-in*, *hamrāh*, *bā-ham* in modern Persian, which in *-ra* still has a postposition.

Among suffixes used to form nouns one notices endings in *-na* (*-ana*, *-āna*, *-īna*, *-ūna*), also found in other Iranian languages, for instance, *rrusana* "bright" (Persian, *raušan*), *myāna* "middle" (Av. *maiδyāna*, Pers. *miyān*), etc.

The foregoing notes give but a slight idea of Dr. Sten Konow's achievement in constructing out of limited material a grammatical sketch of Saka. Till more remains have been published, no fuller grammar will be possible. But though future research may amplify the information now supplied, these *Saka Studies* undoubtedly disclose the main phonetic, morphological, and inflexional characteristics of the language.

Perhaps we may offer some remarks as to the *Saṃghāṭasūtra* itself. In Féer's Table Alphabétique des ouvrages de Kandjour (*Analyse du Kandjour*, p. 537), the title is given as *Sanghâta Sûtra Dharmaparâya* (*Arya-*) "Sublime Sûtra de l'accumulation, énumération de la loi". Purification des vieux, perfection des jeunes. Mdo. iv. 2° (pp. 346–426); 80 folios. Elsewhere we read that the Sutra was pronounced in mixed prose and verse by Śākya on the hill Gṛdhrakuṭa near Rājāgṛha in response to the questioning of a Boddhisattva Sarvaśūra (Tib., *Kun-tu-dpaḥ-ba*). It was translated into Tibetan early in the ninth century (*c.* A.D. 804–816) by pundits Jina-Mitra, of Kashmir, and Dāna-śīla, and *lo-tsā-ba* Ye-śes-sde, a translator of many works in the *Mdo* and *Rgyud* sections of the Kanjur. The group of five sūtras, to which this belongs, is considered by Féer to be of little importance. But this sūtra has now a use in that the Tibetan supplies a key to the Saka, as both are translations from much the same Sanskrit original, the Saka being perhaps the earlier. By reason of the subject-matter the style of this Mahāyāna sūtra differs somewhat

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from the secular Tun-Huang document, published in 1929 by Dr. Sten Konow, which was in the main a report of a mission from the king of Khotan to Ṣacu, and which could only be translated in part and tentatively.

The romanization of the Brāhmī is easy to follow and commendably sparing of diacritical marks and symbols. One brief example (p. 103) will illustrate this.

"Bhaiṣajyasenä bodhisatvä tta hve se, Ne daimä gyasta balysa."

"The Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyasena spoke thus, namely: I do not see, O divine Lord."

Here the only unusual symbol *ä* denotes the common short *i* sound, found also in other Central Asian languages, such as Tocharian. The transliteration of the Tibetan follows the system used by Professor F. W. Thomas in recent publications of Central Asian Tibetan fragments.

The typography and format of this volume are admirable. Among the very rare misprints, we note injunktive, p. vi, provenience, p. 3, preservad, p. 16, genders (for voices), p. 53, luth (lute), p. 61.

In conclusion, it is perhaps superfluous to record that in this important work Dr. Sten Konow's outstanding scholarship wide linguistic learning, and power of lucid exposition are patent throughout. Students of Saka are fortunate in having available so sound a basis for their investigations.

736. H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

HISTORY OF SHAHJAHAN OF DIHLI. By BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxx + 373. Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1932.

This detailed and well-balanced account of Shāhjahān of Delhi will long remain the standard work on this particular period of Mughal rule in India, for Dr. Saksena,

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as can be readily gathered from his bibliography and analysis of sources, has left no stone unturned in order to obtain access to every available original authority.

The first ten chapters constitute an accurate summary of the political and military history of the reign. One fact emerging from the author's account of the emperor's Central Asian policy, and forming a further proof that distance, combined with poor communications, always defeated the efforts of the Tīmūrids in India, is the extreme difficulty, almost impossibility, of controlling outlying conquests, such as Balkh, from a distant centre like Delhi. Undoubtedly the most important part of the book is that which deals with Shāhjahān's administrative system, both central and provincial.

The fact that the splendour of the court reached its zenith in this reign has led Dr. Saksena to the conclusion that it was "the most glorious epoch in the medieval period". Nevertheless, he is careful to point out, when dealing with the revenue policy, that Shāhjahān had departed from the main principles of Akbar's rule. Again, in so far as the Hindu population was concerned, this epoch can hardly be termed glorious, for Shāhjahān displayed a bigotry surpassed only by his still more orthodox successor, Aurangzeb. The author also notes that the military system had become far less efficient than it had been in the days of Akbar.

Space forbids even a bare mention of the many and varied topics discussed in this volume, but enough has been written to show that this well-documented and scientific study of a hitherto neglected period should find a place on the book-shelves of every Islamic scholar and student of Muslim rule in India.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

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LUSTRED TILES FROM SAMARRA IN ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD. By M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 60. Lahore : Chabuk Sawaran, 1933.

Mr. Chughtai here describes a set of four octagonal tiles fitting into a cruciform centre piece. They belong to the Ashmolean Museum. He was the first to notice that they bear not only a series of Arabic texts, but also a date (the month Muḥarram, A.H. 661) and, what is much more important, the name of the place Surra man rā or Samarra. Students of Islamic pottery had assumed that the manufacture at Samarra had ceased long before the date of these tiles, which were believed to have been made at Varāmīn. Mr. Chughtai's discovery is thus of considerable value.

R. BURN.

A. 38.

LES MOSQUÉES DU CAIRE. By L. HAUTECOEUR and G. WIET. 2 vols., 13 × 10 : Vol. I, pp. 376 ; Vol. II, pp. 8 ; pls. 247. Paris : Leroux, 1932.

This book (vol. i : Text) is divided into two parts, the first and larger portion by M. Wiet being mainly historical, the second, by M. Hautecoeur, dealing exclusively with the monuments. These two parts are of very different value, the former being an admirable historical survey of the Muslim period in Egypt, more complete and illuminating than anything that has been produced hitherto. Both in quality and extent (189 pages against 156) it quite overshadows the second part, to which it is really intended to be an introduction !

The authors, in their *avant-propos*, acknowledge the work of their forerunners, but it is surprising to find that no mention is made of Saladin, Briggs, Richmond, Flury, or Mrs. Devonshire. And if it was worth while mentioning Marcel, why not Coste and Prisse d'Avennes ?

M. Wiet makes some very opportune remarks on the small contribution made by the Arabs to the "Glory of the

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Khalifate", and points out the absurdity of the term "Arab art", so frequently heard, which he rightly characterizes as "absolutely devoid of meaning". The Arab conquest was a historical fact of enormous import, but culture was provided by the conquered peoples. The first Arabic grammarians and the first collectors of "Traditions" were Persians, likewise most of the great legists and theologians. The Syrians were chiefly responsible for the architecture of the Umayyads, the Persians for that of the Abbasids. In 833 even the army ceased to be Arab and became Turkish.

One of the most admirable features of Part I is the statistical method employed by M. Wiet to summarize a mass of historical facts. For example, on p. 57, in order to bring home to us the appalling insecurity of high office under Mamlūk rule he tells us that out of 220 of the highest officials, sixty-four were condemned to death, five died in prison, eight were assassinated, two died abroad after having been betrayed, sixteen were killed in action, etc., and that only eighty-eight died a natural death. One can realize the work involved in writing this single sentence, but the irreproachable accuracy of the picture thereby obtained is the reward.

Again (on p. 69), following the same method, he takes Carra de Vaux's *Penseurs de l'Islam,* which contains 200 biographies of leading historians, philosophers, geographers, and scientists. Of these, only nineteen lived in Egypt, and few of these were of Egyptian stock. Of ninety-nine Muslim mystical writers whose work is discussed by Massignon, only six were Egyptian. It is scarcely necessary to point out the value of historical generalizations based on such firm foundations. An admirable chapter is devoted to the trade routes and their importance for the history of art.

On p. 60 he makes the illuminating remark that Baybars succeeded (in almost expelling the Crusaders) where Saladin failed, because Saladin weakened himself by creating feudalism, whereas Baybars strengthened himself by suppressing it and presenting to them a centralized authority.

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The only quarrel we have with this admirable historical survey is the complete absence of documentation, which the author excuses by saying: "We have shown in other works that we do not lack references to Arabic authors." This seems to imply a complete misunderstanding of the purpose of documentation, which is not intended to "show off" the extent of the author's reading, but to enable readers to see to what century and to what author any given statement goes back, and to enable them, when inclined, to take up the threads themselves.

The second part of the book, unfortunately, does not maintain the high level of the first, in fact it bears all the signs of having been compiled in haste. Will it be believed that there is not a single original plan in the book? One would at least have expected a new plan of the Mosque of Baybars (plate iv), which in 1918 was cleared of the buildings that encumbered it. Those given are reproduced to every conceivable scale (none to a simple fraction such as 1 : 200 or 1 : 300) and in nine cases no scale at all is given. Some have even been reproduced from Baedeker's *Egypt*, one is a fantasy of Coste published in 1839, another (of the Madrasa of Qalāūn, fig. 10) contains gross inaccuracies. Nor are the plans always arranged in chronological order, even where there would have been no difficulty in doing so, as in plates vi and xi. And, although there are 247 plates, will it be believed that there is not a single illustration of the wonderful ornament on the soffits of the arches and window recesses of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque, nor of the four window grilles which certainly date from the ninth century?

Here are a few of the more extraordinary statements. "The plan of the Dome of the Rock is Byzantine" (p. 202); however, no Byzantine forerunners are cited. Suggests that the present plan of the Mosque of 'Amr goes back to A.D. 827 (p. 202), whereas Pococke's plan proves that the present plan only goes back to 1798. Quotes Choisy to the effect that pointed arches exist in the East of the Roman epoch (p. 204),

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Choisy cites Arak el-Emīr (Transjordania), which is an entirely trabeated building (see H. C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, I, *Southern Syria*). At Mshattā "existe la niche avec la triple voussure!" (p. 206). Nobody else has seen it. Speaks of towers which *flank* the curtain walls of the mosque of Baghdād (p. 208), "dont la partie centrale *date* de Mansour (149 H. = 766)." This mosque disappeared in the seventeenth century! The walls were of mud brick, and Herzfeld, in his proposed reconstruction, gives the walls flanking towers on the analogy of the mud walled enclosures of Sāmarrā. The towers are a deduction, they do not exist, and M. Hautecoeur must have merely turned over the pages of Herzfeld's *Archäologische Reise* in great haste, without reading the text. "The Great Mosque at Sâmarrâ was a mosque on columns" (p. 208); the excavations of Sarre and Herzfeld have shown that the roof rested on piers. Columns of brick at Diyârbekr (p. 208); this would be surprising; the authorities quoted are Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, I, p. 361 (there are only 252 pages); and Strzygowski, *Amida*, pp. 44 and 310, where I can find no such statement. Doubts that mâchicoulis at Bâb an-Naṣr can be original (A.D. 1087), for "all dated mâchicoulis are of thirteenth century (p. 236), yet on p. 256 he says that Saladin (twelfth century) introduced them from Syria, where they seem to have been born in the eleventh century. Saladin certainly did not introduce them into Egypt for the simple reason that none occur either in his part of the walls of Cairo or in his work at the Citadel, but only in the work of his successor al-'Ādil. On the other hand they were employed in Syria for a military purpose as early as A.D. 551 at Dâr Qità, and in A.D. 729 at Qaṣr al-Ḥair. "Perhaps some French artist accompanied the Frankish ambassadors who spent ten months in Cairo in 1095" (p. 238); this to explain a decorative feature in a gate built in 1087!

But why continue? M. Hautecoeur is not even *au fait* with the most recent literature of his subject; e.g. his remarks about the carved jambs of Sultan Ḥasan show that he has

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not read a memoir in the *B.I.F.A.O.*, t. xxi, pp. 53–4, and his attempt to trace the origin of the stalactite portal (pp. 282–3) shows that he has not read my article in the same periodical, t. xxvi, pp. 139–43.

The one bright spot is the collection of plates; the photographs are excellent but, curiously enough, the name of the photographer (Lekejian), who is responsible for the greater part of them, is nowhere to be found. Unfortunately the titles are not always correct, e.g. the same photograph of the miḥrāb of Shagarat ad-Durr appears twice, once with its correct title (plate 62) and once as the "mihrab latéral de Sayyida Roukayya (plate 39), and a view of the interior of the mosque of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhīr appears as "Mosquée Bourdaini".

The collotypes are splendid and show what this process is capable of in really skilled hands.

A. 56. K. A. C. CRESWELL.

SUBBILULIUMA ET SON TEMPS. By EUGÈNE CAVAIGNAC. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. 58. 10 × 6½. pp. 111, ills. 1, map 1. Paris: Société d'Edition Les Belles Lettres. 1932. Frs. 15.

How great has been the progress realized in the last decade by Hittitological studies can be seen easily from this book of Cavaignac, dealing with the political and war-like activities of Šubbiluliuma, one of the greatest of the kings of the Hittite empire, who reigned from 1385 to 1350 B.C. Cavaignac has published recently in the *Revue des Études Anciennes* and through the editor Heitz of Strasbourg a French translation of the Annals of the Hittite king, which had been published previously in transliteration by Forrer in *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, ii, 1, Leipzig, 1922. Some of his studies on

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Hittite civilization and on the history of the ancient Near East have induced him to face the difficult and rather intricate problem of the chronology of the warlike expeditions of the king of Ḫatti.

Without a chronological scheme of the reign of Šubbiluliuma it is utterly impossible to understand the importance and the political import of his many wars waged in different directions. Cavaignac tries therefore first of all to bring some order into the chronology of the many different texts we have at our disposal to spin the historical thread of his political activities. Among those sources a prominent position is occupied by not a few of the letters of Tell el-'Amārnah, the more so as they do not come from the Hittite side and therefore do not represent the point of view of the Anatolian kingdom, but the majority of them emanate from his adversaries. But Cavaignac himself must admit that up to now it has been impossible to adopt a sure chronological scheme and that therefore it is better to limit oneself to a geographical description of the military campaigns of the king. The effort the author makes to put into chronological order the complicated and mostly obscure historical events of Northern Syria, where for a long time waged their political and warlike battles Ḫatti, Mitanni, Egypt and the small indigenous States, which according to the political contingencies were leaning towards the Sun of Ḫatti or the Pharaoh of Egypt, is praiseworthy.

The author gives first of all in the first chapter, pp. 3–14, an exact sketch of the political situation of the ancient Near East prior to the advent of Šubbiluliuma to the throne, from 1450 to 1390. In the second chapter Cavaignac writes about the first campaigns of the king in Syria, from 1390 to 1378. Here the Hittite king had to face the political situation brought about with great ability by Tušratta of Mitanni in favour of his country, a situation detrimental to the interests of Ḫatti and therefore for the most part based wholly on the friendship of Mitanni and the Pharaoh. Both countries

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had to bear the pressure of the Hittite empire towards the south, towards the sun, richness, and higher civilization. But the Hittite king succeeded in breaking up thoroughly Mitannian power on the western side of the Euphrates and to impose on the small nations of Northern Syria the ascendency of the Anatolian kingdom. The author knows how to make use ingeniously of all the news given us by the letters of Tell el-'Amārnah on the politics, often tortuous and many-sided, of the many and small States to the south of Taurus, which, besides adapting their own policy to that of the three great powers in the struggle for supremacy, wanted to increase their own might in comparison to that of their immediate neighbours.

Cavaignac goes over in the third chapter, pp. 34–49, to the description of the military exploits of Šubbiluliuma between 1378 and 1358 in Asia Minor, especially against the semi-barbarian Gasgeans which inhabited the territory lying between Ḫatti and the Black Sea and continuously menaced the centre of the empire of the Hittites. The author places the country of Kizwatna, contrary to the majority of critics, to the S.E. of the River Halys, stretching to the south till joining the frontier of Ḫatti on the Gulf of Alexandretta on the Mediterranean Sea, pp. 34–6. Cavaignac entertains no doubt that the Aḫḫiyawa of the Hittite texts are the Achaeans themselves, who as far back as about 1400 B.C. entered into contact with the Hittites, p. 41.

In the two following chapters, pp. 50–85, the author deals with the new campaigns in Syria from 1378 to 1353, writes in the last chapter, pp. 86–91, again about Asia Minor, and comes finally to the death of Šubbiluliuma which occurred in the year 1350.

The book has in the last pages an excellent chronological table from 1450 to 1320, which embraces all the important events of the ancient Near East and constitutes a good base for further chronological researches on the thrilling age of Tell el-'Amārnah. A map of the Hittite world gives

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a good geographical illustration of the exposition of the author.

Cavaignac has written a good little book, indispensable to all those who want to put into chronological order the many facts we know about the politics of the great and small powers of the ancient Near East in the 'Amārnah age.

709. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

THE KĀÇYAPAPARIVARTA: A MAHĀYĀNASŪTRA OF THE RATNAKŪTA CLASS. Edited from the original Sanskrit in Tibetan and in Chinese by Baron A. von STAËL-HOLSTEIN. 11 × 8, pp. xxvi + 234 + [2]. Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1926.

A COMMENTARY TO THE KĀÇYAPAPARIVARTA. Edited in Tibetan and in Chinese by Baron A. von STAËL-HOLSTEIN. 10¼ × 7½, pp. xxiv + 340, paper covers. Pekin: The National Library of Peking and the National Tsinghua University, 1933.

INDEX TO THE TIBETAN TRANSLATION OF THE KĀÇYAPA-PARIVARTA. By FRIEDRICH WELLER. Harvard Sino-Indian Series, Volume I. 11½ × 9, pp. vi + 252, paper covers. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1933.

The *Kāśyapa-parivarta* exists in Tibetan and Chinese versions as an item in what is called the *Ratna-kūṭa* collection of Buddha's discourses. By the name *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, "Kāśyapa Chapter," it does not seem to be mentioned in any Sanskrit text; but, as is shown by Baron von Staël-Holstein, all the oldest quotations of the *Ratna-kūṭa* relate to passages in this work, and it is likely that the *K.-parivarta* was originally the entire *Ratna-kūṭa*. It may be noted that another item also of the *Ratna-kūṭa*, namely the *Ratna-rāśī*, has Kāśyapa for an interlocutor. In any case, the *K.-parivarta* is a very old work, since it was translated into Chinese as early as the second century A.D.

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The Sanskrit original followed in the present *editio princeps* is a unique MS. sent by Mr. Petrovsky some time before 1900 to the St. Petersburg Academy. Unfortunately it is imperfect and in its spellings, etc., shows many defects and peculiarities of Central Asian Sanskrit. As being an *unicum*, it has been reproduced by the editor *literatim*.

In the editing of Buddhist Sanskrit texts a most valuable control is furnished, as is well known, by Chinese and Tibetan versions, especially the latter. Baron von Staël-Holstein himself published in 1913 (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, xv) a poem of Aśvaghoṣa, the *Gaṇḍī-stotra*, reproduced from a Chinese transcript by aid of a rendering in Tibetan. In the present instance the Tibetan version, by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, and Ye-śes-sde, belongs to approximately the same period (ninth century) as the Sanskrit MS., with which it is in close agreement.

We now come to the most remarkable feature of the volume. It exhibits not only the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, but also no less than four Chinese versions. These belong respectively to the second, third, fourth, and tenth centuries A.D., and their variations afford interesting evidence of changes and accretions in the text. Baron von Staël-Holstein holds with apparently good reason that the earliest translation exhibits, as is natural in virtue of its date, a less developed Mahā-yāna doctrine than do the others, and he suggests that the text which it represents may have exercised an influence upon Nāgārjuna's teaching. We may say, indeed, that even the Sanskrit text preserves an early stage in the Mahā-yāna. The editor's well-known meticulous care in textual matters has had ample scope in this work, since not only the Tibetan, but also the Chinese versions exist in several editions, which he has conscientiously compared in detail; for the most part he renounces the thought of revising the Chinese versions, for which critical notes exist already in print.

The second publication cited above is a further instalment of the whole design, which is to be completed by a translation

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with notes. It contains a Tibetan version of a commentary by Sthiramati, from the *Bstan-ḫgyur*, together with the Chinese version of Bodhirruci, from the *Tripiṭaka*. The authorship of the Tibetan version is unknown. Since Bodhirruci was working in China during the early part of the sixth century A.D., the Indian author of the commentary is likely to be the Sthiramati who is usually associated with Guṇamati and who probably belonged to the period following the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, say, to the fifth century A.D. His *ṭīkā* presents, after the long preamble expounded on pp. iii–iv of Baron von Staël-Holstein's preface, a straightforward exegesis of the text with apparently little literary citation. In the edition the Tibetan version forms the basis, while the Chinese, which differs considerably by way of defect and to some extent by way of excess, is given as an interlinear adjunct. The *variae lectiones* of the several Tibetan prints are of no great importance ; they are collected on pp. 327–340 of this volume. In the notes to the preface there are some emendations of the Chinese text ; but the general discussion of the textual history of the commentary is reserved. In the preface the editor also takes occasion to make use of the work for the purpose of criticizing a few European mistranslations of expressions in Sanskrit Buddhist texts and to examine the evidence in favour of punctuating the common formal opening of such texts, *evaṃ me śrutam ekasmin samaye*, after the word *samaye*, a surprising procedure which seems to have been discussed even by ancient authorities.

The very elaborate index compiled by Dr. Friedrich Weller is to be followed by a concise Indian (Sanskrit ?) index and an index to the Chinese version of the *Sūtra*, which will then be sufficiently equipped with such aids, since an inclusion of the Mongol version, which is likely to be quite dependent upon the Tibetan, would be a luxury. Dr. Weller's work, extremely full and elaborate (252 pages, 4to), does not, indeed, furnish to Tibetan lexicography many new forms or significations ; but in respect of Sanskrit equivalents it makes a decided

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addition to our resources, with the advantage in each case of a sufficiently extensive context. It will be observed that, where, through lacunæ in the text, the Sanskrit equivalent is noted as wanting, it is not at all implied that such might not be inferred or is not known from other sources.

The *Kāśyapa-parivarta* is an important work, not only as representing an early stage of the Mahā-yāna, but also on account of its literary quality: it is readable and rendered interesting, like the no less ancient *Sūtra in Forty Articles*, by its many similes or parables. Studying and publishing such a text in China, Baron von Staël-Holstein has had to contend with great difficulties, due to inaccessibility of European and Indian publications and to the limited resources of the presses. On the other hand, his position in the Peking University has brought him into contact with the most accomplished Chinese scholars, a situation of which no one is more qualified to take advantage. He has lit in Peking a lamp of Buddhist Sanskrit study, from which in good time we may expect illumination not less abundant and valuable than that which we are now so long accustomed to be receiving from Japan.

A. 43 F. W. THOMAS.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY AND HIS PERSIAN ADVENTURE. Edited by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. The Broadway Travellers. 9 × 5½, pp. xxxviii + 293. London: Routledge and Sons, 1933. 12*s*. 6*d*.

So romantic—even in a romantic age—were the adventures of the three Sherley brothers that, as early as 1607, a play was written on the subject in London by "a trinity of poets"; and it seems strange that hitherto no satisfactory account has been produced of any one of the three. This deficiency Sir Denison Ross has set himself with his usual enthusiasm to make good in the case of the second brother, Anthony; and it will be noted with satisfaction that he promises to deal later with the careers of both Thomas and Robert.

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The first part of the present volume is occupied by a long and painstaking biography of Anthony Sherley, drawn from materials which the editor has been collecting for many years from widely diverse sources. The second part consists of reprints of four narratives relating to Anthony's journey to Persia and back. These are all from scarce books, and one has not previously appeared in English. Then come three appendixes, giving (1) extracts from Anthony's own *Relation*, (2) a couple of letters written by him from Russia, and (3) an account in French of his entry into Rome. A very full index completes the work, which contains also a useful bibliography and a number of maps and illustrations.

The story thus unfolded is, indeed, a remarkable one. In May, 1598, Sherley, who had already shown reckless bravery in the wars in the Low Countries and in France and in a raid upon the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, sailed from Venice with about thirty followers for Syria, with the object of making his way to Persia. Some two years later he reappeared in Christendom, at the court of the German Emperor at Prague. In the interim he had spent some time in Persia, where he has so ingratiated himself with Shāh 'Abbās that he had been dispatched by him, in conjunction with a Persian colleague, on an embassy to the Powers of Europe. Such employment was entirely to Sherley's taste, for he loved display; and, moreover, it was likely to prove highly profitable, since it was the custom to entertain such envoys magnificently and to reward them lavishly.

The object of the mission was to concert plans for a simultaneous attack, from east and west, upon the dominions of their common bugbear, the Turkish Sultan. This scheme, the offspring of Sherley's fertile brain, was warmly welcomed by the Emperor Rudolph, whose dominions bore the brunt of the Turkish attacks; and that monarch straightway sent an ambassador of his own to discuss the matter with the Shāh. Sherley and his colleague then proceeded to Italy. Avoiding Venice, as being pro-Turkish, they made their way to Rome,

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where they were received by Pope Clement VIII. That pontiff, however, though interested in the concessions Sherley alleged that he had obtained for the toleration of Christians in Persia, was too prudent to lend any active support to the proposed league. At Rome the dissensions between the two ambassadors came to a head, and the Persian went on alone to Spain and Portugal, whence he returned to his own country by sea. Sherley himself had letters from Shāh 'Abbās to the Queen of England, the King of France, and the King of Spain and Portugal; but these he made no attempt to deliver, having reason to fear a hostile reception in each case. Elizabeth, indeed, was very wroth that a subject of hers should presume to interfere in high politics without her permission; nor was she disposed, for the sake of Persia, to jeopardize the growing trade of her merchants with Turkey. The French were equally concerned to maintain their favoured position in that kingdom; while the Spaniards were likely to have been prejudiced against the Englishman by the representations of his Persian colleague. Sherley, therefore, on leaving Rome, proceeded to Venice, apparently with some idea of returning to Persia. Money, however, was lacking; a safe passage through Turkish territory was not to be expected; and Sherley's success had scarcely been so great as to enable him to face 'Abbās with equanimity. So he lingered indecisively at Venice, until he got into trouble with the Council of Ten, was arrested, and was finally expelled from Venetian territory at the end of 1603.

After spending some time to little purpose in other parts of Italy, Sherley was invited to Prague by the Emperor; and in the autumn of 1605 was sent by him to Morocco, with the object of creating a diversion in that quarter against the Turks. In this he had little success; and instead of returning direct to Germany he proceeded by way of Lisbon to Madrid. He had already reconciled himself to the Catholic Church, and, seeing no prospect of returning to England with credit, he decided to enter the service of the King of Spain. His ready

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tongue stood him in good stead, and a scheme which he pressed upon Philip III, of damaging Turkey and benefiting Portugal by diverting the trade in Persian silk to Hormuz and Lisbon, led to his being given a high post in the Mediterranean fleet, together with a seat upon the Council of the kingdom of Naples. To Naples he accordingly proceeded in 1607; and in the same year he visited again the Emperor Rudolph, who a little later conferred on him the dignity of a count of the Roman Empire.

It is unnecessary to follow the story in detail. Anthony lost his naval command early in 1610; and from that time he remained in Spain, hatching endless schemes, all ending in futility. Meanwhile, although he was in receipt of a good pension from Philip, his extravagance was such that he was sinking lower and lower and was at times almost starving. After 1636 he disappears entirely from view, and the date of his death is not known.

This strange story has been admirably elucidated by Sir Denison Ross, who has spared no pains to unravel the complicated knots of the narrative. Sherley himself never scrupled to bend the truth to serve his purpose, and his statements are not to be relied upon; while the other authorities are frequently discordant. Even now there are gaps which may possible be filled in time, when the Spanish archives are completely examined. But at all events we have in the present volume a careful examination of the facts now available, and the result is an account full of interest of one of the most remarkable adventurers of the Elizabethan era.

A. 44. WILLIAM FOSTER.

JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA, 800 B.C.–A.D. 526. By C. J. SHAH, with a foreword by H. HERAS. 11 × 7½, pp. xxiv + 292, ills. 26, maps 2. London: Longmans Green & Co., 1932. 42*s*.

The book is not a summary of the Jaina doctrine, but rather the history of the spread and diffusion of Jainism

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within the limits of time indicated in the title, and the outline of the political environments in which it developed.

There are only a few points in which the author expounds his personal views. As a rule his purpose seems to have been that of compiling a clear and well-informed account of the results reached by scholars on the various topics connected with the history of Jainism. But this fact does not diminish the importance of the work, since we are here confronted, for the first time, with an accurate and coherent account of the fortunes of Jainism in North India from its very beginning up to the end of the Gupta dynasty.

The so-called prehistory of Jainism has received due attention, and an attempt has been made to state the difference of views between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, which gives the author the opportunity of writing a short but fairly exact résumé of early Jaina dogmatics. On the other hand, the interferences of Jainism with the political powers of India lead him to examine all records, literary as well as epigraphical, from the inscription of Kharavela—whose interpretation may perhaps raise some doubts—to those of Mathurā. When we consider the great amount of research work which is being pursued in the field of Jainism in India as well as in Europe, we must appreciate the diligent and useful repertoire under review.

597. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

MAHĀYĀNAVIṂŚAKA OF NAGARJUNA. Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 1; Reconstructed Sanscrit Text, the Tibetan and the Chinese Versions with an English translation by V. BHATTACHARYA. 9½ × 7, pp. iv + 44. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Book Shop, 1931. Rs. 5.

This volume contains the restored Sanskrit text, the English translation, the Tibetan and Chinese translations of a small mahāyāna work attributed to Nāgārjuna. The writer is very cautious as regards the authorship of this text. To

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me it also appears that it cannot be attributed to the great Nāgārjuna, but rather to the Siddha Nāgārjuna. It represents a kind of *hṛdaya* or summary of the dogmatics of Mādhyamika as accepted also by Tantric writers.

The comparative notes testify to the diligence of the author, who has succeeded in restoring a Sanskrit text perfectly intelligible, though faithfully adherent to the Tibetan translation. His translation therefore marks a progress on that published by Yamaguchi in the *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. iv, n. 1–2.

626. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

INDIAN IDEALISM. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA. London : Cambridge University Press, 1933. 10*s*. 6*d*.

DONUM NATALICUM, OSCARI VON SYDOW, OBLATUM. Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift XXXIX, 1933.

RISĀLAH I KHATT-I-DĀĪ (Proposals for the improvement of Arabic Writing). By MUHAMMED ALI, DĀ'I AL ISLAM. Hyderabad, Deccan, 1933.

HANDBOOK TO THE RECORDS IN THE ALIENATION OFFICE, POONA. Peshwa's Daftar. Bombay : Government Central Press, 1933. 1*s*. 2*d*.

INDEX TO THE SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR, Nos. 1–25. Bombay : Government Central Press, 1933. 4*s*. 9*d*.

THE ALEXANDER BOOK. Translated into English from MSS. in the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London : Oxford University Press, 1933. 7*s*. 6*d*.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE VĀYU PURĀNA. By V. R. R. DIKSHITAR. Madras : University of Madras, 1933.

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THE GOLDEN BREATH. Studies in Five Parts of the New India. By MULK RAJ ANAND. The Window of the East. London: John Murray. 3*s*. 6*d*.

KARTENWERK DER ERDMAGNETISCHEN FORSCHUNGS-EXPEDITION NACH ZENTRAL-ASIEN, 1926–8. Teil 1. China und Tibet. By WILHELM FILCHNER. Gotha: Justus Perther, 1933.

KAMNI. The Story of a Village Girl. By Sir JOGENDRA SINGH. Lahore: Uttar Chand Kapur. 1931.

LEHRGANG DER CHINESISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE. III. CHRISTOMATHIE. By E. HAENISCH. Leipzig: Asia Major, 1933. RM. 15.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES. Vol. IX. Part I (Arts Section). Allahabad: Senate House, 1933. Rs 7, As 8.

THE HERALD WIND. By CLARA CANDLIN. The Window of the East Series, 1933. 3*s*. 6*d*.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF YOGA. By ELIZABETH SHARPE. Luzac and Co., 1933. 2*s*. 6*d*.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor R. Ramsay Wright, LL.D.

Ob. 5th September, 1933.

Dr. Ramsay Wright was born at Alloa in September, 1852, and was educated there and at the Royal High School and University of Edinburgh. Before he had fully qualified in medicine his attainments in biology, which he studied under Professor Sir Charles Wyville Thompson, led to an appointment to lecture on natural history in University College, Toronto. There he remained for thirty-eight years, becoming Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Vice-President of the University, having held the professorship of biology for many years, and receiving the title of Emeritus Professor when he retired in 1912. He wrote many valuable articles on zoology, including a report on Fish and Fisheries of Ontario. Beside these, his work at Toronto was remarkable for his capacity as a teacher, and for his having introduced into the medical curriculum the teaching of practical biology so early as 1875.

In addition to his attainments in science he was an unusually competent linguist with a wide knowledge of the classics, Hebrew, and half a dozen European languages, including Russian. He read widely in literature and had a cultured taste in art and music. The universities of Toronto and Edinburgh both honoured him with the degree of LL.D.

Though he became a member of this Society only in 1927 his interest in Oriental subjects was much earlier. Attracted to the study of Persian by Heron-Allen's works on Omar Khayyam he proceeded to learn Arabic also. He had intended on settling in Oxford, near his friend Sir William Osler, to continue biological research, but was diverted by the War, during which he did valuable service on the *Review of the Foreign Press*, for which his knowledge of European languages specially fitted him. In 1919 his translation of a Persian

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primer on medicine (Bodleian No. 1617) appeared in a volume of contributions on physical and medical research presented to Sir William Osler by pupils and friends. He then settled down to edit and translate with notes a treatise on astrology by Abu'l Rayhān al-Bīrūnī. His only publication on this subject which occupied him so long was a note in German, identifying a Persian MS., referred to by Greaves in his *Astronomica quaedam* (1650), which appeared in the proceedings of the Physico-Medical Society of Erlangen (1926–7). But his edition of al-Bīrūnī's treatise is complete, and it is hoped it will appear shortly.

R. BURN.

Jessie Payne Margoliouth

On the 18th of August, 1933, the last direct link with the *Thesaurus Syriacus* was broken. No scholar could mention the name of the late Mrs. Margoliouth without a reference to her illustrious father and his monumental work, as it was she who, with the help of her husband, brought to a successful end the last part of the book from the middle of the letter *Shīn* to the end of *Tāu*. Trained in the domain of Syriac lexicography under the expert supervision of her father, she undertook also, in 1903, some eight years after his death, to publish an abridged English edition of the *Thesaurus*, under the title of *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*. In this work she followed a happy *via media* between her father's highly scientific work and the more popular *Lexicon Syriacum* of Brockelmann and *Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum* of Brun, which had appeared almost simultaneously in 1895. These two works (especially the latter) give the Latin equivalents of Syriac words, often without any explanatory examples or phrases, while Mrs. Margoliouth supplies to her readers all the specifically Syriac expressions found in the more commonly read authors. One of the most difficult tasks of a lexicographer is this happy selection of the terms and expressions which he intends

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to explain in relation to the frequency of their occurrence in the literature of the language.

As there is no finality in any dictionary so long as new texts are being discovered and new works printed. Mrs. Margoliouth further undertook the gigantic task of bringing the *Thesaurus* up to date, by writing a supplement to it, which she published in 1927, under the title of *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus*. Twenty-seven years had elapsed between the publication of the *Thesaurus* and the appearance of its *Supplement*. She spent all those years in reading Syriac books that were gradually being printed, and in perusing unedited texts that had not fallen under her father's notice. The same masterly hand that was used in compiling the *Thesaurus* is seen in every page of its *Supplement*. Mrs. Margoliouth's *Supplement* may in future be further supplemented, but it will be many years before it is superseded.

It follows from what has been said that Mrs. Margoliouth could not have written many books. The technical and scientific character of her main work did not give her leisure for any further writing except some short reviews and articles, but to her may truly refer the words of the Latin sage: *Timeo hominem unius libri*. The writer remembers having met in 1927 an eminent Orientalist who had been to 88 Woodstock Road, Oxford, where Professor and Mrs. Margoliouth then lived. "The house," he said, "is not a *house*, but a *store-house* of erudition, where Mrs. Margoliouth, with her extensive Syriac knowledge, supplies the last volume of a living encyclopædia."

A word must here be said of the tender affection and genuine love that Mrs. Margoliouth felt for all the branches of the important Syrian Church, in the history and literature of which she was so well versed. Her love was even stronger for the East Syrian or Nestorian section of it, and the last lines which she wrote dealt with the sad fate of its present Patriarch, the direct descendant of an ecclesiastical hierarchy

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which for centuries held under its spiritual sceptre the Eastern half of Christendom, which stretched from the Mediterranean shores to Manchuria, and from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean. This devotion to the cause of the Nestorians, which she carried to her death-bed, began from the time when, with Professor Margoliouth, she paid a visit to their country and saw the oppressing yoke under which they lived.

Et fructus vester maneat!

A. MINGANA.

Professor A. A. Bevan

By the death of Professor Bevan the Society loses one of its oldest members, whose profound erudition had long been prized by the inner circle of those concerned with Orientalism. He will be sadly missed at international gatherings, where, speaking both French and German perfectly, he was so often an honoured and delightful guest. It seems fitting that the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic, which he held during forty years, should expire with him; no one coming after him could have given to the Chair such distinction and dignity as he did, nor was he embarrassed by the fact that the stipend was almost as nominal as the official duties attached to it. Regarding the events of his life little need be said here, and indeed there is not much to say. Except for brief periods in vacation he rarely left Cambridge: Trinity College, of which he was elected Fellow in 1890, remained his home till the end. He was also a Fellow of the British Academy. Educated at Lausanne and Strassburg, Bevan had already laid the foundations of his immense Semitic learning when in 1884 he came from Nöldeke to William Wright. Their influence appears in all his work; with the former he kept up a pretty regular correspondence covering about half a century. Although Arabic was the main subject of his studies he knew Hebrew and Syriac equally well, while his knowledge of Persian literature, especially Firdausi and Jalálu'ddín Rúmí, went

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far deeper than his modesty would allow him to admit. Apart from a Commentary on the Book of Daniel, still described by experts as a masterpiece, his most important work was done in the field of Arabian poetry, and it is very characteristic that he undertook it, not for any reasons of his own, but in order to carry out the wishes and complete the labours of friends who had passed away. His edition of the *Naqá'iḍ* of Javír and Farazdaq in three large volumes (1905–1912) is a magnificent tribute of *pietas* to his old teacher William Wright. On the death of Sir Charles Lyall, with whom he virtually collaborated in preparing the text and translation of the *Mufaḍḍaliyyát*, Bevan compiled the admirable Indexes published in the Gibb Series (1924). His critical powers were extraordinary, and he never spared himself. Other scholars may have cherished as high ideals, but few can have succeeded in living up to them so thoroughly. On one occasion he came to his colleague, E. G. Browne, looking so distressed that Browne thought some calamity must have befallen him; it turned out, however, that he had just discovered a slight metrical flaw in a single verse of his edition of the *Naqá'iḍ*. I remember asking him whether he could give me the reference to a word omitted in Flügel's Concordance to the Qur'án; next day I received a note containing not only that but also a list of nearly a dozen similar mistakes, which he had entered in his own copy. The value of his contributions to Arabic lexicography is well known. These form but a small part of the material which, several years ago, he began to arrange and hoped eventually to publish as a supplement to existing dictionaries. Unfortunately the work, as he has left it, comprises less than a quarter of the Arabic alphabet. Bevan spent much time in lecturing, and those who, like the present writer, enjoyed the glaring contrast between his method and Browne's would probably agree that each in his own way made a deep and lasting impression upon them. As this notice can but hint at the personal qualities which endeared Bevan to his friends, let me conclude it with some words written

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from Egypt by a former pupil of his and mine : "His memory will always be for me a great inspiration, and his many kindnesses I shall ever remember with great gratitude. Having known him and studied with him, I feel that I have known and studied under the great scholars of the nineteenth century, from whom he learnt and whose accuracy and enthusiasm he so faithfully reflected."

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Dr. Robert Halliday

Born at Fauldhouse, a small village in West Lothian, on 28th March, 1864, Robert Halliday died at Maulmain, Burma, on 1st July, 1933. He had been a member of our Society since 1909. The son of a miner, he went as a very young lad into the coalpit, but continued his education in his spare time for a number of years, during which he acquired a knowledge of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, with a view to the mission field. Having thus and otherwise qualified, he arrived in Burma as a duly accredited missionary towards the end of 1892, spent more than seventeen years in that capacity at Ye, then twelve more at Phrapathom, Siam, and finally returned to Burma to continue his missionary work at Maulmain. In course of time he had become well versed in Burmese and Siamese and had also acquired a considerable knowledge of Pali. But his actual missionary work, both in Burma and Siam, was among the Mons, and in their language he was *facile princeps*. His Mon-English dictionary, published in 1922, is the only one and in later years he added many words and phrases in his own interleaved copy, which may serve some day as the nucleus of a supplement. Besides a number of contributions to the *Journal* of the Burma Research Society, he produced in 1917 a monograph on the Mons under the title *The Talaings*, edited several Mon texts and inscriptions, and translated the whole of the Old Testament into the language. In 1932 the University of Rangoon

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conferred on him the honorary degree of D.Litt. in recognition of his scholarly work.

To me he had been an intimate friend and highly valued consultant and collaborator for a quarter of a century; and I am deeply in his debt for the ungrudging help which he never failed to give when I referred to him, as I often did, some obscure point in the Mon inscriptions of Burma which I was engaged in editing. I endeavoured to pay an instalment of my obligations by giving him such assistance as I could when he was editing the Mon inscriptions of Siam, which appeared in 1930 in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*. But in this connection I could do but little; and for many acts of kindness and hospitality received at his hands, and from his family, I must needs remain a debtor. I do not think he would have wished it to be otherwise, for I never met a more unselfish man.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The Libyan Desert

On 6th July, 1933, Mr. W. B. K. Shaw, who, as an archæologist, had been a member of Major R. A. Bagnold's last two expeditions to the Libyan Desert, in the latter's absence abroad, read a paper before the Society. Much of what follows is taken from Major Bagnold's article in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society for August and September, 1933.

The lecturer told us how the Libyan Desert, the easternmost part of the Sahara, has remained, up to a comparatively recent date, one of the least known areas of the world. In size about six times that of the British Isles, it is mainly a featureless expanse of gravel, rock or sand, dotted with a number of oasis-depressions where the desert surface has been eroded down far enough to tap the artesian water-supplies. In the desert rain seldom falls and these springs are believed to be fed by rains which, falling on the mountains of Ennedi and Tibesti in the north-east corner of French Equatorial Africa, are conducted northwards towards the oases through the underlying sandstone strata. Some of the bigger oases of the north, as Dakhla and Kharga, support large populations. Laqiya, Selima and Bir Natrun in the south, however, are uninhabited and are little more than holes on the desert.

Ancient routes connected the oases and followed the Mediterranean coast. From north to south the desert was crossed by one caravan road, the Darb el Arba'in or Forty Days' Road, which ran from Assiut on the Nile to Kobbé, the former capital of Darfur. The countless camel skeletons along its now untraversed course are ample proof of its former importance as a trade route between Egypt and the eastern Sudan.

In the writings of the classical and mediæval geographers

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we find descriptions of the oases and the coastal strip, but of the heart of the desert they knew little or nothing. In areas so conveniently blank the early cartographers drew fantastic beasts or men sheltering from the blazing sun beneath an upraised and parasol-like foot.

Apart from the pioneer camel journeys of Rohlfs, Harding-King and Hassanein, it is the use of motor transport since the War by Kemal el Din, Bagnold, Beadnell, Clayton and others, which has made possible the penetration of the heart of the desert. Experience has shown that with light cars, amongst which the Ford has pride of place, most types of country can be successfully if arduously negotiated. The exploration of the south-western part of the Libyan Desert owes something to the Senussi leaders who, having moved their headquarters from Jaghbub to Kufara Oasis in the 'nineties, sent out parties thence to explore the surrounding deserts.

In an area now so desolate the signs of man's habitation in the past are surprising. Every expedition to the Libyan Desert brings back evidence in the form of rock pictures, implements, stone circles and pottery of the former occupation of places now hundreds of miles from the nearest water. Of rock pictures the most remarkable are those at the mountain mass of Gebel 'Uweinat in the south-western corner of Egyptian territory, in some of which l'Abbé Breuil finds striking resemblances of style both to the Bushman art of South Africa and to the petroglyphs of Eastern Spain. In these and many other groups of paintings the camel is never depicted. They are thus presumably earlier than the Roman period, at which date the camel came into general use in North Africa. Some of the pictures are very much older still; Breuil considers some of those at 'Uweïnat to be of Upper Palæolithic date. Palæoliths have been found over most of the Libyan Desert and it is clear that up to Middle Palæolithic times man was free to wander there at will.[1]

[1] K. S. Sandford, *Geog. Journal*, September, 1933, p. 222.

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Later on, aridity set in and the dwellers on the high desert were driven in to the oases or the Nile valley. Nevertheless implements of neolithic type are found in abundance in areas now desert, and this suggests that even after the arid conditions which we now know had begun, temporary settlement may still have been possible in favoured localities.

One of the most interesting problems of the Libyan Desert is that of its sand formations. From the softer sandstones near the coast, from which they are principally derived, sand grains are constantly being driven southwards by the prevailing northerly winds. In the desert under the influence of these winds, but in a manner which is at present far from being clearly understood, the sands arrange themselves with almost uncanny regularity and symmetry into a number of remarkable formations. These are of three main types :—

(*a*) Dunes, which may occur as elongated masses of sand with a series of intermittent crests and whose axis is parallel to the direction of the prevailing wind. The individual dune-lines may be anything up to 300 feet high, half a mile wide, and some have an unbroken length of 30 or 40 miles in which the alignment will be almost perfectly maintained. The great Sand Sea along the Egypt-Libya boundary is composed of parallel dune ranges such as these. A remarkable instance is the narrow Abu Moharik dune belt which, starting near Baharia Oasis, runs for an almost continuous length of 250 miles. A second type of dune is the crescentic or *barchan*, best described as a circular dome of sand, from the leeward side of which a large bite has been taken, leaving a steep concave face pointing downwind. Barchans frequently congregate together, but the structure of the individual dune is preserved. A series of barchan dunes is often seen marching *en echelon* across flat desert; their sharply defined limits give the impression that the sand is kept continually swept up into the dune as with a broom.

(*b*) Sand-sheets.—This term has been applied to the vast expanses of flat, featureless and usually firm sand. The

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largest of these is that west of Selima Oasis covering an area of some 20,000 square miles. Dr. Sandford considers that these sand-sheets represent the final stage of arid denudation.[1]

(c) The third type consists of the sand undulations which cover a large area round Lat. 18 N., Long. 25 E. They are without crests or any very definite alignment and form a billowy sea of sand mounds about 300 yards from summit to summit.

Recent Discoveries at Persepolis

On 21st September, 1933, Dr. Ernst Herzfeld gave a lecture at the rooms of the Society upon some of the recent discoveries made at Persepolis. It will be remembered that Dr. Herzfeld has been lent by the University of Berlin to the University of Chicago to act as Field Director of the Archæological Expedition to Persepolis and the neighbourhood. He told us that Persepolis, at an altitude of 5,000 feet and on the latitude of Cairo, is situated in a plain of extremely fertile soil, ringed about by mountains, watered by two rivers, and always destined to be inhabited by men as the climate is healthy. In the cliffs of the mountains there are unexplored caves, where neolithic remains form the surface deposit with perhaps more from older civilizations below. So, just as cultivable plants have their habitat in mountainous regions and were acclimatized by men in the low alluvial plains, the very earliest stages of human civilization seem to have originated in the mountains before men settled in the plains.

Not far from the Achæmenian terrace, two small mounds appear in the plain, of which one has been explored. Except for a thin stratum of mediæval Muhammedan graves, it consists of but one settlement. The decay of the houses, built merely of clay, not even of sun-dried bricks, has caused the formation of the mound. Some unknown event must have caused the sudden desertion of the village, as complete sets

[1] K. S. Sandford, op. cit., p. 217.

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of household utensils were found in the rooms in their original position, just as they had been left about 6,000 years ago. But neither tombs nor human bones have been discovered.

The village is a large agglomeration of small rectangular rooms, courtyards and passages, like a vast bee-hive, with no distinct and separate houses. Apparently social and matrimonial conditions were totally different from those to which we are accustomed in Europe—very narrow and low doors, and extremely small windows or air-holes are preserved, and sometimes also the red and white paint which covered the clay-coating of the walls, and even hearths and cooking utensils, some with the remains of food in them, have survived. Instruments and implements, such as knives, saws, scrapers, etc., of stone, flint, and clay, stone amulets and buttons used as seals and their impressions on the clay stoppers of jugs, small idols (for the most part beheaded probably because they did not fulfil their promise) and ex-voto-like figurines of animals also came to light. The people were peaceful cattle-breeders and agriculturists, and, except for stone mace-heads and clay sling-stones, they owned no weapons at all.

Numerous small potters' kilns show that the main product of the village, a most artistic pottery, was made on the spot. In spite of all the varieties in shape and design, this monochrome pottery [1] is of one period and style only. Two groups (only rarely represented), i.e. a coarser ware with poor designs and a very thin ware with only linear and spare ornaments, may be neglected here. Already a superficial comparison with the pottery of Susa I, which the Persepolis pottery resembles in quality and general appearance, shows that the style of Persepolis is the predecessor and ancestor of Susa I. In the Persepolis pottery we find as dominating motives, every single detail, which in Susa I has become a secondary element in a rich and complicated ensemble. And that movement continues. In Nihawand the wealth of Susa I

[1] See "Iranische Denkmäler", by E. Herzfeld, *I.A.*, Berlin, 1932.

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motives is already reduced to certain set schemes. In Persepolis we can note the complete freedom of invention and imagination, not yet limited by fixed æsthetic laws nor long tradition : in Susa I we see the same art, but shaped into fixed types, an *art savant*; while in Nihawand there is already a reduction to relative poverty. At Susa, three strata of different character separate style I from style II, and in Sumer there occurs a similar difference between al-Ubaid, which corresponds to Susa I, and Jamdat Nasr. Those three stages, all previous to history which begins with documents intelligible to us about 3100 B.C., may easily cover the whole fourth millennium and place Persepolis at the end of the fifth millennium B.C.

The authorization granted by the Persian Government to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago includes all antique sites in a radius of 10 km. around Persepolis. So far no copper- or bronze-age sites have been explored, but as there is a number of such mounds, we hope to find remains of those intermediary periods. Near the Royal Tombs at Naqsh-i-Rustam, under a Sasanian relief representing Bahram II, were found the remains of an Elamite rock sculpture, showing several worshippers before two gods enthroned on snakes. It is similar to the rock sculpture of Kurangun (in the direction of Susa), and certainly not later than the middle of the second millennium B.C. It may be taken as a document of Elamite rule over Marwdasht, the plain of Persepolis.

Persepolis is a Greek name, not used before Alexander the Great. The name ought to be Persopolis, and it may be that Persepolis alludes to the *persis*, the destruction of the town by Alexander. The old Persian name in one of the inscriptions is simply Pārsa, the name of people, land, and capital being the same.

An isolated rock, separated from the hills in the background by a narrow valley, suggested to the architects of Darius the idea of creating the huge terrace. The rock was

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levelled into different terraces, the valley filled up with the debris, the entire area surrounded by a huge fortification-wall of sun-dried bricks on a base of colossal stones 18 metres high, which climbs up the hill at the back of the terrace to a height of about 100 metres. The existence of an elaborate drainage system, following the plan of the main buildings (but made before their construction), proves that from the beginning a plan existed according to which the whole work was executed.

The history of Persepolis was partly known from its inscriptions which had already been investigated a century ago. The excavations have added a large number of new ones. The most sensational are those on two pairs of gold and silver tablets, 33 cm. square, which prove to be the foundation documents of the great Apadana of Darius. The inscription is identical with one discovered 10 years ago at Hamadan, on a pair of gold and silver tablets only a quarter of that size. These were purchased by the Persian Government for the Museum to be founded in Teheran. Other foundation inscriptions on stone from the Harem of Xerxes and the Hall of Hundred Columns (Artaxerxes I) are richer in historic facts. Inscriptions on enamelled bricks from a frieze on the top of the walls of the great Apadana of Darius, but inscribed with the name of Xerxes, could be reconstructed out of some hundred fragments. According to those inscriptions, the building of Persepolis had been begun between 518 and 515 B.C., more probably in 518 B.C. Under Darius' reign the terrace, the small palace of Darius, and the great Apadana were nearly finished, probably the main gateway and part of the walls also. Of the harem there seems to have been executed only the foundation. Xerxes began the Hall of Hundred Columns, completed the buildings left unfinished under Darius, including his own small palace, the *hadish*, and changed the harem completely. The Hall of Hundred Columns was finally completed under Artaxerxes I. That means a period of at least 60 years for the entire work. Some slight later changes

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are of no importance. Persepolis was never completely finished.

Our expedition has reconstructed, with as few alterations as possible, one half of the Harem of Xerxes, and is using the palace of Queen Amnestris for our work. All the parts made of stone were preserved: the plan was complete, the heights being given by the doors and the huge monoliths that form the *ante's* of the portico. Only wood and sun-dried bricks had to be replaced. The wood columns and door wings were modelled after those in the rock-cut royal tombs. The reconstruction was rather an experiment from the æsthetic point of view, but proved fairly successful. It teaches something, which could not be appreciated before: the effect of the old sculptures in their original form, the covered rooms, etc., and it becomes evident how entirely this sculpture is dominated by architectural ideas.

It was not certain whether excavations would reveal much at a place where so much was still standing above the ground. As a matter of fact the earth into which the colossal brick walls of the buildings have dissolved, covers the original soil to a much greater height than one could possibly have imagined, at some places to a height of 8 metres. It is also a peculiarity of the limestone impregnated with bituminous matter, which is used for the sculptures, to suffer from heat and frost, but not to deteriorate at all when protected by the humidity in the earth. The sculptures appear with a surface as intact as if they had been made but yesterday, and our discoveries, both in extent and beauty, have entirely changed the appearance of Persepolis. As usual, it is the staircases that are profusely decorated. We were so happy as to uncover a vast *cour d'honneur* from which one staircase, 90 metres in width, leads up to the great Apadana of Darius, and a smaller one to a monumental entrance of the highest level of the terrace with the small palaces of Darius and Xerxes.

This smaller staircase shows hundreds of Persian, Median,

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and Susian high officials and guards, in various postures, under arms, or waiting and conversing with each other, which remind us of the description in Pseudo-Aristoteles' *De Mundo* of the Achæmenian palaces of Agbatana.

The great staircase of the Apadana represents the Festival of the New Year: to the right the regiments of the Guards, the Horse Guards, the king's chariot and other figures, awaiting the arrival, on the left wing, of the long procession of twenty-three different nations of the empire, offering their gifts or annual tribute to the great king. The enormous picture, arranged in three bands, of which the development would exceed 400 metres in length, is like an ethnographic museum full of most fascinating details, and is a study in itself. By comparison with thirty figures on the tombs of Darius and Artaxerxes II or III, above which their names are written, almost all the twenty-three nations of the tribute procession can be identified. It is, therefore, both as a historical and geographical document most important for our knowledge of the extent and essence of the Achæmenian empire, and, considered as a work of art, a monument, without which a proper understanding of Achæmenian culture cannot be appreciated. These sculptures are almost contemporary with the Parthenon friezes, yet they belong to another world. Achæmenian art is the very last and most glorious stage of the art of the Ancient East of which it is the absolute end. In spite of all its beauty and perfection it was doomed to perish.

Among the small finds, not belonging to architecture and sculpture, is to be mentioned the discovery of two little archive chambers in the fortification wall: not apparently the archives of the State, but either military or judicial records. There are about 10,000 intact pieces, 10,000 more or less complete ones, and probably more than 10,000 fragments. The shapes vary greatly, from the largest ever known to the smallest. They are mostly in Elamite cuneiform, and will require years of labour and study to be deciphered.

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Among them are about 500 small pieces with Aramaic writing in ink. As an exception there was found one piece—perhaps there are more—in Phrygian letters and language.

At the foot of the royal terrace, where the stones of a large window with the figures of a post-Achæmenian king and his queen were lying on the ground, a vast fire-temple has been excavated, with a number of Greek dedicatory inscriptions, probably of fire altars. In those inscriptions occur the oldest identifications of Zoroastrian deities with Greek gods. The date is, according to the type of the script, style of sculptures and some coins found in the ruins, very shortly after the time of Alexander.

Probably Persepolis was merely a royal residence at all times, and the remains of monumental buildings in the plain below the terrace look more like annexes of the palaces than a town. The proper town appears to have been Istakhr, at a distance of about three miles. There some trial trenches have been made, with results so promising that the work will be continued. So far, the existence of three periods, early Muhammedan, Sasanian (or Parthian) and Achæmenian, has been established. Older periods are expected. Among the finds are architectural remains which show a hitherto unknown mixture of purely Achæmenian and purely Greek styles. They probably belong to the period immediately after the conquest, and show how the new ideas that invaded Persia at that time were adopted and implanted on traditional forms without any deeper understanding or real amalgamation. It is not unlike what is happening to-day. It is a style, interesting from the archæological, and more so from the psychological, point of view, but one that had no hope of endurance.

Old Persian art, as the last stage of Ancient Eastern art, died in the flames of Persepolis, in the fire raised by Alexander the Great.

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TRANSLITERATION

OF THE

SANSKRIT, ARABIC

AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

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SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . .	*a*
आ . . .	*ā*
इ . . .	*i*
ई . . .	*ī*
उ . . .	*u*
ऊ . . .	*ū*
ऋ . . .	*ṛ* or *r̥*
ॠ . . .	*ṝ* or *r̥̄*
ऌ . . .	*ḷ* or *l̥*
ॡ . . .	*ḹ* or *l̥̄*
ए . . .	*e* or *ē*
ऐ . . .	*ai*
ओ . . .	*o* or *ō*
औ . . .	*au*
क . . .	*ka*
ख . . .	*kha*
ग . . .	*ga*
घ . . .	*gha*
ङ . . .	*ṅa*
च . . .	*ca* or *c̲ha*[1]
छ . . .	*cha* or *c̲hha*[1]
ज . . .	*ja*
झ . . .	*jha*
ञ . . .	*ña*
ट . . .	*ṭa*
ठ . . .	*ṭha*
ड . . .	*ḍa*
ढ . . .	*ḍha*
ण . . .	*ṇa*
त . . .	*ta*
थ . . .	*tha*
द . . .	*da*

[1] In modern Indian languages only.

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ध	. . .	*dha*
न	. . .	*na*
प	. . .	*pa*
फ	. . .	*pha*
ब	. . .	*ba*
भ	. . .	*bha*
म	. . .	*ma*
य	. . .	*ya*
र	. . .	*ra*
ल	. . .	*la*
व	. . .	*va*
श	. . .	*śa*
ष	. . .	*ṣa*
स	. . .	*sa*
ह	. . .	*ha*
ळ	. . .	*ḷa* or *ḷa*
ं (*Anusvāra*)	.	*ṁ* } or ~
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	.	*m̐* }
ः (*visarga*)	. .	*ḥ*
× (*jihvāmūlīya*)	.	*ḫ*
ᳵ (*upadhmānīya*)		*ḫ*
ऽ (*avagraha*)	.	'
Udātta	. .	´
Svarita	. .	ˆ
Anudātta	. .	`

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	. . .	*ṛa*
ढ़	. . .	*ṛha*

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

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ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ا at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or alternatively, hamza may be represented by ـَ or ـِ

ب	*b*	ط	*ṭ* or *ṭ*[1]
ت	*t*	ظ	*ẓ* or *ẓ*[1]
ث	*ṯ* or *th*	ع	'
ج	*j* or *dj*[1]	غ	*ġ* or *gh*
ح	*ḥ*	ف	*f*
خ	*ḫ* or *kh*	ق	*q*
د	*d*	ك	*k*
ذ	*ḏ* or *dh*	ل	*l*
ر	*r*	م	*m*
ز	*z*	ن	*n*
س	*s*	و	*w* or *v*
ش	*ṣ* or *sh*	ه	*h*
ص	*ṣ*	ة	*t* or *ḥ*
ض	*ḍ*	ي	*y*

vowels ـَ *a*, ـِ *i*, ـُ *u*

lengthened اَ *ā*, يِ *ī*, وُ *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish

Alif maqṣūrah may be represented by *ā*

diphthongs يَ *ay* and وَ *aw*, or يَ *ai* and وَ *au* respectively

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized *ṣ* for ث, *ẕ* for ذ, and *ẓ* for ض

waṣla '

[1] Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *ṭ* or ظ by *ẓ*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

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A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناہ *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

پ *p*

چ *ç*, *c*, or *ch*

ژ *ẓ* or *zh*

گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ک when pronounced as *y*, *ḳ* is permitted

ڭ *ñ*

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣḥtō.

ټ or ټ *ṭ*

ډ or ډ *ḍ*

ړ or ړ *ṛ*

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ˜ as in the case of the Nāgarī *anunāsika*

Paṣḥtō letters.

څ *ṡ*, *ż*, *ṭs* or *dz*

ږ *ẓḥ* or *g* (according to dialect)

ڼ *ṇ*

ښ *ṣḥ* or *ḳḥ* (according to dialect)

HEBREW

א	ا = '	ד	د = *d*
ב	ب = *b*	ד	ذ = *ḏ*
ב	= *b*	ה	ه = *h*
ג	ج = 'g or *j*	ו	و = *w*
ג	= *g*	ז	ز = *z*

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ח	ح = ḥ		غ = ġ (or ṛ)
	خ = ḫ	פ	= p
ט	ط = ṭ	פ	ف = f
	ظ = ẓ	צ	ص = ṣ
י	ى = y		ض = ḍ
כ	ك = k	ק	ق = ḳ or q
כ	= ḵ	ר	ر = r
ל	ل = l	ש	ش = š
מ	م = m	שׂ	= ś
נ	ن = n	ת	ت = t
ס	س = s	ת	ث = ṯ
ע	ع = ʿ		

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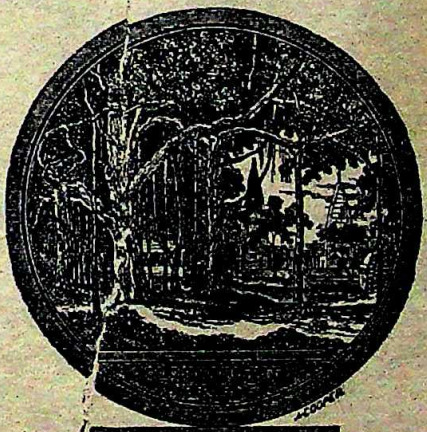

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In the Press

THE BUDDHISM OF TIBET, or LAMAISM. With its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology, and in its Relation to Indian Buddhism. 8vo. Cloth. With illustrations. 1934. 25/-.
By L. Austine Waddell, M.B., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.

A reprint of the standard work on the subject, which has been long out of print and a rare book. The author studied Buddhism in Burma and Ceylon, Sikhim, Bhotan and Japan, studied and excavated in India, learned the Tibetan language, and then spent several years in Tibet studying the religion and the people. The result was this book, which has never been nor is likely to be, superseded. Dr. Waddell has added a new preface.

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JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1934

PART II.—APRIL

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. VII : Government and Social Conditions.

B. Documents (1, Officials; 2, Classes and persons (also dwellings); 3, Agriculture and crops, registration, taxation, survey; 4, Travel and animals; 5, Objects and presents; 6, Burial and mourning and other ceremonial; 7, Medicine; 8, Law; 9, Writing and letters).

BY F. W. THOMAS

1. OFFICIALS.

1. M.I. viii, 90 (wood, c. 16 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ꡅ | : | rtse.rje.blon.gyi.mchan.ka[b].du.bsk[o]spa |

"Appointed to the note (*mchan*)-office of the head chief (*rtse-rje*), the Councillor."

Does *mchan-k[h]ab* mean "note (*or* account) office", secretariat? Cf. what is said *infra*, p. 255, concerning the *tshaṅ-blon*.

2. M.I. xl, 15 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, slightly curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ꡅ | blon.Mdo.bzaṅ.sa. | blon.po.gchig |

"Residence (*sa*) of Councillor Mdo-bzaṅ: a Councillor."

On *sa* see 1927, p. 558.

3. M.I. xiv, 0017 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete, rather curved; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

ꡅ | : | rtse.rje.daṅ.dgra.blon.la.g[th]ad.pa̱h ||

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"Consigned to the head chief and War-councillor (*dgra-blon*)."

4. M.I. vii, 9 (wood, c. 9–9·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || ru.ña.chuṅ | [2] dgra.blon

"Minor *ru-ña* : War-councillor (*dgra-blon*)."

On *ru-ña-chuṅ* see *supra*, 1933, p. 542. A *dgra-blon* is mentioned further in M.I. xiv, 0011 ; xv, 0024 ; M.T. b. i, 0099.

5. M.I. iv, 38 and 39 (wood, two pieces, upper and lower, together c. 9 × 2 cm. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || Dgra.dog.Rji.rma.staṅ || [C]u.d[e ?] . . . [2] phyi.blon.du.bskos.

"*Dgra-dog* (?) Rji-rma-staṅ : Cu-de . . . appointed Exterior-Councillor (*phyi-blon*)."

Possibly the sense is "in place of (*staṅ*) Rji-rma" ; but *staṅ* is elsewhere a complimentary affix. "Exterior-Councillor" means, no doubt, "Councillor for affairs abroad". The phrase *phyi-blon-du-bskos* recurs in M.I. iv, 42*b*.

Since the *phyi-blon* occurs in the Lha-sa inscriptions (*JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 133–5), while the *dgra-blon* does not, it is possible that the two designations are equivalent.

6. M.I. xxiv, 0030 (paper, fol. No. 64 in vol., c. 14 × 5 cm., torn away at r. and bottom ; discoloured and stained ; ll. 5 (+ some vowels of a sixth) of neat cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || żaṅ.lon.żal.ce.pa.[blon.]Stag.b[ż]re . . .

"Uncle-Councillor, Justicer, Councillor Stag-bżer."

In the Lha-sa inscriptions (ibid., p. 135) is mentioned a *rgyal-zigs-chen-po-żal-ce-don-la* "Great King's Eye for the purpose of justice", which renders probable the view expressed *supra* (p. 100) that the *rgyal-gzigs*, mentioned 1928, pp. 574–5, and recurring in M.I. iii, 2 (a proper name here ?), xiv, 58*a*, 61*c*, discharged legal functions. The *khrim-bon* (*khrims-dpon*) mentioned in 1928, p. 560, would be a local judge of lower rank. It would seem that the term *bkaḫ-luṅ* "command" (1927, pp. 72–3) was also used personally (1928, p. 582) in the sense of "judge".

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7. M.I. viii, 2 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ || myi.thogs.par.brdzaṅ.ba.daṅ | Be.ce.Stag.legs.daṅ.Dol.po.Rma.[st]on.żaṅ.lon.chen.po.blon.Klu [A 2] sgra[ḫi].lus.kyi.rim.gro.la.rab.tu.rin[s.st]e || Ḫbrog.yul.gaṅ.na.mchis.[p]a.ga.tsas(*sic*).daṅ.sbyor.la [A 3] gdug.mtshan.stod.la.gcig.nas.gcig.du.gżen.thob.la.rdzoṅs.śig.ces || żaṅ.lon [B 1] chen.po.Kh[r]i.dog.rje.daṅ | blon.Rgyal.gtsug.sgraḫi.spriṅ.ba [1].las.ḫbyuṅ.bas || ḫdi.bżin.mjald [2] [B 2] rgya.bzuṅ.gżen.btab.nas || brdzaṅ.bar.mdzad.cig ||

"To be sent without delay: in accordance with a message from Great Uncle-Councillor [*żaṅ-lon-chen-po*] Khri-dog-rje and Councillor Rgyal-gtsug-sgra to this effect: 'To Be-ce Stag-legs and Dol-po Rma-ston [and] Great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Klu-sgra, of very long descent, wherever in the Ḫbrog country they are and with whatever matter occupied, by day and by night send up with admonition from one [man] to another,' accordingly on receipt of the delivered despatch arrange to send with admonition."

Be-ce and *Dol-po* are both, no doubt, local names: on the former see *supra*, on the latter the dictionaries. The Ḫbrog, nomads, are well known. It may be suspected that the persons mentioned are not mere local Tibetans of the Mīrān region, but belonged to the Central Government. Councillor Khri-dog-rje is mentioned also in M.I. iv, 37*b*. The "admonition" is to the successive couriers.

In l. A 3 the two imperatives separated by *la* (*gżen-thob-la-rdzoṅs-śig*) exhibit the regular idiom with *la*. On *gżen(n)-thob* see S. C. Das' dictionary s.v. *gżen*; on *las-ḫbyuṅ-bas*, see *supra*, 1927, pp. 79, 826.

8. M.I. xxvii, 7 (wood, c. 14·5 × 2 cm.; defective at top l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ . . . ṅuḫi.dgra.blon.daṅ.ṅos.pon.bżi.la | [2] mjal.par.bsgo.ba |

"To be ordered to meet the War-Councillor and the four

[1] *ba* below line. [2] *d* below line.

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Regional-Officials (*ños-pon*) of [Little Nob]" (*or* "To the War-Councillor . . . : summons to meet").

The *ños-dpon* seems to correspond to the *anta-pāla* of Sanskrit. He is mentioned further in xiv, 0011, 0012, and xiv, 7.

9. M.I. xiv, 7 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || ños.bži.ños.pon.rnams.la[. . . .] [2] gan [1].re.re |

"To the Regional-Officials of the four regions a carpet (*gan*, erroneous for *gdan* ?) each."

On *gdan* see *infra*, pp. 467–8.

10. M.I. x, 5 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, partly erased).

. . . [c]aṅ.khyir.h̲tshol.cig

". . . the *caṅ-khyir* should require."

On *caṅ-khyir* see *supra*, 1927, p. 75 n., 79 ; 1933, p. 550 ; since in the first of these occurrences he is a kind of *stoṅ-dpon*, he is, no doubt, of the same order. On his equivalence to *nāgaraka*, *nagara-rakṣa* see *supra*, p. 97.

11. M.I. xiv, 3 (wood, c. 9·5 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of square *dbu-can* script).

ꡲ : tshar.dpon | Paṅ : kuh̲ : tshan. |

"Paṅ-kuh̲, head of a parish (*tshar*)."

On *tshar* see *supra*, 1930, pp. 50 sqq. The person is probably not a Tibetan, but a native, as is perhaps implied in the use of the honorific plural *tshan* (ibid., p. 72).

12. M.T., c. iii, 0074 (wood, c. 13·5 × 1 cm., a slice, broken away at l. and r. ; l. 1 of neat, squarish *dbu-can* script).

ꡲ | : [*B*]de.gams.gyi.h̲dun.tsa.nas . . .

"From the Assemblage of Bde-gams . . ."

In connection with Bde-gams a *h̲dun-sa*(*tsa*) "general assemblage", has been mentioned in 1927, pp. 825–6. The general term for a council consultation, *bkah̲-h̲gros*, occurs ibid., and also pp. 821, 824, and 1928, p. 566. Bde-gams was in Tibet : the *h̲dun-sa*'s in Gtsos-mo-gliṅ (1928, p. 574) and Byeh̲u-liṅ (ibid., p. 591) and Śel-than (1930, p. 71) were

[1] *glan ?*

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perhaps all local conferences in Turkestan. As regards the spelling, it is possible that, whereas *ḫdun-sa* means the place of assembly, *ḫdun-tsa* = *ḫdun-ma*, the assembly itself. Sometimes (e.g., M.T. à. ii, 0076) the leading *dpons* are grouped together in such phrases as *so-soḫi-stoṅ-sdeḫi-dpon-sna* "the leading officials of the several Thousand-districts".

13. Ch. 86, ii (paper, on *verso* of fol. No. 48 of volume liii, c. 27·5 × 24 cm.: ll. 9 of good, cursive *dbu-can* script + ll. 3 (a different hand) inverted).

[1] ꡲ || chen.po.dguṅ.daṅ.ḫdra.paḫi.ża.sṅa.nas.thugs.bde.ḫam.myi [2] bde.mchid.yi.ge.las.sñun.gsol.żiṅ.mchis.na.bkaḫ.stsal.bar.ji.gnaṅ || [3] spyan.zigs.daṅ | skyes.kyi.mtsan.mar.ḫbras.khal.phyed.daṅ | Rgya.ras.yug.gchig.daṅ.ḫdi | [4] gñis. | [1] Raṅ.ke.Klu.goṅ.lsa [2].gsol.żiṅ.mchis.na.bżes.par.gslo [3].żiṅ.mchis || [5] bdag.chag.ṅan.pa.mchis.pas.rṅo.thog.pa.ma.mchis.par.ḫdi.skad.sñan.sñuṅs.pa | [6] gsol.żes.bkaḫ.ḫbab.tu.ḫaṅ.ruṅ.na | rje.blas.gyi.kha.tsham.żig.legs.pa.na | [7] bzuṅ.bar.gslo.żiṅ.mchis ||

[8] ꡲ || naṅ.rje.po.blon.Mdo.brtsan.daṅ | blon.Mdo.bzaṅ.daṅ | [9] blon.Khri.ḫjam.la || [10] Żaṅ.zigs.gyi.mchid.gsol.ba | [*Inverted*] [1] ꡲ || Rog.tom.kyi.thar.kar.nas.bkyeḫi.phyag.rgya.phogste | Śa.chuḫi.rtse.rje.daṅ [2] Rgya.sde.gñis.kyi.dpon.sna.la.spriṅ.ṅo. || ḫdir.ṅo.phral (phul ?).Bde.Śaṅ | [3] śun.gyis.gsol.na

"[I am] submitting a written inquiry as to health, whether on the part of the Great Ones, equal to heaven, there exists happiness of mind or non-happiness: to send a word would be a favour. As a visitor's gift (*spyan-[g]zigs*) and with the title of a present (*skyes-kyi-mts[h]an-ma*) I am sending a half-load of fruit (*or* rice, *ḫbras*) and one roll of Chinese cotton, these two. I am asking them from Raṅ-ke Klu-goṅ, and I beg you to accept them. That your humble servant, being ineffective, should thus [merely] send inquiry as to health deserves indeed a reprimand: I beg His Excellency (*rje-blas*) kindly (*legs-pa-na*) for a while (*tsam-żig*)

[1] *re* here crossed out. [2] Compendious for *las*. [3] = *gsol*.

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to forbear (*kha-bzuṅ-bar*) (*or* I beg you kindly to secure H.E.'s forbearance . . .?).

"To Interior Councillor Mdo-brtsan and Councillor Mdo-bzaṅ and Councillor Khri-ḫjam : letter-petition of Żaṅ-zigs.

"[*Inverted*] Despatched from Thar-kar in Rog-tom with signature attached : addressed to the Chief-in-command (*rtse-rje*) of Śa-cu and the leading officials (*dpon-sna*) of the two Chinese districts (*sde*). Here on the present date (*ṅo-phral*) Bde Śaṅ-śun submits [it]."

Copy of a letter sent to Śa-cu from Thar-kar in Rog-tom, both unknown ; Thar-kar is perhaps not a proper name, and Rog-tom may mean the "Rog Thousand[-district]". The two [*Stoṅ-*]*dpons* of the two Chinese [*Stoṅ-*]*sde*'s may belong to two of the districts noted *supra* (p. 94). In the last sentence Bde Śaṅ-śun, if it is really a proper name, means Śaṅ-śun of Bde (a province of Mdo-smad), on which see *supra* (p. 97). The person Ḳlu-goṅ has a name resembling that of the Tibetan minister Klu-khoṅ, celebrated in a Lha-sa Edict edited and translated by Col. Waddell (*JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 1255 sqq.) : the surname *Raṅ-ke* seems to be unknown ; but cf. *Śud-ke* and *Hel-ke*. The endorsement may have been added on the original in the course of a transmission through the Bde centre, which would be a geographically interesting circumstance. It will be noted that here the *rje-blas* (with *s* in the nominative as elsewhere, e.g. 1927, pp. 72–4) is perhaps, but not necessarily, the *naṅ-rje-po* of Śa-cu.

The letter is an instance of the actually avowed (p. 500) principle of sending a polite letter (*sñan-sñuṅs*) to "mark time", when there is nothing definite to report.

Spyan-zigs (= Sk. *upāyana* "a visitor's gift", 1930, pp. 88, etc.) and *bkaḫ-ḫbab*, "reprimand" (1930, p. 278), have occurred previously.

The above citations illustrate the use of the expressions :—

rje-bla[*s*], "Excellency."

rtse-rje, "chief in command" (°*chu-ṅu*, "minor chief").

żaṅ-lon (*chen-po*), "Uncle(noble)-Councillor."

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blon, "Councillor"; *naṅ-rje*[*-po*] or *naṅ-blon* (1927, p. 59), "Interior-Councillor"; *phyi-blon* or *dgra-blon*, "Exterior, *or* War-Councillor."

rgyal-gzigs or *żal-che*[*-pa*], *bkaḫ-luṅ*, also *spyan-ched-po*, "King's Eye", "Justicer", "Great Eye".

dpon, "official"; *stoṅ-dpon* (Sk. *sahasra-pati*), also *stoṅ-sde*, "Thousand-[district]-commander"; *ṅos-dpon*, "regional commander"; *khrims-dpon*, "judge," or *bkaḫ-luṅ*; *khral-dpon* (M.I. lviii, 006), "tax-master"; *tshar-dpon*, "parish-head"; *caṅ-khyir*, *chaṅ-kyur*, "city mayor," ordinarily a *stoṅ-dpon*.

To these we may add *stom-gyaṅ* (1928, p. 563), probably only the old local name (*toṃga* of the Kharoṣṭhī) of the *stoṅ-dpon*; *jo-co* (*rjo-cho*, etc., 1927, p. 67; 1928, pp. 566, 585; 1930, pp. 73, 272, 292), a similar equivalent of *rtse-rje*; *yul-mthoṅ* (1928, p. 585, and M.T., 0544) or *yul-gzigs* (1930, p. 73, and M.I. iii, 0068) the local surveyor or overseer.

The *żaṅ*, *żaṅ-po*, *żaṅ-chen-po* is, as we have seen (*supra*, p. 99, n.) the "Uncle" or noble, and the *maṅ-po-rje* (1927, p. 57) the feudal prince or tribal head.

The state officials of Tibet, as cited in the Lha-sa inscriptions (*JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 433–5) include the *blon-po-chen-po*, *naṅ-blon*, *phyi-blon*, *blon-phyi-pa*, *mṅan-*[*d*]*pon*, *bkaḫi-phrin-blon-chen-kablon* ("correspondence councillor"), *rtsis-pa-chen-po* ("census, or finance, minister") and the *rgyal-*[*g*]*zigs-chen-po-żal-ce-don-la* ("minister of justice, or law"). To the *rtsis-pa* might correspond the local *tshaṅ-lon* (1927, p. 67) of the Śa-cu state.

The general term for "government" is *mṅan*, to which belong the above *mṅan-blon* and the expression *mṅan-gyi-ḫbaṅs*, "government subject or convict." We have reference to the *Bod-kyi-mṅan*, "Tibetan authorities" (M. Tāgh. b. ii, 0066), and to the *Li-mṅan* "Khotan authorities". *Chab-srid* is the authority of an official, but especially of the king, who is said (1927, p. 56) to proceed to the Ḫa-żа country "to take over the government": metonymously the phrase

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may mean a "state", even geographically. *Mṅaḫ-ris*, "authority-line" (boundary; cf. *yul-ris*, "local boundary," *mkhar-ris*, "city boundary"), naturally means "frontier" between states, provinces, etc. (cf. 1928, p. 557; 1930, p. 255); but this also comes to mean "state" or "province", as in *Mṅaḫ-ris Ḫkhor-gsum* (*vulgo*, Nari Khorsum), and even the property or possession of a person or community.

2. Classes and Persons (also Dwellings)

14. M.I. xiv, 0011 (wood, c. 21 × 2–2·5 cm., broken away at lower l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint and smudged).

[A 1] ๏ || daḫ.ltar.dgraḫ.blon.daṅ.żiṅ.pon.-o . . bla.[stsisna].do.chig.[sky—].[skya(sla ?)].sa.ḫdi [A 2] . . . [tsha]lma.bskos.paḫ.las.khoṅ.[skyaḫi?].myi.gsold.paḫi[1].sg—. [B 1] . . . raṅ.khri.sṅar.yaṅ.żiṅ.pon.daṅ.dgraḫ.blon.ḫtshal.ḫtshal[d].[to ? ?] [B2] [s]ug.lasu.bgyi.[baḫi ?].ñam.drod.kyaṅ.mtshal (mchis ?) | [rṅo ?].yaṅ.thog | dra.gu . . .

"The present War-councillor and the landlords have already calculated. . . . After the assignment of rations . . . this land *for* the present harvest, the harvestmen petitioned . . . 'Previously, whenever the landlords and War-councillor have required, *we* made no trouble about being set to work. Also *we* are competent . . .'"

The defectiveness of the text occasions a partly conjectural rendering.

The *żiṅ-pon* (1928, p. 576; cf. *żiṅ-bdag*, *infra*, p. 266) is the landlord, in contrast to the *żiṅ-pa*, or cultivator, who is here a *skyaḫi-myi*, "harvester." On *ñam[s]-drod*, "trouble," see 1927, p. 82; on *tshal-ma* (1927, p. 839, etc.) and *bskos* see *supra*, 1933, pp. 386–7.

. . . *raṅ-khri* is not clear. For *mtshal* read *ma-ḫtshal?* The interposition of the "Foreign War-councillor" is, no doubt, due to the fact that to the Tibetans Shan-shan was conquered country and the population "enemy" or foreign.

[1] *paḫo ?*

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15. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0047 (wood, c. 11·5 × 1 cm., cut to a point at l., cut away at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

. . . m.żes || stsaṅ.h̲dren.H̲a.ża

" . . . grain-conveyor the H̲a-ża . . ."

The business of conveying grain (*stsaṅ-h̲dren*) is several times referred to ; see 1930, p. 89, and M.I. xiv, 119. It must have occupied many persons.

16. M.I. ix, 1 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𑖀 || z[o]ṅ.K[lu].h̲tus |

" Merchant (*zoṅ*) Klu-h̲dus."

The same person is mentioned in vii, 89*b* (𑖀 | : | zoṅ. [Klu] . . .).

17. M.I. xiv, 0054 (wood, c. 10·5 × 1·5 cm., cut away to a point at l. ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] 𑖀 | . | Bya[1] . nad . rmaṅ . rog . ba (rogs ?) [B] myi . gñis |

" Bya-nad, horse(camel ?)-attendant. Two persons."

On *rmaṅ-rogs* (cf. *rta-rogs*) see 1930, pp. 73, 290.

18. M.I. xiv, 50 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., slightly broken away at l. lower corner ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𑖀 || Bag.Mdo.stoṅ |

" *Bag* Mdo-stoṅ."

The sense of *Bag* is unknown. It is probably a clan or family name ; see *infra*, p. 259.

19. M.I. xiv, 15 (wood, c. 9 × 1·5 cm., broken away at r., lower corner ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𑖀 || sa.stoṅ.Śaṅ.sme |

Sa-stoṅ recurs as a title in M.I. xiv, 124 ; xxvi, 2 ; and M. Tāgh. 0380 ; the dictionary gives the meaning " desert ", and so it might mean " desert man " ; but possibly it is for *sa-ston* in the sense of " guide " (*sa-mkhan*, *infra*, p. 466).

20. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0015 (wood, c. 13 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *d* here crossed out. Is Bya-na a place-name ?

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ꡲ | . | yul . tsan . | gcig |

"A local magnate (or a business man)."

A document belonging to the Munich Ethnographical Museum (FK 1023) mentions a *yul-[d]pon* "local lord" or "local authority". This is perhaps a caller's "card".

21. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0010 (wood, c. 12 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script + 1 consisting of two quasi-circles).

[1] ꡲ || gu . rib . Snaṅ . la . rgyug || [2] o o

"Slave Snaṅ.la.rgyug."

The meaning "slave" is conjectural: see *supra*, 1930, p. 258. The word is not infrequent. The circles perhaps indicate chastisement, as in 1930, p. 49.

22. M.I. xiv, 45 (wood, c. 8·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || žaṅ . lon . daṅ . yul . myi . las [2] gdan . g–yar . por . bsdu . baḫ |

"Carpet to be collected on loan from the Uncle-Councillor and people of the district."

23. M.I. iv, 17 (wood, c. 23 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | ze . daḫi . lug . riṅ . du . kha . bstan . pa | Khyi . cuṅ . la . khre . do | Kyad . nag . la . bre . gaṅ | [A 2] yaṅ . Khyi . chuṅ . bre . gaṅ | dge . bsñen . la . bre . phye [1] . daṅ . gsum | Ḫphan . legs . la . bre . phye . da[ṅ] [B]do | Roṅ . po . ban . de . la . bre . gaṅ . | Sog . po . la . bre . lṅa |

"Promised . . . as price of a sheep: To Khyi-cuṅ millet, two; to Kyad-nag a full *bre*; again to Khyi-cuṅ a full *bre*; to the lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*) three *bre* less one-half; to Ḫphan-legs two *bre* less one-half; to monk (*ban-de*) Roṅ-po a full *bre*; to Sog-po five *bre*."

The meaning of *ze-da* is not apparent: is it = *zed* "damaged". *Roṅ-po* and *Sog-po* are probably both tribal or national names. In consideration of the Sogdian colony of the seventh century A.D. (Pelliot in *Journal Asiatique*,

[1] = *phyed*.

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xi, vii (1916), pp. 111 sqq.), it is possible that *Sog*, which recurs in the documents, denotes a Sogdian (in later times a Mongol).

24. M.I. xxxiii, 1 (wood, c. 5¼ × 1 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . gnas . gtsug . lag . khaṅ [1] . gi . rkyen . sa . sṅon . | pye [2] . daṅ . bcu . gsum [A 2] . | na . n[iṅ] . slad [3] . kyis . khrug . pa . dag . gis . bstsald . nas . | h̲ba[bs] [B 1] . . *d*ge . h̲dun . [rkye]n . pah̲i . h̲tsho . ba . khab . sos . ma . h̲byor . par . gyur . [nas] [B 2] *bda*g . chag . drug . rkyen . d[r]u[ṅ] . [m]chis . nas | sku . yon . h̲tshal [B 3] . . . [l] . da . ltar . Lha . ris . gyi . dpon . snah̲ (snas ?) . | Lha . ris . gyis . dge . h̲du[n]

"The lands belonging to *this* monastery were formerly thirteen less one-half. Last year, owing to disturbances through quarrels (*rtsad-kyis ?*), the rent (*h̲babs*) . . . the livelihood of those belonging to the Saṃgha was not supplied by the householders (?). We six residents (*rkyen-druṅ*) require a benefactor (*sku-yon*). At present the chief officials (*dpon-sna*) of Lha-ris . . . the Saṃgha of Lha-ris. . . . ?

On *rkyen*, "property," see 1928, p. 581, etc.; *rkyen-sa* = "proprietary land". *Khab-so*, which occurs in the Ladak *Chronicle* (Francke, *Antiquities of Western Tibet*, ii, p. 77), denotes perhaps the dwellers in mansions (*khab*), the rich.

25. M.I. x, 4 (wood, c. 11 × 1·5–2 cm., broken away at l., irregularly broken away at bottom; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [k]yab . gyi . sde . yug . pa . mo . Bag . za . Mn—n . mo . [2] | . . . . [s] . . [m]chid . gslo . bah̲

"[*watch*]-tower regiment: widow Bag-za Mn—n-mo . . . letter petition."

On *za* with clan-names of women see 1927, p. 832. It is perhaps = *bzah̲* "wife", which is similarly employed: "wife of Bag (cf. p. 257) family."

[1] *khaṅ* below line. [2] = *phyed*. [3] *rtsad ?*

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26. M.I. xiv, 40 (wood, c. 8 × 1·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of largish, square *dbu-can* script).

gyar.po.G[u].c[uṅ]. |

"Borrower (lender ?) Gu-cuṅ."

27. M.I. xiv, 43 (wood, c. 10 × 1·5 cm., complete, rather curved ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

꠰ || ce.se[1].Ba.spoṅ |

"Lady Ba-spoṅ."

Ce-se, which occurs elsewhere in the form *ce-że*, is perhaps a feminine corresponding to *jo-cho* "chief", etc. In M.I. xxxii, 5*m*, we read *che-że-chen-mo-yum-sras* "great lady, mother and son"; in M.I. 0028 *Cuṅ-brdzaṅ-che-że-cag*, "Cuṅ-brdzaṅ and lady"; in M.T. 0503 *tsha-bo-Btsan-ra-daṅ-che-że-Lha-ldem*, "grandson Btsan-ra and lady Lha-ldem"; in M. Tāgh. a. iv, 00151 . . . jo-*bo-Klu-bzaṅ-daṅ-ce-że-Gtsug-ldem*.

Adding to the classes here instanced some others previously exemplified, we may arrange as follows :—

(*a*) General : *ḫbaṅs* (also *dmaṅs*, 1927, p. 82 ; 1928, p. 73), "subject" (in a state) ; *mṅan-gyi-ḫbaṅs*, "government subject" or convict (1928, p. 556) ; *lha-yi-ḫbaṅs* or *lha-ḫbaṅs* (1927, p. 829 ; 1928, p. 89), "god's servant" or temple slave ; *sku-bla* (1927, p. 66 ; 1928, p. 86 ; also in M.I. xliii, 0014 ; xliv, 4 ; M.T. c. iv, 0030), "magnate" ; *yul-btsan*, "local magnate" ; *khab-so*, "mansion-dweller" ; *las-myi* (M.I. vii, 2 and 64 ; xiv, 4 ; M.T. 0605), "workman" ; *bran* (1928, p. 576), "servant" ; *na-bran*, "house servant" (ibid., p. 560) ; *gu-rib*, "slave" ; *spyugs* (1927, p. 819), "banished man" ; *ce-że*, "lady" ; *gñer*, "steward" (1931, p. 812) ; *byan-po*, "cook" (usually military) ; *yug-pa-mo*, "widow" ; *yul-myi* (p. 258 and 1928, p. 573), "local people."

(*b*) Connected with agriculture : *żiṅ-dpon*, "landlord" ; *żiṅ-pa*, "cultivator" ; *gżi-mkhan* (1927, p. 79), "peasant" (?) ; *chun-pa* (1928, p. 573), "field-watchman" ; *stsaṅ-ḫdren*,

[1] *Co-sa ?*

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"grain conveyor" (*quasi* "carter"); *śiṅ-thuṅ* (1928, p. 582), "stick-gatherer."

(*c*) Connected with animals and travel: see *infra*, pp. 466–7.

(*d*) Other professions: on *sman*, "physician," *rtsig*, "lawyer," *yi-ge-pa*, "scribe," see *infra* (p. 273); *glu-myi* (1930, p. 74) should be "singer", *zaṅs-mgar* (*infra*, p. 473) "coppersmith".

(*e*) Religious: *mkhan-po*, "abbot"; *ban-de* (the usual term), Buddhist *dge-sloṅ* or monk (*bhikṣu*); *dge-bsñen*, "lay adherent (*upāsaka*)"; *dben* or *sben*, "hermit" (*dben-sa* "hermitage", 1927, pp. 59–60); *spod* or *ḫtul-maṅ* (*gtul*), "ascetic" (ibid., pp. 71–2); *bon-po*, "a Bon worshipper" (*infra*, p. 482–3); *lha-bon-po*, "a deva-bon worshipper" (ibid.). On *tshos-khur(ṅ)*, "painter" (??), *khur-skya*, and *ho-peṅ*, see *infra*, p. 481.

In this connection we may take note of the designations of cities and places of residence:—

mkhar, "city," the general term, perhaps, implying fortification; *skun-khar* (later *sku-mkhar*), "citadel" or "fortress" (1928, p. 566, etc.); *khrom*, "mart" or "city" (1927, p. 832; 1931, p. 830), *khrom-chen-po*, "great city" (1927, p. 877, etc.); *groṅ-khyer*, "great city"; *groṅ-rdal*, "hamlet"; *braṅ* (1931, p. 812), "dwelling-place"; *pho-braṅ*, "palace" or house of king, noble, or high official (1927, pp. 56, 58, 72, etc.); *braṅ-sa*, "station on (mountain) route" (1931, p. 812); *khaṅ*, "house" or "hut" (1928, p. 582); *gtsug-lag-khaṅ*, "monastery"; *khab*, "mansion"; *mthoṅ-khab* (*khyab*), "watch-tower" (1928, pp. 559, etc.); to which we may append *mdad*, "monument," and *baṅ-so*, "tomb" (1928, pp. 579–81), *dben-sa*, "hermitage" (1927, pp. 59, 61), *liṅs*, "park" (1927, pp. 59, 61), *gdan* and *gdan-sa*, "dīvān" (1927, p. 71; 1930, p. 76, etc.); *gam*, "posting station."

3. Agriculture and Crops, Registration, Taxation, Survey

(*a*) *Agriculture and Crops*

28. M.I. xxv, 001 (paper, fol. No. 65 in vol., c. 27 × 16 cm.,

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fragmentary on all sides ; ll. 14 of scrawled cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *dmag* . pon . gi . žiṅ . dor . . . [2] . . . gcig . . . . -ruṅ . g—h̲ . dkar . [phy]e . . . . [R]g[-]d . ma[ṅ] . gi . ži[ṅ] . dor . gci[g] [3] . . . [ph]ye [1] . daṅ . gñis | Gnag . Phru . bo . dor . phyed . daṅ . gñis . [Pa [2] . b]zaṅs . kyi . dor . gcig | Nag . śod . du . . . [4] . . . gi . [*žiṅ* . *dor* . *phye*d] | Sp[e] . brtsan . gi . dkar . tu . rmos . paḥ | mag . pon . gi . ži[ṅ . do]r . gcig | Spyan . gi . žiṅ . dor . gcig . . . [5] . . . dmag . pon . gi . žiṅ . dor . gcig | yar . phugs . dor . gcig | Nam . legs . kyis . dkar . tu . rmos . pa . . . [6] . . . dor . gñis | Li [3] . Rgya . Lha . lod . kyis . dkar . tu . rmos . paḥ | dgra . blon . žiṅ . dor . gñis | mṅan . gi . žiṅ . dor . . . [7] . . . —is [4] . dkar . tu . rmos . paḥ | bgruṅ . rdziṅ . naḥ . dor . phye . daṅ . bži | mṅan . žiṅ . dor . gñis | Gnag . Ra . ba . dor . gcig . . . [8] . . . gi . žiṅ . dor . phyedaṅ . gsum | Dpal . po . legs . gis . dkar . tu . rmos . . . . . ñis | Gnag . [Rn]aḥ | . . . [9] . . . dor . phye . daṅ . gñis | To . nes . dkar . tu . rmos . paḥ | bgruṅ . rdziṅ . dor . gñis . . . . . [bgruṅ . rdziṅ] . . . [10] . . . tsan . gi . dor . phyed | Gnag . Kha . bzaṅs . gi . dor . gcig | [*R*]god . ch- . dor . g . . . [11] . . . gs . dkar . bgruṅ . rdziṅ . dor . gcig | Gdag . Rgod . niṅ . gi . žiṅ . dor . gcig . . . [12] . . . kar . bgruṅ . rdziṅ . dor . phyed . daṅ . gñis | rud . pon . gi . ži . . . [13] . . . r . phyed | Grol . [th]ar . gis . dkar . [tho]g . d— . st . . . [14] . . . Rtse . rgod . do[r] . phye . daṅ . gsum . . . .

" [1] The General's land, team . . . [2] . . . one . . . wheat, half . . . [R]g[-]d-ma[ṅ]'s land, one team. [3] . . . one and a half ; Gnag Phru-bo, one and a half teams ; [Pa-b]zaṅs, one team. In Nag-śod . . . [4] . . . 's land, a half team : ploughed by Sp[e]-brtsaṅ for wheat. The General's land, one team ; the Spyan's land, one team . . . [5] . . . The General's land, one team ; upper end (?), one team : ploughed by Nam-legs for wheat . . . [6] . . . two teams : ploughed by Chinaman Lha-lod for wheat. The Foreign Councillor's land, two teams ;

[1] = *phyed.*
[2] *Kha ? Rla ?*
[3] *Li ?* crossed out ?
[4] [*gy*]is ?

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government land, . . . teams . . . [7] ploughed by . . . for wheat. In "drained-pond" (a place ?) three and one-half teams; government land, two teams; Gnag Ra-ba, one team . . . [8] . . .'s land, two and a half teams: ploughed by Dpal-po-legs for wheat . . . two; Gnag Rnaḫ [9] . . . one and a half teams: ploughed by To-ne for wheat. 'Drained-pond,' two teams . . . 'drained-pond' . . . [10] . . . tsan's half team, Gnag Kha-bzaṅs, one team. In Rgod, . . . team . . . [11] . . . wheat, 'drained-pond', one team. Gdag Rgod-niṅ's land, one team . . . [12] . . . wheat, 'drained-pond', one and a half teams. The Horn-commander's land . . . [13] . . . a half: by Grol-[thar], wheat crop . . . [14] . . . Rtse-rgod, two and a half teams. . . ."

It seems possible that in these cases the word "team" or "yoke" (*dor*) is used as a measure of land, "as much as two strong oxen could plough from morn to night", see *infra*, p. 266; the word, however, does occur in its literal sense (1927, p. 817, and see the dictionaries) and, as previously (1928, p. 562) suggested, the teams may have been supplied for the farmers' use; but the "half-team" is then a difficulty.

The "white" (*dkar*), which we have rendered "wheat", is probably the "white grass" of the *Ts'ien Han Shu* (cf. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, p. 25). The document contains some obscure phrases—*yar-phugs*, "upper corner," *bgruṅ-rdziṅ*, "drained pond"; also *gnag-ra-ba*, and *gdag-rgod-niṅ*, which may not be personal names. *Spyan* is perhaps a short equivalent of *Rgyal-gzigs*, "the King's Eye". On Nag-śod and Rtse-rgod see *supra*, 1928, pp. 561 sqq., 590; on the *ru-dpon*, 1933, p. 388. The mention of the General's land, the Horn-commander's land, the Foreign Councillor's land, and *infra* (p. 273) the Tax-account Clerk's land, suggests a system of salary by way of *jāgīr* allotments.

29. M.I. xxviii, 0028 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

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[A 1] ꡲ || gcig | ltaṅ (lhaṅ ?) . sogs . gyi . žiṅ . dor . g[cig] . . . [A 2] kyi . žiṅ . dor . phyed | Stag . chuṅ . [gyis] . rṃos . pa | [Na]g . śo [d] . . . [B 1] kyi . žiṅ . dor . gñis | ru . pon . gyi . žiṅ . dor . gcig | žiṅ . [B 2] lag . las . dor . gcig | Khrom . phan . gyis . rmos . pa ||

". . . one. Baleman's land, one team . . . land of . . . half-team : ploughed by Stag-chuṅ. [In] Nag-śod, land of . . . two teams : the Horn-commander's land, one team. From extra-piece (*lag* = *lhag ?*) of land, one team : ploughed by Khrom-phan."

The expression "*from* extra piece . . ." suggests that the above is a fragment of a list of *returned* teams, and thus favours the literal interpretation of *dor* : see also the next document.

30. M.I. xlv, 3 (wood, c. 14·5 × 1·5–2 cm., cut away at top and (?) bottom ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 (a different hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | Khu . [cuṅ (bur ?)] | Khu . rtan . rmaṅ(d ?) [1] . pa | gstsaṅ . gi . yi . ge . chu . ṅu . h̲i . žiṅ . [A 2] dor . gsum | [B, *inverted*] log . myi . gdug

[A] "Tilled by Khu-cuṅ, Khu-rtan ; small letter land crop, three teams. [B] Are not returned."

The *Khu-cuṅ* "Little Khu" would be a subdivision of the Khu tribe, whereof the chieftain was *Khu-Maṅ-po-rje* : for similar expressions see *supra*, 1927, p. 57. *Rmad* is doubtless derived from *rmed* or *rmod* "plough" or "till". "Small letter land crop" will refer to a system of accounts ; cf. *yi-ge-ched-po* below (p. 496). On "are not returned", which might, however, relate to the tiller, see *supra*.

31. M.I. vii, 21 (wood, c. 8 × 1·5–2 cm., rather pointed at l., broken away at r. ; l. 1 *recto* of largish *dbu-can* script + 2 *verso* in a smaller, scrawled hand, rubbed and faint).

[A] Gsas . ko[l ?].

[B 1] . . . h̲dus . la | dor . gsu[m] . . . [B 2] [h̲kh]o[n] . gyi . gleh̲u . [ž]i[ṅ] . dor . g . . .

[1] = *rmed ?*

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"[A] Gsas-ko[l ?] [B 1] To . . . h̲dus, three teams . . . [B 2] . . . h̲khon's rough land, *three* teams."

The word *gleh̲u*, which has occurred *supra*, recurs in the Tibetan *Chronicle*, l. 253, *Stoṅ-sdeh̲i-gleh̲u-thogsla-khral-pa-gu-ru-spugs*; also in M.I. xvi, 005, and M.T. c. iii, 0066. It is perhaps identical with *gle*, noted *supra*, 1930, p. 259.

32. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0017 (wood, c. 15 × 1·5 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script; hole for string at r.).

[A 1] ꡲ || Dgyes : sde : po . Khri : ma . rjes : la : Yul : skyes : ki : gso [A 2] l : ba : gẓi : h̲dir : mchis . pa . Li : gẓi : daṅ : Bod gẓi [B 1] r . rba [1] : myi : h̲thun : na : Li . gẓi : dum : pa : h̲ga : ẓig : tshold [B 2] te : *skur* : cig : ra : raṅ : ba : h̲ga : btsal : te : ma : h̲oṅs : na : myi : *ruṅ*

"To Khri-ma-rjes of the Dgyes regiment: petition of Yul-skyes. I have come to this place. As in the Khotanī land and the Tibetan land the *rba* does not correspond, send demanding a piece of the Khotanī land. If no one comes to demand some satisfactory *rba*, it is not well (*or* if some satisfactory *rba* shall be required, it [will be] not well in future)."

The reference is, no doubt, to some local assignment of land where Khotanīs and Tibetans were in joint occupation. What *rba* denotes is not clear; possibly it is a miswriting for *rtswa* "grass". *Ma-h̲oṅs-na* may mean "in the future". On *Dgyes*, see 1933, p. 554.

33. British Museum Or. 8212 (194*a*) [2] (paper, c. 30·5 × 15 cm., complete; ll. 7 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || khyih̲i . loh̲i . dpyid || Bam . Śaṅ . tsheṅ . kyi . skya . ẓiṅ . Hve . gu . na . ẓiṅ . slaṅ . bu . gsum . la . dor . gchig [2] mchis . pa | Waṅ . Bur . h̲do . la . mthun . moṅ . du . phyed . mar . khre . rmor . stsal . te || myi . blas . ni . mñam . bar . [3] bgyi . bar . bgyis || rmon . pa . daṅ . sug . spyad . ni . Bur . h̲dos . sbyar . bar . bgyis || khreh̲i . thog .

[1] *rtsa ?*

[2] Photograph procured with the assistance of Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of the Department, who has kindly also given permission for publication.

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ni[1] . [4] ji . byuṅ . ba . phyed . mar . bgo . bar . bgyis | paḫi . dpaṅ . la | Sag . Dge . legs . daṅ . Soṅ . Hyve . ḫdo . [5] la-stsogs . paḫi . dpaṅ . rgya . daṅ . žiṅ . bdag . Śaṅ . tsheṅ . gyi . sug . rgyas . btab . paḫ || slad . kyis . [6] Bur . ḫdos . žiṅ . snams . ñ[2] bgyiste | žiṅ . bdag . gud . na . žig . byuṅ . bar . gyur . na | Śaṅ . tsheṅ . gis [7] mchid . gyis . ḫtshal . bar . bgyis || (3 *smudged seal impressions*).

" Spring of the Dog year : Bam Śaṅ-tsheṅ having in Hve-gu crop land, one team (*dor*) in three small enclosures, entrusted it to Waṅ Bur-ḫdo to plough for millet in partnership (*thun-moṅ-du*), at one-half ; it is to be worked on a level with the previous man (*myi-bla*, i.e. the previous tenant). Plougher and hand-labour (*sug-spyad*) to be supplied by Bur-ḫdo. The resultant (*ji-byuṅ-ba*) harvest of millet is to be divided in halves. In witness whereof the attestation-seals (*dpaṅ-rgya*) of Sag-Dge-legs and Soṅ Hyve-ḫdo and the rest and the hand-signature of the landlord (*žiṅ-bdag*), Śaṅ-tsheṅ, are attached. Subsequently if any loss (*gud*) shall have taken place through Bur-ḫdo neglecting (*snams ?*) the land, Śaṅ-tsheṅ is to make a demand in writing (*mchid-gyis-ḫtshal-ba*)."

A very clear and complete document. The letting by a landlord (*žiṅ-bdag* = *žiṅ-dpon*) to a tenant, who is required to raise a crop of millet not falling below the level of the previous tenant, is attested by witnesses and signatures : the crop is to be halved, and in the event of a falling-off or loss the landlord is to make a protest. The term *dor* " team " seems clearly here to denote a measure of land. *Slaṅ-bu* may be connected with *sloṅ*, " erect," and mean " fence " or " enclosed land " ; cf. *slaṅ-kha*, " shelf " or " stand ". *Snams* : cf. 1928, p. 569.

As the document comes from the hidden library of Tun-huang, it is not surprising that the clan-names Bam, Waṅ, Sag, Soṅ are included among those previously elicited (1928, pp. 91 sqq.). The personal names also are accordant, being all, no doubt, Chinese, except that of Sag Dge-legs, a Tibetan, who seems actually to recur in that list.

[1] Crossed out. [2] *ñ*(*ž*) crossed out.

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The place Hve-gu, doubtless in the Śa-cu district, is not yet identified :=Wei-wu (Chavannes, *T'oung-pao*, 1905, p. 525) ?

34. M.I. ix, 15 (wood, c. 21 × 1·5 cm., cut away at top ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 (+ vowel-signs of a second) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] | paḫ . ldum . rā . lhu . brgyad . cig . Nob . chu . ṅu . na . mcis . pa | ban . de . Byaṅ . cub . sñiṅ . po . rmed [B 1] rmed . pa . las || ban . de . tshe . ḫdaḫs . pa || bdag . ṅan . paḫi . stoṅ . sde . daṅ [1] . żaṅ . druṅ . yaṅ [2] . lags . na [B 2] ḫdi

"There being in Little Nob some eight pieces of patrimonial garden land, these were cultivated by the *ban-de* Byaṅ-cub-sñiṅ-po. The *ban-de* being deceased, as the Thousand-district and Uncle-officials are [under the charge] of my humble self (*or* 'in view of your humble servant's being Thousand-governor and Uncle (noble) official') . . ."

Ldum-ra, "vegetable enclosure," garden, or orchard, recurs in M.I. xxi, 6.

The objection to the bracketed rendering is that grammatically it requires *bdag-ṅan-pa*, not °*paḫi*. On the *Stoṅ-sde* see *supra*, pp. 93–4, 255.

35. M.I. ii, 005 (wood, c. 18 × 2 cm., broken away at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꤀ | : | ḫbrug . gi . loḫi . sa . bon . daṅ . żiṅ . paḫ . brgyags . th[o]g[i] . gro . las . god . paḫ | khal . [phye ?] . . . [A 2] Klu . dgos . gyi . brgyags . khal . phyed | sa . bon . khal . gcig . bre . bżi | ba . phye . rgyu . bre . do | Lha . le[gs] . . . [B 1] rin . bre . brgyad | sde . rjes . bre . bchu . gñis | żi[ṅ] . thog . las . jo . bo . Btsa[n . b]zaṅ . la . nas . khal . g[su] . . . [B 2] gsum | Nob . chu . ṅur . khre . khal . gñis . [dr]aṅs | Ka . dag . khre . las . Lha . [g]uṅ . rta . rin . du . [khal] . . . [*Between B* 1 *and B* 2] sde [graṅ ? ?]

"Seed and farmer's provisions for the Dragon year paid from the harvest wheat, loads . . . To Klu-dgos, provisions, half a load, seed one load, four *bre*, cattle [3] flour-stuff two *bre*.

[1] *daṅ* below line. [2] *ṅ* below line.

[3] Or is *ba-phye* a miswriting for *bag-phye*, "flour" ?

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To Lha-legs, price . . ., eight *bre*. By the District-chief twelve *bre*. From the field-harvest: To my lord Btsan-bzaṅ, barley . . . three loads. Millet conveyed to Little Nob, two loads. From the Ka-dag millet, to Lha-guṅ for price of a horse, loads . . ."

This document illustrates the process of distribution of cereals by way of wages, payments, and for seed. The distribution will not always have been direct; we have seen examples of distribution by way of drafts and circular orders and also of assignment and prescript. But the country must, nevertheless, have been covered with the storage granaries, for which we have found the name *stsaṅ-gam*, corresponding to the *draṅgas* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, which also are seen (e.g. in Nos. 272, 439) to have been numerous.

36. M.I. iv, 44 and 46 (wood, c. 18 × 1·5 cm., broken in middle; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-caṅ* script).

[A 1] ꡲ || żiṅ . daṅ . sa . bon . nos . żes . [spri]ṅ . ba . ma . mnos . sa . bon . na . niṅ . gyi [1] . chad . [A2] las . phyis . śig . ces . mchi . | H̲greṅ . ro . la . sku . b[la] [2] . gcig . bskur . ba . thob . ma [B] thob ||

"Without consideration of the message 'seed received with land', it is said that the seed from last year's harvest (or dues, *chad* ?) should come later. Some leading person sent to H̲greṅ-ro may or may not have received it."

Phyis-śig must be an imperative (of *h̲phyi-ba*). In *sku-bla*, "a magnate," *sku* is an honorific prefix, as in *sku-gon*, "donor," etc. On H̲greṅ-ro see 1928, pp. 86–7.

37. M.I. xiv, 119 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 4 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather small, cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[1] ꡲ || bgyir . myi . bde . na . yaṅ . gtad . dpaṅ . poh̲i . sug . rgya . glan . du . bgyi . żiṅ | tha . sñad . cis . gtad . gcog . pa . tsam . żig . g-yas [3] [2] skya . g-yar [4] . tshod . mchis . par .

[1] *gyiṅ ?*
[2] *bu ?*
[3] *s* below line.
[4] *r* below line.

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[bgo [1]] ; bar . gsol . żiṅ . mchis || Sṅon . cuṅ . daṅ . Dro . brtsan . gyi . dpya . stsaṅ . rnam . śas . śig [3] mchis . pa . | H̲brog . du . s[ṅ]o . rṅa [2] . la . s[ts]aṅ . khal . bdun . żig . h̲dren . pah̲i . slad . ma | khre . ba . mch[i]s . na . ci . lom . du . bsgyur | khre . [ma [3]] [4] . . .-i || g[r]aṅs [4] . bzaṅ . [po] . la . . . . gtaṅ . żiṅ . g[tan] . tshigs . bzaṅ . por . bgyi . bar . ci . gna[ṅ] || Bor . [pha]ṅs [5] . kyi . [B 1] rin . chab . sraṅ . gñis . żig . mchi . ba . żib . tu . Leg . leg . las [6] . gsol . pa . lags . na | h̲di . tshe . khon . [b]skur . bar . ci . gnaṅ ||

"Though sorry to do it, yet, as given witnessed signatures must be made good (*glan* from *lan* or *len*), I beg you to give orders for the crops of all those (*tsam-żig*) who have defaulted in respect of the given agreement (*tha-sñad*) to come in, to the amount of the borrowing (*g-yar-tshod ?*). Of the tax corn (*dpya-stsaṅ*) of Sṅon-cuṅ and Dro-brtsan some instalment (*rnam*) has come. Millet having come subsequent to the conveying of seven loads of corn to Sṅo-rṅa (?) in the H̲brog country, has it been received (*ci-lom-du-bsgyur ?*) ? Millet . . . as [I] am sending . . . in large amount (*graṅs-bzaṅ-po-la ?*), please make a good acknowledgement (*gtan-tshigs ?*). I have definitely requested Leg-leg that Bor-phaṅs' silk-cotton (*rin-che-ba*), some two ounces, should come. Be pleased to [see that he] send it now."

The obscurities in this in principle quite intelligible document are due to difficulties of reading. The beginning relates to calling in of an equivalent from the crops of certain defaulting obligatees. On *rnam*, = "instalment", see *supra* (1927, p. 838); *gtan-tshigs* is "proof", "confirmation", "document" (1928, p. 576). *Rin-che-ba* is given in S. C. Das' dictionary as = *du-kū-lah̲i-ras*, "silk-cotton." On *lom* (= *lon ?*) see 1933, p. 541 ; *tha-sñad* = Sanskrit *vyavahāra* (1928, pp. 576–8). *Sṅo-rṅa* not a proper name ?

38. M.I. iv, 105 (wood, c. 21 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *bgyi ?* [2] *rla ?* [3] *yaṅ ?*
[4] *khruṅs ?* [5] *yas ?* [6] *legsam ?*

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[A 1] ꡲ || blon . Pal . sum . gyis || bkaḫ . nan . stsal . te | ḫdi . [n ?]i . Stag . bor . la . brdzaṅ . ba | [A 2] Myes . kri . la . gro . khal . phye(d) . daṅ . brgyad || Coṅ . stoṅ . la . do . cig . gi . thog . chad . khal . [phye ?] [B 1] daṅ . gñis . Ru . tsog . la . thog . chad . khal . phye(d) . daṅ . gsum | Rlaṅ . K[l]u . sto . la . thog . chad | [B 2] rñiṅ . maṅ . mo . żig . mchis . pa . las | na . niṅ . Śod . du . mchis . paḫi . tshe ||

"Councillor Pal(Dpal)-sum having sent stringent orders, from here are to be sent to Stag-bor these :—For Myes-kri wheat, eight loads less one-half ; for Coṅ-stoṅ, of the present harvest-cutting (*thog-chad*), two loads less one-half ; for Ru-tsog, of the [present] harvest-cutting, three loads less one-half. To Rlaṅ Klu-sto a great deal of the old harvest has gone, at the time when [he] was in Śod last year."

On Śod see 1928, p. 592.

39. M. Tāgh. 0252 (wood, c. 8 × 2·5 cm., pointed at l. broken away at r. : ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || Dge . bzaṅ . gis . draṅs . . . [2] yaṅ . kh . .

"Conveyed by Dge-bzaṅ . . . also *load* . . .

On transport of grain see *supra*.

We have seen above (1928, pp. 560, 572–3) that in the Nob region there was a "land-arrangement (*or* settlement, *żiṅ-ḫgod*)" ; the "old usage" (*riṅ-lugs*) of the land-settlement is there mentioned. Since in the case of the "lord's-land" (*rje-żiṅ*, royal or manorial land, on which see 1928, pp. 562, 564, 572) there are special regulations prohibiting fixed holdings (*gtan-żiṅ*) and special rights (*dbaṅ-thaṅ*, ibid., pp. 572–4 and M.I. iv, 27), it is to be presumed that such privileges were elsewhere valid. The existence of a class of landlords (*żiṅ-dpon* or °*bdag*) and the frequent mention of the lands of individuals, both private and official, suggests that both private possession and official tenure (as *jāgīr*) were usual.

The manorial land of Nob was divided by raised partitions (*bżeṅs-kha*, also in M.I. xxvi, 7) and the water-supply was regulated. The latter was doubtless the case elsewhere also ;

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in the Śa-cu area there is mention of canals or water-conduits (*yur-ba*, *infra*, pp. 279–280). On *slaṅ-bu* "small enclosure" see *supra* p. 266.

Compulsory cultivation (perhaps, however, only after agreement) with punishments for abandoning the plough (*thoṅ-bros*) and for positive offences is evidenced in the case of the manorial lands of Nob. Some other slight references to summoning tillers from the towns (for the season), e.g. p. 272 and 1928, pp. 572–3, suggest that in other cases also the cultivator (*żiṅ-pa*) may not have been completely free.

A Śa-cu document (*infra*, pp. 275 sqq.) discriminates (*a*) crop land (*skya-żiṅ*), (*b*) poor land (*phoṅs-żiṅ*), and (*c*) "juniper-land" (*śug-żiṅ*). The "poor land" may be the same as the *gle* or *gleḫu* (*supra*, p. 265). We have also mention (p. 267) of pieces (*lhu*) of garden or vegetable plots (*ldum-ra*).

Ploughing (*rmo-ba*) was done with the aid of teams (*dor*) of oxen or yaks, apparently supplied; in the case of a vegetable plot the tilling is called *rmed-pa*. The seed (*sa-bon*) seems to have been supplied to the cultivator (*supra*, pp. 267–8). The crop was *skya* and the harvest-yield (*thog*; *lo-thog* "year's yield") was "cut" (*chad*). Corn was *stsaṅ*, and "granary" *stsaṅ-gam*; "flour" is *phye*, "mill" *ḫthag*.

The commonest crops were barley (*nas*), wheat (*gro*), white (*dkar*) and black (*gnag*), and millet (*khre*). There is mention also of mustard or turnips (*stsaṅ-yuṅs*) and cotton (*ras*). Implied in the mention of *yu* (*rgyu*)-*mar* "oil material" is sesamum, and wood (*śiṅ*) is also rendered as material (*rgyu*) for arrows and tablets (*khram*). Perhaps glue-material (*spyin*) occurs, along with feathers (*sgro*), in the same connection (vol. liii, fol. 6).

The tax (*dpya*, *khral*) was levied in kind; so, too, rent, and the distribution by prescripts and assignments, as price (*rin*) of goods supplied, and by actual transport has been sufficiently illustrated.

The total of the year's revenue is *lo-thaṅ* (M.I. xiv, 0015; M.T. a. ii, 0033).

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(b) *Registration, Taxation*

40. M.I. xiv, 0016 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | lo . thaṅ . h̲dir . gñer . bkum . baḫi . rnams || rtsis . paḫi . phrin . [by] . . . [A 2] gi . naṅ . nas . myiṅ . smar [*sic*] . h̲byuṅ . ba . lagsna . Rgyal . bzaṅ . la . yaṅ . de . [bži] . . .

[B 1] ꡲ | . | rtsis . kyaṅ . sṅon . daṅ . myi . h̲dra . ste || blon . Maṅ . zigs . kyi . g-yar . s[ṅ]a[r] . . . [B 2] mcis || khrom . phyogs . kyi . bkaḫ . mcid . ji . gdaḫ . ba . ni || Klu . legs . kyis . . .

"[A] From the reports of statistics by those who have been engaged upon the year's revenue here we have the result with names. To Rgyal-bzaṅ also accordingly . . .

"[B] Statistics also not agreeing with the previous have already gone up to Councillor Maṅ-zigs. As to the gossip in the town quarter, Klu-legs. . . ."

On *phrin-by*[*aṅ*] (1927, p. 826, etc.) and *gñer-bkum* (1927, p. 810, etc.), see *supra*; *myiṅ-smar* (*miṅ-smrar*) is a common phrase, and *lo-thaṅ* the usual designation of the annual revenue (p. 271).

41. M.I. xiv, 49 (wood, c. 11 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || log . ba . rtsiḫ . baḫi . tshe . bži . g-yon . len [2] gyi . myiṅ . smraḫ ||

"Name-record of defaulters (*g-yon-len*) at the time of counting those returned."

From other documents it would appear that the persons returned were those compelled to till the lands. *G-yon-skor*, "taking to the left" = "deserting", "avoiding", occurs *infra*, p. 463.

42. M.I. viii, 6 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at l. top; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] *Yos* . bu . loḫi . ston . [ża]ṅ . lon . gyi . h̲baṅs . żiṅ . pa . mchi[s] . [A 2] pa[h̲i ?] . rnams | gyi . thog . bul . god . brtsis . nas | cad . paḫi [B] miṅ . smra . |

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"Hare-year, autumn: Name-record of those punished after the counting of the receipts of harvest income from the Uncle-Councillor's servants who were farmers."

43. M.I. xxxiii, 5 c. (wood, c. 10 × 1·5–2 cm., somewhat broken away at l. top; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . [kh]ral . rts[i]s . kyi . yi . ge . pa . Rlaṅ [2] Raṅ . ruḫi . żiṅ . dor . gñi[s] |

"Land of Rlaṅ Raṅ-ru, tax-account clerk, two teams."

Rlaṅ is a somewhat frequently recurring tribal name; see *supra*, 1928, p. 584. The Clerk's land is perhaps a *jāgīr*; see *supra*, p. 270.

44. M.I. ii, 18 (wood, c. 9·5 × 1·5 × 1 cm., complete; hole for string at l.; notches; l. 1 (on narrow side) of cursive *dbu-can* script).

𑀲 || bu . lon . gyi . baṅ . khram.

"Loan store ticket."

45. M.I. xxiv, 0013 (wood, c. 10·5 × 1 × 1 cm., split away at one edge for a tally; incised lines and notches; ll. 1 (with indications of a prior one) + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] rta | gro

[B] stsaṅ . baṅ . khram . na . b[y]aṅ . phyogs .

[C] paḫi . baṅ . r[ta | ?]

"[A] Horse: wheat.

"[B] Grain-store-ticket north side store horse."

A thorough system of accounts, as implied in the existence of a Tibetan ministry of accounts (*rtsis-pa-chen-po*), of a Councillor for Accounts (*tshaṅ-lon*) at Śa-cu and a total of account (*rtsis-mgo*, 1928, p. 573, etc.) for the Khotan kingdom, is exhibited by the documents in its working. Reckonings of all kinds, on the part of officials, civil, military, and ecclesiastic (1927, pp. 835 sqq.; 1928, pp. 66 sqq.), contend in number with the letters of private individuals recording their dues, wages, claims, and payments; to judge from these records the people of Chinese Turkestan during the period of Tibetan rule (as also during the previous Kharoṣṭhī

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period) seem to have found in such calculations an absorbing preoccupation.

The year's revenue (*lo-thaṅ*) will have included contributions (*dpya*) additional to the agricultural produce. Among a residue of a year's levy are mentioned (1928, p. 586) "ass, yak, bell-metal, wool, hair"; we have noted *supra* (p. 258) a carpet as a tax (*khral*); elsewhere we have a horse as a tax (*khral-rta*, M. Tāgh. a. ii, 00101); and probably again (*infra*, p. 463) a smoke, or house, tax (*dud-khral*). There might be also a yield from gold and copper mining, from manufacture of silk (*men-tri*) and cotton goods, skins, woollen ropes and felts, and from the jade-workings; also from the following of trades and from transit dues.

The phrase "lands of small letter" implies perhaps a secretariat device; concerning the *khrams* and *khram-tshan*'s sufficient has already been said (*supra*, 1928, pp. 69–70; 1930, p. 65).

(c) *Survey*

46. Ch., no number (paper, fol. No. 2 in vol. lxxiii, c. 16 × 16 cm.; torn away at top, bottom, and r.; ll. 10 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ || ż . . . [2] brgyad . chul . h̲dom [1] . bżi . cu . rtsa . g . . . [3] (cu ?) rtsa . drug | żiṅ . ñi . śu . rtsa . gcig | o/o . . . [4] h̲dom . ñi . śu . rtsa . brgyad | o/o | nub . phyogs . . . [5] byaṅ . bżi . bcu . rtsa . brgyad | o/o | slaṅ . bu . h̲di . . . [6] lho . byaṅ . h̲dom . brgyad | o/o | [2] gśoṅ . gyi . byaṅ . phy . . . [7] nub . h̲dom . bcu . gñis | o/o | deh̲i . nub . phyogs . na . sl . . . [8] bdun | o/o | deh̲i . nub . phyogs . na . slaṅ . bu . gsum | śar . . . [9] deh̲i . nub . phyogs . na . slaṅ . bu . gcig | lho . byaṅ . h̲dom . ñi . śu . rtsa . b . . . [10] [3] lho . byaṅ [. h̲dom . bżi] . . .

". . . eight *chul*, fathoms forty-[*one*] . . . six: fields twenty-one . . . fathoms twenty-eight. On the west . . . north forty-eight. This small enclosure (*slaṅ-bu*) . . . south

[1] *ñi* . *śu* here crossed out.
[2] *yaṅ* . *nub* here crossed out.
[3] *-i* . *h̲dom* here crossed out.

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[to] north, fathoms eight. North of the ravine . . . west, fathoms twelve. On the west thereof [small enclosures] . . . seven. On the west thereof small enclosures seven: east . . . On the west thereof small enclosure one: south [to] north, fathoms twenty . . . south to north fathoms four . . ."

The expression *chul* is of unknown meaning; on *slaṅ-bu* see *supra*, p. 266. The document evidently describes a piece of land, belonging, doubtless, to a religious community.

47. Ch. 79, xiv — (paper, vol. liii, fol. 37, similar to the next following, c. 26·5 × 27·5–8 cm., with large defect at r. top; discoloured and dirty; ll. 1–10 + 13–16 of good cursive *dbu-can* script, separated by a space partly occupied by ll. 11–12 in a different, smaller hand, partly obscure; red-ink opening of l. 5 faded. Also two fragments of irregular shape, (*a*) c. 7 × 6 cm.; (*b*) c. 5·5 × 9 cm.)

[1] . . . nub . . . [2] kyi . mtsams . tho . p[h]yag . . . [3] la[m] . ched . poḫi . gram . na . tho . . . [4] Thu . ñi . boṅ . tsan . gyi . żiṅ . mtsams . . .

[5] . . . . . [1] śug . żiṅ . . . [6] s . mtsams . ni || Bor . gan . gyi . żiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mcis . pa . nas . lho [7] phyogsu . draṅ . ste || Thu . kur . żin [2] . gyi . che[ḫ]u . la . thug || de . nas . nub . phyogsu . draṅs . the || Tho . gon . Seṅ . de . boṅ | [8] brgya . tsan . gyi | śug . żiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . tho . pyag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . byaṅ . pyogs . [9] su . draṅs . te . mya . ṅam . la . thug || de . na[s . śar] . pyogsu . draṅs . the || Bor . gan . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams | [10] tho . pyag . rgya . can . la. slar . thug ||

[11] | żoṅ [3] . th(?)aṅ . du . mtshaṅ [4] . ba . ni . Da . [r]ed . Żal . yi . Rje . gol . skya . bcu | Da . r[e]d . [M ?]ab sgan . skya . ḫi . sum . c[u] . gcig . gi . żiṅ . [ba .]gru . daṅ . blon . tabs . gyi . naṅ . na (mṅan ?) mchis . pas . bs[na]n . taṅ . tshaṅ . ṅo ||

[1] Heading in red ink effaced.
[2] *żin* [*sic*].
[3] *żiṅ ?*
[4] *ma . tshaṅ.*

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Kh[a]r . g[o] . caṅ[1] . [12] . . [ph]oṅ . lastso[g]s . pha . skya . phye . daṅ . lṅa . yaṅ . bži . lṅa (?) . [yo ?]d . do]

[13] skya . žiṅ . chu . ma . sum . khugs || dor . drug . cu . Khe . to . ḫo . mod . na . mcis . paḫi . sa . mtsams . [*ni*] . śar . Tho . gon . Ño . ko . [14] cheḫi[2] . brgya . tsan . gyi . skya . žiṅ . la . thug | lho . Khar . go . ca[ṅ] . Do . spoṅ . gi . bran . gyi . skya . žiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams [15] [tho . phyag] . rgya . can . la . thug || byaṅ . Khri . taṅ . Hi . na (ni ?) go . khram . tsan gyi . phoṅ . žiṅ . la . thug ||

[16] || phoṅ . žiṅ . chu . ma . dor . bco . lṅa . Khe . to . ḫo . mod . na . mcis . paḫi . sa . mtsams . ni || [lho] . kho . na . khram [17] [tsan . gyi || skya] . žiṅ . la . thug || [nub] . daṅ . byaṅ . mya . ṅam . la . thug || śar . Tho . gon . Ño . ko . che (tshe) . brgya . tsan . daṅ . gñis . kyi

Fragments :—

A [1] ṅam . daṅ . ž-ṅ . . . [2] daṅ . gñis . kyi . . [3] . . ni || Khri . . . [4] tho . p[h]yag . . . [5] . . . stsa . . .

B [1] taṅ . Thu . ñi . boṅ . brgya . tsan . . . [2] rgya . tsan . mcis . pa . [*m*] . . . [3] . . . ms . kyis . . .

"[l. 1] . . . west . . . [l. 2] . . . boundary cairn [with] token . . . [l. 3] on the border of the high road, boundary . . . [l. 4] Thu-ñi's land with asses, boundary . . . [l. 5] . . . juniper land . . . [ll. 6–7] boundary : Bor-gan's land and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. Thence, proceeding in a southern direction, reaches a small piece (*cheḫu*) of Thu-kur land. [ll. 7–8] Thence, proceeding in a western direction, reaches juniper land of Tho-gon Seṅ-de with one hundred asses, and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 8–9] Thence, proceeding in a northern direction, reaches a sand desert (*mya-ṅam*). [ll. 9–10] Thence proceeding in an eastern direction reaches back to Bor-gan and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 11–2] (*small script*) Land amount ? complete : Of Da-red Žal-yi, ten crops in (?) Rje-gol ; of Da-red

[1] *žiṅ . gi ?*
[2] *rkyeḫi ?*

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Mab(?)-sgan . . . land of thirty crops ; increased (*bsnan ?*) by a corner and . . . of Councillor . . . the amount is complete (?) Crops four and a half belonging to Khar-go-caṅ and so on . . ., and four, five . . .

"[ll. 13–5] Boundaries of crop lands three, not irrigated, in Khe-to-ḫo-mod, sixty teams :—On the east reaches crop land of Tho-gon Ño-ko with one hundred *cheḫi* ; on the south reaches crop land of a servant of Khar-go-caṅ-Do-spoṅ, and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token ; on the north reaches poor (*phoṅ*) land of the Khri-taṅ Hi-na(ni ?)-go *khram* account.

"[ll. 16–7] Boundary of poor (*phoṅ*) land, not irrigated, in Khe-to-ho-mod, fifteen teams :—

On the exact south reaches crop land of the *khram* account ; on the west and north reaches the sand desert (*mya-ṅam*) ; on the east Tho-gon Ño-ko, with one hundred *che*, and . . . of the two . . ."

Fragments :—

A " . . . desert and land . . . and of the two . . . Khri . . . cairn with manual. . . ."

B " . . . *Khri*-taṅ Thu-ñi, with one hundred asses . . . with a token."

For comments see after the next document.

48. Ch. 79, xiv, 5 (773, paper, vol. lvi, fol. 51, c. 27·5 × 53·5 cm., imperfect at top, esp. l., and bottom : similar to the preceding ; discoloured and dirty ; ll. 28 of good, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . . . -n . gya (mya ?) . . . . . [2] . . . . . r . gyi . yur . ba . . . . . [3] . . . . . lṅa | li . gżin . . . . . [4] . . . . ug | | nub . Khri . taṅ [5] . . . la . thug || lho . my . . . . [6] skya . żiṅ . chu . ma . sum . khugs . dor . drug . cu || Go . na . ḫi . Khri . ma . bsñuṅs . na . mcis . paḫi . [7] mtsams . ni || Khri . taṅ . Bor . to . khu . brgya . tsan . gyi . skya . żiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtshams . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can [8] [th]ug || lho . Ḫor . gol . bar . kyi . lam . la . thug ||

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nub . Stoṅ . bśos . gyi . yur . ba . la . thug || byaṅ . Tho . gon .
[9] *Seṅ* . de . boṅ . brgya . tsan . gyi . skya . žiṅ . la . thug ||
|| Phoṅ . žiṅ . dor . bco . lṅa . Khule . Mo . ṅan . na . mcis .
paḫi |
[10] mtshams . ni || śar . mya . ṅam . la . thug || lho . Khule .
Mo . ṅan . gyi . chu . myig . la . thug || nub . Khri . taṅ . Thu
[11] . . ṅ . khram . tsan . gyi . śug . žiṅ . la . thug || byaṅ .
mya . ṅam . la . thug || || śug . žiṅ . dor . ñi . śu . rtsa .
[12] . . . . . [mcis] . paḫi . sa . mtsams . ni || śar . Ñam . Kan .
mog . la . dwen . khram . tsan . gyi . . . . . Khri .
taṅ . Bor . go . khram . tsan . gyi . phoṅ . žiṅ . la . thug ||
nub . Da . myi . Boṅ . tshe . khram [13] [tsan . kyi . śug . žiṅ .
la . thug] || lho . Khar . go . mu . sgeḫi . lam . pho . che . la .
thug ||

[*Space. Red seal*] *Ḫbrog . gi . phyag.*

[14] *bla* (?) . . *Khri* (?) . *taṅ* . *Bor* . [*Ñ*]*o* . *ko* (?) . *ḫi* . *tsan* . .
bcu (?) [1] skya . žiṅ . daṅ . phoṅ . žiṅ . daṅ . śug . žiṅ . dor .
bdun . brgya . sum . cu || [15] *Dg*u . *śul* (thul ?) . gyi . Khe .
to . ḫo . mod . daṅ . Bro . go . daṅ . Sa . dar . Mo . [ṅ]an .
p[h]yogs . na . mcis . paḫi . sa . mtsams . ni | Jir . ber . ḫu .
di | [16] [grog] . skam . nas || lam . po . ches . thuṅ . zad . [cig] ||
nub . phyogs . draṅs . te || Tho . gon . Ño . ko . brgya . can .
gyi . skya . žiṅ . | [17] daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . na . tho .
p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug | de . nas . Ño . ko . tsan .
kyi . skya . žiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams . kyis | [18] thuṅ .
zad . cig . byaṅ . p[h]yogs . su . draṅs . the || lam . phra .
moḫi . ḫog . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mcis . pa . la .
thug || de . nas | [19] lam . phra . mos || nub . phyogs . su .
draṅs . te . Ño . ko . [brgya . tsan] . gyi . skya . žiṅ . daṅ .
gñis . kyi . mtsams . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can | [20] mcis .
pa . la . thug || de . nas . skya . žiṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . mtsams .
gyis . lho . p[h]yogs . su . draṅ . ste . lam . po . cheḫi . ḫgram
[21] na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . lam .
po . ches . nub . p[h]yogs . su . draṅ . ste || Sa . dar . Mo .
ṅan . gyi . lu . ma . rked . du | [22] [b]cad . nas || Tho . gon .

[1] Red ink.

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Seṅ . de . boṅ . daṅ . gñis . kyi . žiṅ . mtsams . kyis || lho . nub . kyi . mtsamsu . draṅs . te . Khu . le [23] Mo . ṅan . gyi . yur . ba . la . thug || de . nas . yur . bas || byaṅ . p[h]yog . su . bthus . the || San . h̲do . cin . daṅ . Khe . to . h̲o . mod | [24] gyi . dkah̲ . mdo . h̲dus . pah̲i . glad . mya . ṅam . la . thug || de . nas . Khe . to . h̲o . mod . gyi . yur . ba . gya . gyus | lho . p[h]yogsu . draṅ . ste . [25] yur . ba . gñis . mdo . gyes . pa . na . tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . yur . bas . mar . draṅs . the . Bye . žo . ja . gah̲i . yur [26] ba . dkah̲ . gyes . pah̲i . mdo . nah̲ || tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . la . thug || de . nas . Bye . žo . ja . ga . yur . ba . gya . gyus . draṅs . the | [27] yur . bah̲i . mjug | tho . p[h]yag . rgya . can . mchis . pas . mya . ṅam . rked . du . bcad . nas . lho . śar . gyi . mtsamsu . draṅs . the || [28] Da . red . Žal . yi . bran . gyi . skya . žiṅ . daṅ . . . . . [29] na . tho . p[ḣ]yag . rgya . can . [la . thug] . . .

" [ll. 1–5] . . . conduit (*yur-ba*) . . . five . . . ; west, reaches Khri-taṅ . . . south . . .

" [ll. 6–9] Boundaries of crop lands three, not irrigated, teams sixty, in Go-nah̲i Khri-ma-bsñuṅs :—Reaches crop land of Khri-taṅ Bor-to with a hundred *khu* (huts ?), and, as boundary of the two, a cairn with a manual token. On the south reaches the middle H̲or-gol (*or* H̲or-gol-bar) road. On the west reaches the Stoṅ-bśos conduit. On the north reaches crop land of Tho-gon [*Seṅ*]-de, with one hundred asses.

" [ll. 9–11] Boundaries of poor land in Khu-le Mo-ṅan, teams fifteen :—On the east reaches the sand desert. On the south reaches the spring of Khu-le Mo-ṅan. On the west reaches juniper land of the *khram* account of Khri-taṅ Thu . . . ṅ. On the north reaches the sand desert.

" [ll. 11–3] Boundaries of juniper land, teams twenty . . . in . . . :—On the east . . . of the *khram* account [of] the retreat at Ñam-kan-mog, . . . reaches the poor land of the *khram* account [of] Khri-taṅ Bor-go. On the west reaches juniper land of the *khram* account of Da-myi Boṅ-tshe. On the south reaches the high road of Khar-go-mu-sge.

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Seal of Hbrog.

"[ll. 14–17] . . . *account* . . . *ten of* . . . *Khri-taṅ Bor-Ño-ko*(?).[1] Boundaries of crop land and poor land and juniper land, teams seven hundred and thirty, in the region of Khe-to-ḫo-mod and Bro-go and Sa-dar Mo-ṅan in *Dg*u-*ś*ul :—From the dry ravine Jir-ber-ḫu-di proceeding by the high road a little way westward, reaches crop land of Tho-gon Ño-ko, with one hundred asses, and on the border of the two a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 17–8] Thence proceeding along the crop land of Ño-ko and the border of the two a little in a northerly direction, reaches a cairn with a manual token, situated below (i.e. west of) a by-road. [ll. 18–20] Thence proceeding by the by-road in a westerly direction, reaches crop land of Ño-ko, with one hundred . . . and on the boundary of the two a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 20–1] Thence by the crop land and the boundary of the two proceeding in a southerly direction, reaches on the border of the high road a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 21–3] Thence by the high road proceeding in a westerly direction, and after cutting across the swamp-land (*lu-ma*) of Sa-dar Mo-ṅan land of Tho-gon Seṅ-de, with — asses, and proceeding along the boundary of the two on a south-west line, reaches the conduit of Khu-le Mo-ṅan. [ll. 23–4] Thence by the conduit, where, uniting in a northerly direction, the steep (*dkaḫ ?*) lower valleys (*mdo*) of San-ḫdo-cin and Khe-to-ḫo-mod join in a head, reaches the sand desert. [ll. 24–5] Thence proceeding by the winding Khe-to-ḫo-mod conduit in a southerly direction, reaches, where two conduits part in valleys, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 25–6] Thence proceeding downwards by the conduit, reaches, in the steep separate valley of the Bye-żo-ja-ga conduit, a cairn with a manual token. [ll. 26–9] Thence proceeding by the winding Bye-żo-ja-ga conduit, and, where beyond (*mjug*) the conduit is a cairn with a manual token, cutting across the sand desert and proceeding on a south-easterly line, reaches crop land of

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servants of Da-red Žal-yi and on . . . a cairn with a manual token."

To the surveying operations indicated in the above three documents, with their classification of lands into (*a*) crop land, (*b*) poor land, and (*c*) juniper land, and their references to boundary cairns bearing tokens, and with their measurements of tenements, we may add the description of the division of the "lord's land" in Little Nob (1928, pp. 572–3) into partitions *bžeṅs-kha*, with their boundaries (*ḫtshams*) similarly demarked and with regulation of the water-supply. It may be conjectured that such matters were largely the concern of the *yul-mthoṅ* or *yul-gzigs* as "local surveyor".

The last two documents probably relate to lands belonging to the religious establishments of Śa-cu. It is therefore not surprising to find that the nomenclature, both local and personal, differs in type from that which we have found associated with the more westerly regions, Nob, etc. What is highly significant is its similarity to that exhibited in the document edited in 1927, pp. 58 sqq., and the other documents discussed in connection with the Ḫa-žas. Thus among the place-names we have *Ḫor-gol*, *Khu-le Mo-ṅan*, similar to *Ḫo-khol* and *Khu-ñe Mon-gaṅs*, possibly indeed identical therewith. *Rje-gol* and *Ḫor-gol* are place-names of the same cast, and *Sa-dar Mo-ṅan* is similar to *Khu-le Mo-ṅan*; *San-ḫdo-cin* is in agreement with *Sil-gu-cin*, etc. (ibid., p. 84). The other place-names, *Khe-to-ḫo-mod* in *Dgu-śul*, *Bro-go*, *Ñam-kan-mog*, *Khar-go-caṅ*, *Khar-go-mu-sge*, *Bye-žo-ja-ga*, and stream-names *Jir-ber-ḫu-di*, *Stoṅ-bśos*, although they manifest a certain analogy of type, afford no certain hold. The personal names include one who is called a Tho-gon, which occurred in the document cited and doubtless means a Tu-yu[k]-hun (Chinese *T'u-huen*, *Tuei-huen*, cited by Professor Pelliot, *J.As.*, xi, vii (1916), p. 118, *T'oung-pao*, 1920, p. 323): and three persons, Da-red Žal-yi, Da-red M(?)ab-sgan, Da-red Žal-yi, with a prefix occurring in the Da-red Pon-yi and Da-red Blon-yi

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of the document and probably meaning "of that ilk". *Da-myi Boṅ-tshe* will probably mean "a man of that place". The clan-name and name-prefix *Khri-taṅ* is highly interesting; see 1933, pp. 559–60: so also *Thu-kur*. *Dgu-śul* (here partly conjectural) recurs in another text. In regard to frequent passage of Tu-yu[k]-hun individuals into Chinese Turkestan see Prof. Pelliot, *J.As.* xi, vii, p. 122, and Dr. Giles, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vi, p. 830.

The precise particulars of boundaries and boundary marks point to a highly developed survey system. Concerning the *khram* accounts (*khram-tshan*) see 1928, pp. 65 sqq. One or two terms—*che*, and *che̱hi*, *khu*—are of unascertained meaning. "Crop land (*skya-žiṅ*) was mentioned *supra*, p. 266: "not irrigated" (*chu-ma*) is defined in S. C. Das' dictionary as "cultivation which requires irrigation". On *mjug*, "behind," "beyond" (l. 27 of Ch. 79, xiv, 5), see 1928, p. 584.

198.

(To be concluded.)

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Implements and Vessels used in Vedic Sacrifice

By RAGHU VIRA

EVERY student of Vedic literature is confronted by vast details of an uncommonly complicated ritual. This ritual engrossed the major part of the religious life of a householder. Every small act promised him riches in cattle and progeny, long life and bliss in the next world. On the other hand, the slightest negligence had to be assiduously atoned for, otherwise it would lead him into misery. Thus it is that even the ropes, the brooms, and their numbers have been carefully recorded, the materials of which they were made, their size, and their functions prescribed with the same thoroughness as the crushing of the *soma*-juice or the coronation of the king.

The materials used are stone, metal (generally bronze or copper), baked clay, wood, bamboo, reeds, grass, skins, and horns. The vessels made out of stone, metal, and baked clay sometimes lack character. Their size and shape are not always definitely specified. A few of them may differ from province to province or from house to house. Similar is the case with skins, horns, and things made of bamboo, reeds, and grass.

Where the form and measurements are not specified, the drawings illustrate what is in general use among the Agnihotrins. (These drawings were made from the specimens exhibited at the Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya, Poona.[1])

Stone.—The *dṛṣad* and *upala* are used for pounding rice, while *upara* and *grāvan* (two, four, or five) are used for crushing *soma*. The *dṛṣad* (Fig. 1) and *upara* (Fig. 1) are the lower stones, the *upala* (Fig. 2) and the *grāvan* (Fig. 3) the

[1] In certain instances the descriptions given above do not tally with the ancient texts. My object has throughout been to present the tradition as it is preserved to-day.

This Institute also offers for sale complete sets of the implements and vessels described here. The price is Rupees 300 (or £25) for one set.

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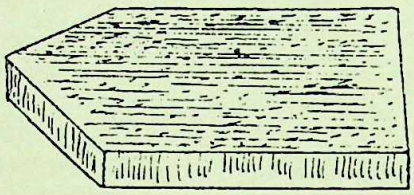

FIG. 1.—*Dṛṣad* or *upara*.

FIG. 2.
Upala.

FIG. 3.
Grāvan.

upper ones. The *grāvan* is one *prādeśa* in length and is *ūrdhva-sānu*. The *upāṃśu-savana*, used for pressing the *upāṃśu-graha*, is similar to the *grāvan*.

Horn.—The horn (Fig. 4) of the sacred *Kṛṣṇa* deer was used for scratching by the *Dīkṣita* in event of an itching sensation. The length prescribed is three or five folds. It was wound over with a rope of *śaṇa*, hemp.

FIG. 4.

Skin.—The full-length (including the neck) of the skin of the *kṛṣṇa* deer was used as an underspread for the *dṛṣad* or as a seat. The white and dark lines of hair made it sacred, and hence a skin without the hair was worthless. It served also for the making of *dhavitra* (Fig. 5), a fan, which was

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used for making the fire blaze. A bamboo or *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*) piece, an arm in length (= 12 *aṅgulas*), made up the handle.

Bamboo and Reeds.—Either bamboo or reeds were used to make a *śūrpa* (Fig. 6), a winnowing basket. The *dhamanī* (Fig. 7), a blow-pipe, was simply a hollow bamboo piece.

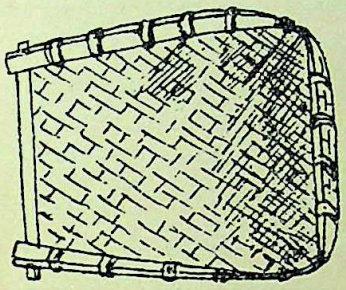

FIG. 6.—*Śūrpa.*

FIG. 7.—*Dhamanī.*

Grass.—*Darbha* or *kuśa* was the most sacred grass. It was used for strewing the altar, for cleansing the wooden and metallic vessels (see Fig. 8), for making ropes, purifying water, and for many other similar purposes. The *paśu-raṣanā*, a rope for tying the animal to the post, had two

FIG. 8.—*Vedāgrāṇi*, cut off from the *veda* (the broom), and used for cleaning vessels.

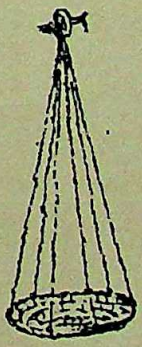

FIG. 9.—*Śikya.*

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strings, and was eight *aratnis* in length. The *yūpa-raśanā*, a rope for winding round the post, had three strings and was twelve *aratnis* long. The *muñja* (*Saccharum Munja*) grass was used for the *yoktra*, a rope for tying round the sacrificer's wife; and for *abhidhānī* and *nidāna*, ropes to tie the calf and the legs of the cow respectively. The *śikya* (Fig. 9), used for depositing the *ukhā-kumbhī*, was suspended by six or twelve ropes, the whole thing having been manufactured from *muñja*.

Metal.—Gold, silver, bronze, and copper were the metals used by the ancient Indians for making numerous kinds of vessels. But their use was not a common one. Generally wood or clay replaced them. The only instrument which was of necessity a metallic one was the *svadhiti* (Fig. 10), used in separating the different parts of the sacrificed animal.

FIG. 10.—*Svadhiti.*

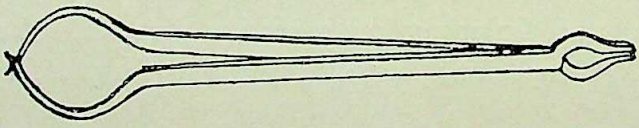

FIG. 11.—*Galagrahī.*

The *galagrahī* (Fig. 11) (for holding heated vessels) and the *tapanī* (a rod with a wooden handle and a butt end, which is

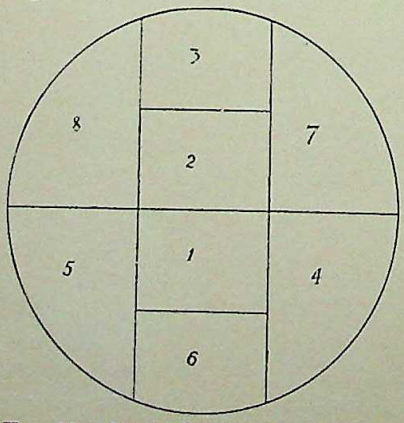

FIG. 12.—Eight *kapālas* (half-size).

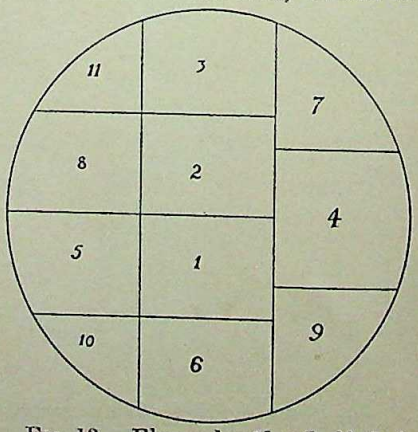

FIG. 13.—Eleven *kapālas* (half-size).

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kept in the fire, and when the butter freezes in the ladle is used to melt it) are not ancient instruments.

Baked Clay.—More than three dozen of the vessels were of clay. Even the broken pieces (*kapālas*) were used for baking the *puroḍāśa*. Usually eight (Fig. 12) or eleven (Fig. 13) of these pieces were put together to form a circle, six *aṅgulas* in diameter.

The earthen vessels can be divided into big and small pots, either for holding liquids or for cooking them, deep and broad plates, and small round jars. The *pātrī* (Fig. 14) and *pājaka* (Fig. 15) are used for *puroḍāśa* and *brahmaudana* respectively. They might equally well be metallic.

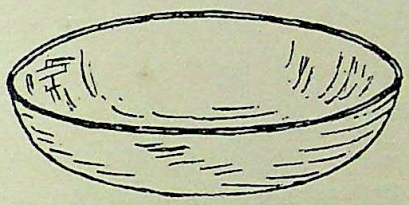

FIG. 14.—*Pātrī.*

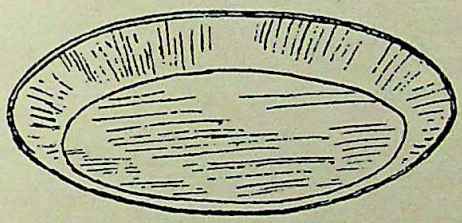

FIG. 15.—*Pājaka.*

The *śarāva* (Fig. 16), a saucer, is for carrying the live coals (*agni-praṇayana*).

The *kumbhīs* (Fig. 17), small round jars, are : *sāṃnāyya-kumbhī* (for milk and curd), *paśu-kumbhī* (for cooking parts of

FIG. 16.

FIG. 17.—*Kumbhī.*

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the sacrificed animal; may also be metallic), and *dohana-kumbhī* (for milking).

Of similar form and size are the *yūṣa-pātra* and *yūpāñjanī*, the first to receive the *paśu-yūṣa*, the second to hold ghee for annointing the *yūpa*. The bigger jars (Figs. 18, 19) are:

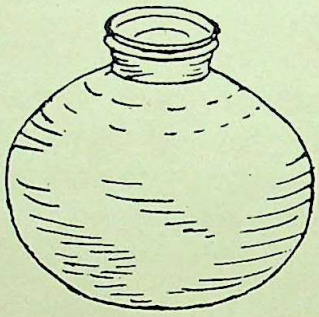

FIG. 18.

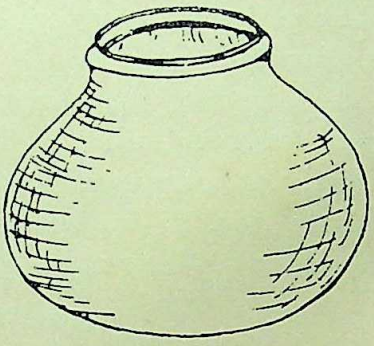

FIG. 19.

pariṣecana-ghaṭa (holding water for sprinkling over the northern altar), *ekadhana-ghaṭa* (holding water for *soma-vardhana*), *ādhavanīya-ghaṭa* (holding *apūta-soma*; herein the soma plant is stirred and cleansed) and *pūta-bhṛt* (receiving the strained soma juice), and *vasatīvarī-ghaṭa* (for holding *vasatīvarī* water).

The vessels designated *sthālīs* are very often meant for heating and cooking. They are: *ājya-sthālī* (can also be of metal), *madantī-pātra* (for heating water; also metallic), *anvāhārya-sthālī* (for cooking *anvāhārya* rice; also metallic), *agnihotra-sthālī* (a pot used for cooking at the *agnihotra*; neither made by the potter nor on the wheel; *ūrdhva-kapālā*, equipped with a cover), *gaṇahomaudana-sthālī* (for cooking the *gaṇahoma* rice), *brahmaudana-sthālī* (for cooking *brahma* rice; also metallic), *aditi-caru-sthālī* (for cooking *aditi-caru*), *dadhi-sthālī* (for heating curd), *āgrayaṇa-sthālī* (for the *āgrayaṇa* libation), *ukthya-sthālī* (for the *uktha* libation), *āditya-sthālī* (for the *āditya graha*), *dhruva-sthālī* (for the *dhruva graha*), *pānnejanī-sthālī* (for waters used to wash the thighs of the sacrificer's wife), and *saumya-caru-sthālī* (for cooking *saumya caru*).

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The common forms, besides the one given under *kumbhī*, are shown by Figs. 20 and 21. An interesting vessel is

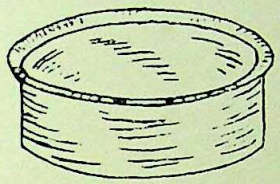

FIG. 20.—Metallic.

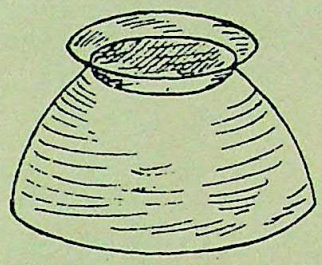

FIG. 21.—Of clay or of metal.

the *mahāvīra*, used in the milk-offering ceremony. The drawing (Fig. 22), taken from the vessel in the Mīmāṃsā Vidyālaya at Poona, does not quite agree with the account: having three or five bulgings (*uddhi*), a *prādeśa* in height, *ūrdhva-sānu* (Monier-Williams, "having an elevated edge" ?), having a beak for pouring the milk, bent in the middle and resembling the *vāyavya-graha*.

The *rauhiṇa-kapālas* (Figs. 23, 24) are circular pieces of clay used for baking the *rauhiṇa-puroḍāśa*.

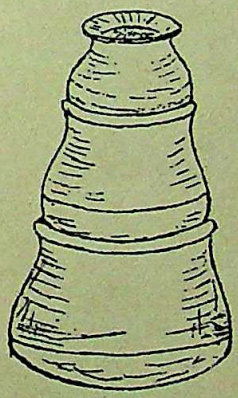

FIG. 22.

FIG. 23.

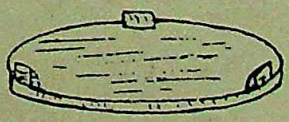

FIG. 24.

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The *ukhā* (Fig. 25) is yet another vessel for fire. It is described as either circular or rectangular, a *prādeśa* high.

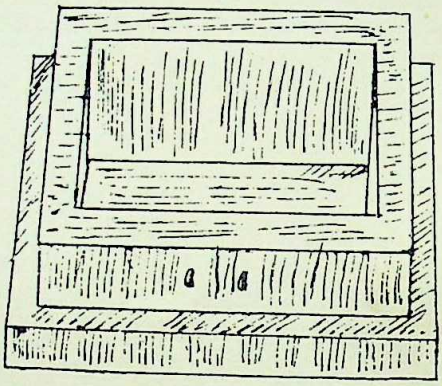
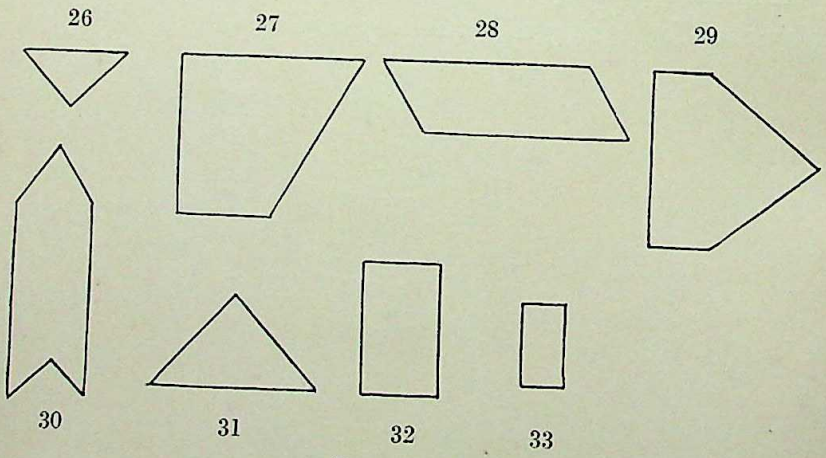


FIG. 25.—*Ukhā* (showing the upper two stages).

It is marked with two, four, or eight *stanas* (teats). The outside is formed by three, five, or even more stages.

Clay is also used in making bricks of different forms and sizes (Figs. 26–33) to suit the preparation of numerous kinds of altars, e.g. :—



FIGS. 26–33.

Wood.—The last and the most important is wood. Most wooden implements and vessels have definite shape and dimensions.

We shall begin with the implements for churning fire. There is the lower piece (*adharāraṇi*, Fig. 34), of *aśvattha* (*Ficus*

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Religiosa), preferably of one grafted on a *śamī* tree (*Prosopis Spicigera*), 24 *aṅgulas* long, 6 wide, and 4 high. On this fire is to be churned in the middle, barring 8 *aṅgulas* from one side and 12 from the other. This middle portion is called *deva-yoni*.

The upper piece (*uttarāraṇi*) is of equal dimensions with the lower one. It is not used by itself. It simply supplies smaller pieces, the *pramanthas* (Fig. 35), 8 × 2 × 2 *aṅgulas*, which are smoothed and fixed in the *cātra* (Fig. 35) and are used for churning fire. The *cātra* or *mantha* is prepared from *khadira* wood (*Acacia Catechu*). It is 12 *aṅgulas* long. The *pramantha* end is put on the *deva-yoni*, while the opposite end is fixed in the *Upamantha* (Fig. 36), which is held horizontally,

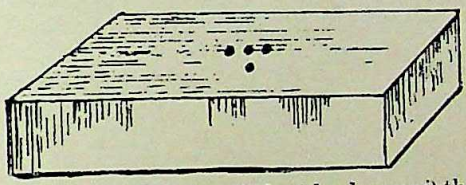

FIG. 34.—*Adharāraṇi*. In one of these holes (the *devayoni*) the fire is churned by the *pramantha* end of the *cātra*.

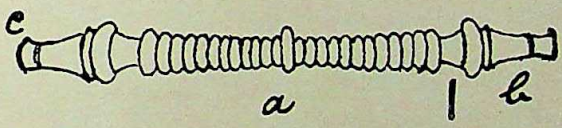

FIG. 35.—(*a*) *mantha* and (*b*) *pramantha*; (*c*) the upper end.

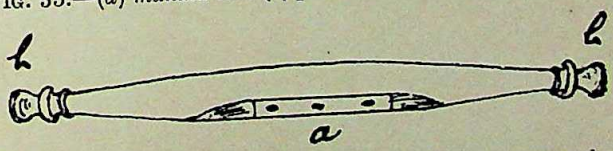

FIG. 36.—*Upamantha*. (*a*) Holes in one of which the upper end of *mantha* is inserted; (*bb*) the two ends are held firm by two hands.

parallel to the *adharāraṇi*. The *Upamantha* or *Ovilī* is also made of *khadira* and is likewise 12 *aṅgulas* in length. At the time of churning the fire one person holds firm the *upamantha*, and another person churns the *mantha* (in which the *pramantha* has been fixed) by means of a rope made of the cow's tail-hair and *śaṇa*.

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The *sphya* (Figs. 37–9), a wooden sword made of *khadira*, an *aratni* or an arm long, has at least three different shapes.

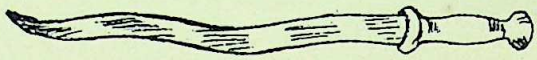

FIG. 37.

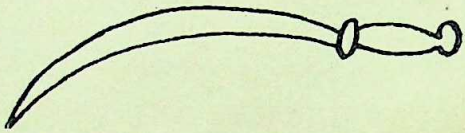

FIG. 38.

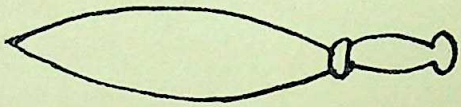

FIG. 39.

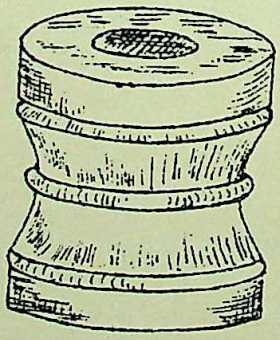

FIG. 40.—*Ulūkhala.*

FIG. 41.—*Musala.*

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Of similar shape is the *svaru*, which is made from a piece cut from the sacrificial post (*yūpa*).

The mortar, *ulūkhala* (Fig. 40), is made out of the *varaṇa* (*Cratæva Roxburghii*) or *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*), and is 12 *aṅgulas* in height. The pestle, *musala* (Fig. 41), is made out of *khadira* or any other holy wood. It is 36 *aṅgulas* long.

The *śamyā* (Fig. 42) is a long *khadira* staff of 36 *aṅgulas*, thicker at one end, and is placed under the *dṛṣad* to raise its triangular head side.

The *antardhānī* (Fig. 43) is made of holy wood, and is held erect by hand to avoid the offering being seen by others. See *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra*, iii, 9, 3.

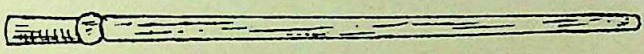

FIG. 42.—*Śamyā.*

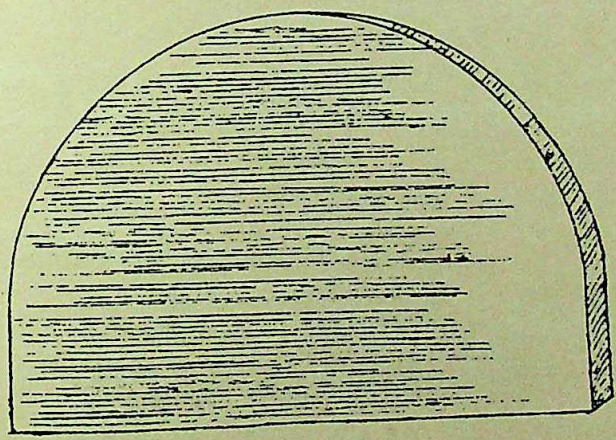

FIG. 43.—*Antardhānī.*

The *kastambhī* (Fig. 44) are two cross *khadira* sticks used as a prop for the yoke of a standing cart. It is used in the new and full-moon ritual. *Upastambhana* (Fig. 45) is the name given to the cross-sticks used in the soma ritual.

The cart, *śakaṭa* (Fig. 46), used for carrying rice, is made of *khadira* or some other holy wood. Its parts are: (*a*) *akṣa*, the axle; (*b*) *īṣā*, the two fork-shaped poles; (*c*) *yuga*,

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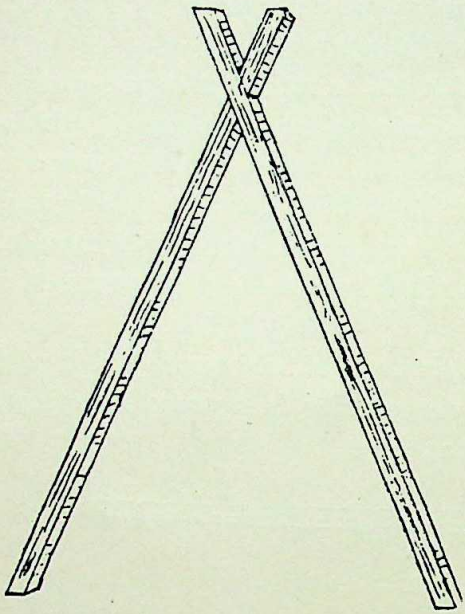

FIG. 44.—*Kastambhī.*

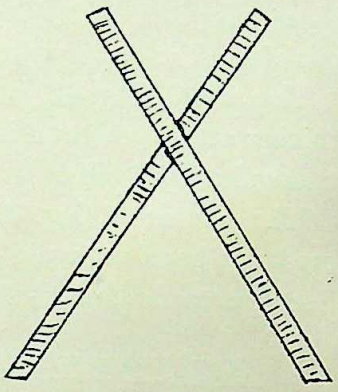

FIG. 45.—*Upastambhana.*

the yoke; (*d*) *cakra*, the two wheels; (*e*) *yuga-kīlaka* or *yuga-śamyā*, the yoke-pins; and (*f*) *akṣa-śamyā*, the axle-pin.

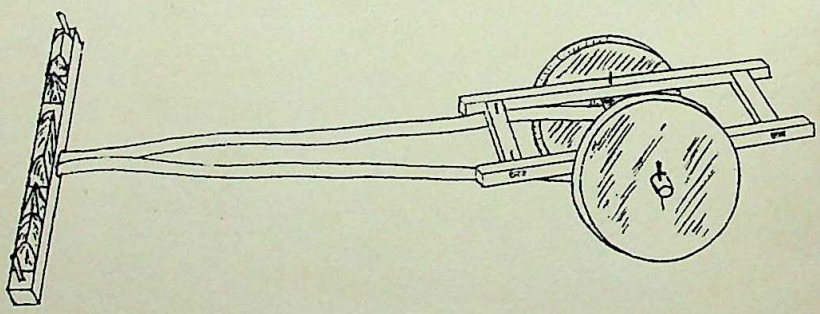

FIG. 46.

The staff (*daṇḍa*) made of *udumbara* (Fig. 47) is for protecting the *dīkṣita*. It reaches either up to the chin or up to the mouth.

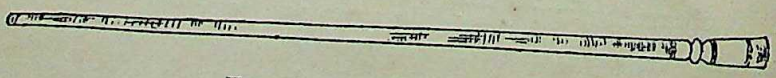

FIG. 47.—*Andumbara daṇḍa.*

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Abhri (Fig. 48) is used to dig the earth. It can be made of several holy woods. Its length also varies considerably. It digs either from one end or from both.

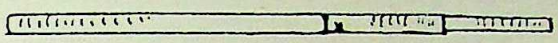

FIG. 48.—*Abhri.*

Upaveṣa is merely the green twig of some holy tree for removing the live coal. The length is an *aratni* or a *prādeśa.*

The *viṣṭutis* are *udumbara* pieces, about a *prādeśa* long, used in the counting of the *stotras.* With the recitation of every *stotra* one piece is laid aside.

The *vapā-śrapaṇī,* made of *Gmelina Arborea* (*kārṣmarya*), is usually described as *dvi-śūlā* (a two-pronged fork), on which the omentum is fried. But the *vapā-śrapaṇī* exhibited in the Vidyālaya at Poona is a triangle with seven nails. See Fig. 49.

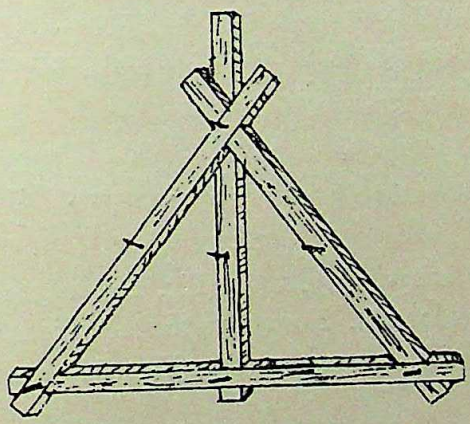

FIG. 49.

The two *śaphas* (Fig. 50), made of *udumbara,* are used by the *adhvaryu* and the *prasthātā* for holding and carrying the heated *mahāvīra* vessel.

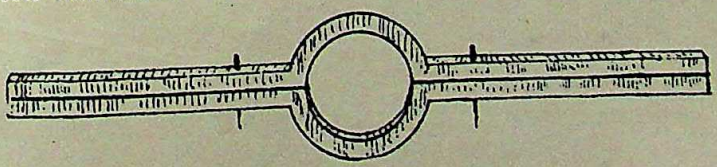

FIG. 50.

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Vighana (Fig. 51) is a *khadira* hammer used to beat the earth.

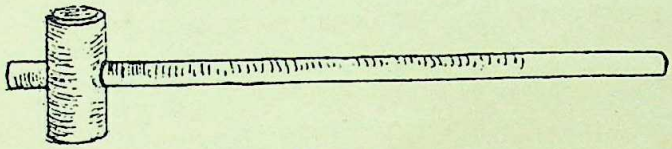

FIG. 51.

The axe, *paraśu* (Fig. 52), may be made out of any holy wood. It is used for cutting the tiny roots of plants within the altar.

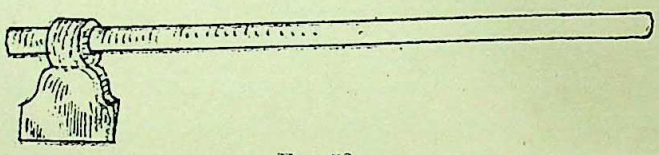

FIG. 52.

Hṛdaya-śūla is a spit for roasting the heart of a sacrificed animal. It may be made of any holy wood.

Mayūkhas are pegs to which calves and goats are tied. They may be made of any holy wood.

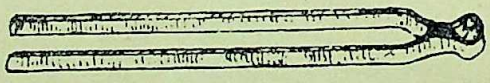

FIG. 53.

A pair of tongs, *saṃdaṃśa* (Fig. 53), is made either of *udumbara* or of metal. Nowadays the metallic is used.

The two *adhiṣavaṇa-phalakas* (Fig. 54) are made from

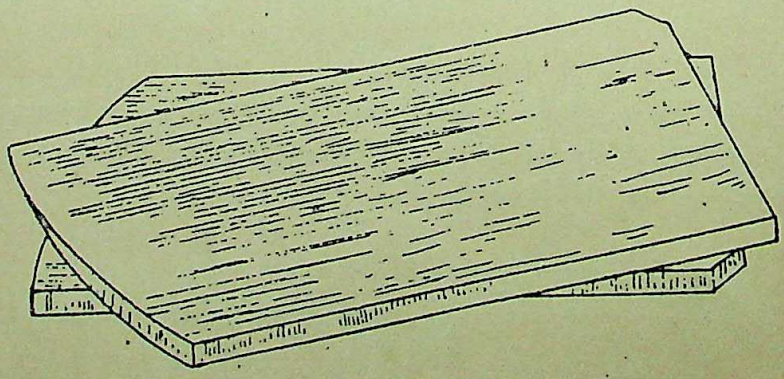

FIG. 54.—*Adhiṣavaṇa-phalake.*

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udumbara, *kārṣmarya*, or *palāśa*. They are used for pressing the soma plant and extracting the juice.

There are four chairs, *rājāsandī* (Fig. 55), *samrāḍ-āsandī* (Fig. 56), *yajamānābhiṣekāsandī*, and *ukhāsandī* (Fig. 57).

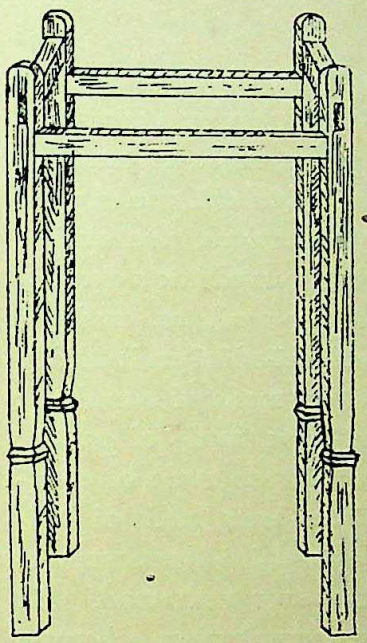

FIG. 55.—*Rājāsandī* (seat unstrung).

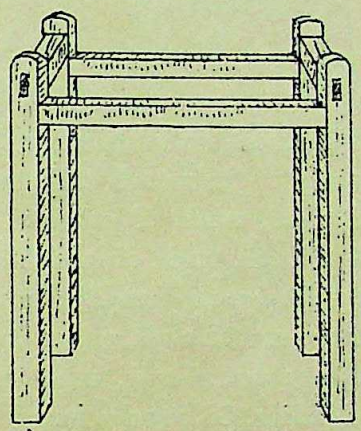

FIG. 56.—*Samrāḍ-āsandī* (seat unstrung).

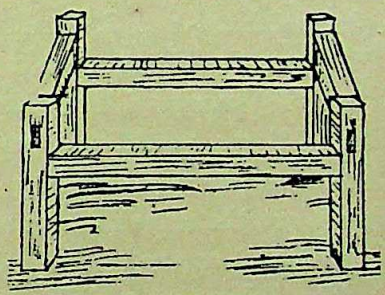

FIG. 57.—*Ukhāsandī* (seat unstrung).

They are all made of *udumbara*, and all have four legs. The *rājāsandī* is for placing the soma. Its legs reach up to the navel. *Muñja* ropes are used for stringing the seat. The *samrāḍ-āsandī* is meant for the placing of the *mahāvīra*. *Muñja* ropes are used only one way, and not cross-wise. The legs reach up to the knee. The third chair is for the bath of the sacrificer. The details are the same as in the *rājāsandī*. The *ukhāsandī* is for the placing of the *ukhā* fire. The seat is made either of *muñja* strings or of a wooden plank. The seat is, moreover, besmeared with mud. The legs are continued one *aratni* above the seat. Similarly in the *rājāsandī*.

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There is a long series of ladles: (1) *Agnihotra-havanī* (Fig. 58), used in *Agnihotra*, made of *Flacourtia Sapida*

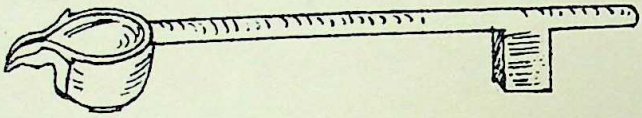

FIG. 58.

(*vikaṅkata*), an *aratni* long, having the beak of a swan, the cavity of the mouth half a *prādeśa*, and having a crow-tail; (2) *juhū*, made of *palāśa*; (3) *upabhṛt*, made of *aśvattha*; (4) *dhruvā*, made of *vikaṅkata*; (5) *aniṣṭubdhā*, used for the *rauhiṇa-kapāla-puroḍāśa*, made of *udumbara*, the surface of the mouth a plane (not having been carved into a cavity); (6) *upayamanī-sruk*, used in *pravargya-agnihotra*, made of *udumbara*, 36 *aṅgulas* long; (7) *prokṣaṇī-dhānī sruk*, used in sprinkling water over *pravargya-pātras*, made of *udumbara*; (8) *vasā-homa-havanī*, used in *vasā-homa*, made of *palāśa*; (9) *pṛṣadājya-dhānī*, used in *anuyāja-homa*, made of *aśvattha*; (10) *pracaraṇī*, used in *vyāghāraṇa-homa*, made of *palāśa*; (11) *vasor-dhārā-sruk*, used in *vasor-dhārā-homa*, made of *udumbara*, a *vyāyāma* long, covered over with mud. All these are the same in form and size (except where otherwise mentioned) as the *agnihotra-havannī*.

The *dohana-pātra* (Fig. 59), made of *varaṇa*, is used in milking. The forepart resembles the *agnihotra-havaṇī*.

The *utpavana-pātra* (Fig. 60), made of *varaṇa*, and used in the purification of water, is a *prādeśa* long (including the mouth), the cavity is 4 *aṅgulas*, and for the rest is the same as the *agnihotra-havaṇī*.

The *pariplavā* (Fig. 61), made of *khadira*, is used in *vyāghāraṇa*. It is the *agnihotra-havanī* without the handle.

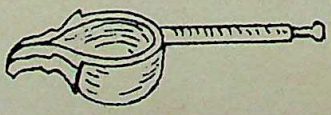

FIG. 59.—*Dohana-pātra.*

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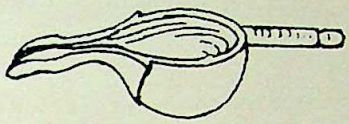

FIG. 60.—*Utpavana-pātra.*

FIG. 61.—*Pariplavā.*

Another form of ladle is the *sruva* (Fig. 62). It is used for pouring butter offerings. It is made of *khadira.* The length is either an *aratni* or an arm. The cavity is very small, being only of the depth and width of a thumb. It is sometimes made of *udumbara.*

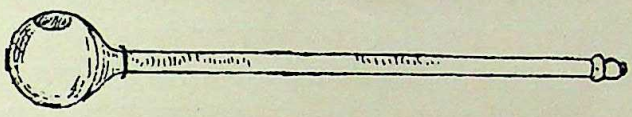

FIG. 62.

Still another variety is the *darvī* (Fig. 63), used in taking the *brahmaudana.*

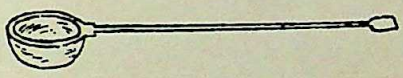

FIG. 63.

The *mekṣaṇa* (Fig. 64) is a flat spoon, made of any holy wood.

The *dhṛṣṭi* (Fig. 65), which according to Monier-Williams's dictionary is a pair of tongs, is in my Poona drawings merely

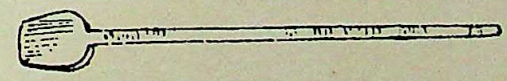

FIG. 64.—*Mekṣaṇa.*

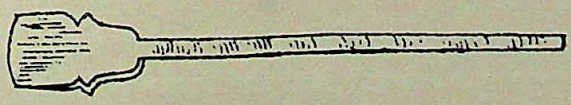

FIG. 65.—*Dhṛṣṭi.*

a copy of the *mekṣaṇa.* It is used for taking out ashes and similar other purposes.

Next we come to cups (Fig. 66). Three of them resemble the modern ones. They are (1) *yajamāna-bhāga-payaḥ-pātra,*

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(2) *yajamāna-bhāga-dadhi-pātra*, cups for milk and curd used by the sacrificer, and (3) *āgnīdhra-bhāga-pātra*. All of them are manufactured out of the wood of a holy tree, and they do not differ in size or shape.

A similar cup may serve as *pidhāna-pātra*, a cover for the *kumbhī*. It can also be metallic.

Two joined cups (Fig. 67), made out of *Cratœva Roxburghii* (*varaṇa*) are intended for depositing rice chaff (including small grain particles) and kneaded rice-flour (*piṣṭa-lepa-phalīkaraṇa-pātra*).

The *prāśitra-haraṇa* (Fig. 68) is also a *khadira* cup made in the form of a cow's ear. It is used for the Brahman's portion of *havis*. It is a *prādeśa* long and has a small handle.

FIG. 66.

FIG. 67.

FIG. 68.

The common Vedic cup is the *camasa* :—

(1) *Tānūnaptra-camasa* (Fig. 69), made of *varaṇa*, a *prādeśa* long, the handle 3 *aṅgulas*, the cavity 6 *aṅgulas* wide and 4 *aṅgulas* deep.

(2) *Hotṛ-camasa* (Fig. 70), made of *Ficus Indica* (*nyagrodha*), the handle marked with a wheel.

(3) *Brahma-camasa* (Fig. 71), the handle four-sided (all the sides of equal expanse).

(4) *Udgātṛ-camasa* (Fig. 72), the handle three-sided.

(5) *Yajamāna-camasa* (Fig. 73), the handle flat (though four-sided).

(6) *Praśāstṛ-camasa* (Fig. 74), the handle *avataṣṭa*, "having a cut below." But the Poona collection shows the

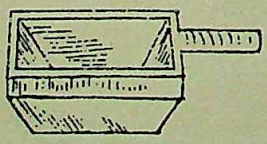

FIG. 69.
Tānūnaptra-camasa.

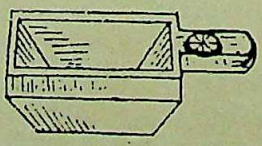

FIG. 70.
Hotṛ-camasa.

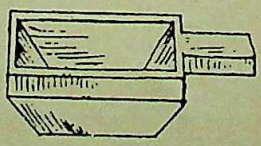

FIG. 71.
Brahma-camasa.

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handle curved and bulging upwards. Cf. the next cup as well as the *neṣṭṛ-camasa*.

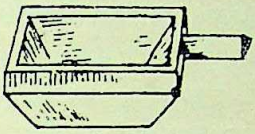

FIG. 72.
Udgātṛ-camasa.

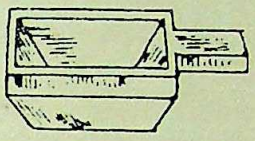

FIG. 73.
Yajamāna-camasa.

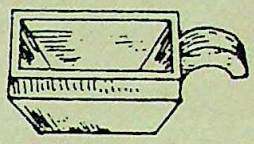

FIG. 74.
Praśāstṛ-camasa.

(7) *Brāhmaṇācchaṃsi-camasa* (Fig. 75), the handle *uttaṣṭa*.

(8) *Potṛ-camasa* (Fig. 76), the handle *viśākha*, "bifurcated."

(9) *neṣṭṛ-camasa* (Fig. 77), the handle *dakṣiṇa-vakra*, "bulging downwards."

(10) *Acchāvāka-camasa* (Fig. 78), the handle marked with a girdle (*rāśnā*).

(11) *Āgnīdhra-camasa* (Fig. 79), the handle as shown below (?).

(12) *Sadasya-camasa* (Fig. 80), the handle curved, bulging upwards.

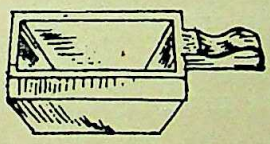

FIG. 75.
Brāhmaṇācchaṃsi-camasa.

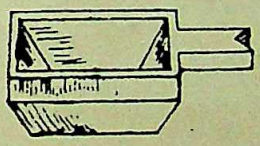

FIG. 76.
Potṛ-camasa.

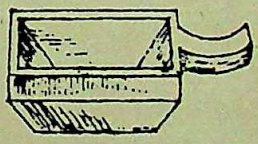

FIG. 77.
Neṣṭṛ-camasa.

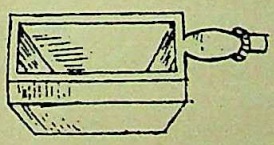

FIG. 78.
Acchāvāka-camasa.

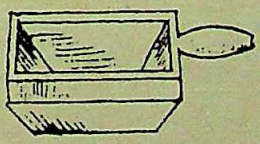

FIG. 79.
Āgnīdhra-camasa.

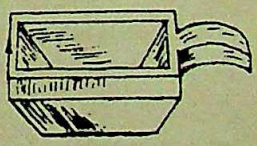

FIG. 80.
Sadasya-camasa.

(13) *Vājina-camasa* (Fig. 81), made of *nyagrodha* or *rohitaka* (*Andersonia Rohitaka*), the handle that of the *hotṛ-camasa*, but not marked with the wheel.

(14) *Udacana-camasa* (Fig. 82), made of *nyagrodha* or

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rohītaka, the handle that of the *praṇītā-praṇayana* (but compare the drawings from Poona as given below).

The cups, 2–14, are in all details, which are not mentioned against their names, the same as the *tānūnaptra-camasa*.

The *praṇītā-praṇayana* (Fig. 83), used for water, is made of *varaṇa*. It might equally well be of bronze or of clay. The dimensions are the same as for the *tānūnaptra-camasa*.

The *iḍā-pātra* (Fig. 84) resembles a trough. It may be made of any holy wood. The entire length is 1 *aratni*. The cavity

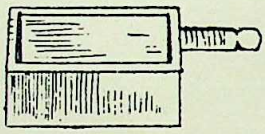

FIG. 81.
Vājina-camasa.

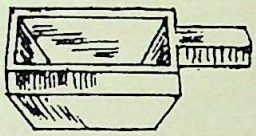

FIG. 82.
Udacana-camasa.

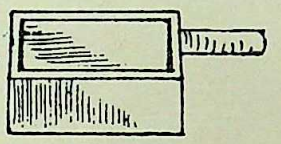

FIG. 83.

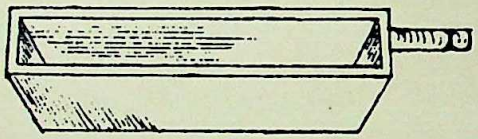

FIG. 84.—*Iḍā-pātra.*

is 4 or 6 *aṅgulas* wide, and 4 deep. It may or may not have a handle. If there is a handle, it is 4 *aṅgulas* long. In the other case the *iḍā-pātra* is held in the middle (*madhya-saṃgṛhītam*).

The last variety that we have to deal with are the vase-like cups called *grahas* :—

(1) *Upāṃśu-graha* (Fig. 85), used in *soma* ritual, made of *vikaṅkata* or any other holy wood, 1 *prādeśa* long, with a beak, inwardly curved in the middle, the cavity as required.

(2) *Antaryāma-graha* (Fig. 86), the same as *upāṃśu-graha*.

(3) *Aindravāyava-graha* (Fig. 87), marked with a girdle (shown in the illustration near the upper end).

(4) *Maitrāvaruṇa-graha* (Fig. 88), marked with goat's teats.

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(5) *Āśvina-graha* (Fig. 89), bi-angled (*dvi-koṇaḥ*).

(6) *Śukra-graha* (Fig. 90), no distinctive mark or characteristic.

(7) *Manthi-graha* (Fig. 91), made only from *vikaṅkata* wood.

(8) *Ṛtupātra-graha* (Fig. 92), made of *aśvattha*, the bottom resembling a horse's hoof, having two beaks, one opposite the other (? *ubhayato-mukhaḥ*).

(9) *Pratiprasthātur ṛtupātra-graha* (Fig. 93), the same as above.

(10) *Ukthya-graha* (Fig. 94), no particular feature.

(11) *Atigrāhya-graha* (Fig. 95), no particular feature.

(12) *Dadhi-graha* (Fig. 96), made of *udumbara*, quadrangular in form.

(13) *Aṃśvadābhya-graha* (Fig. 97), the same as *dadhi-graha*.

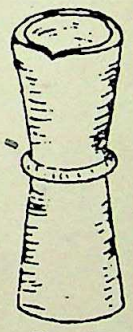

Fig. 85.
Upāṃśu-graha.

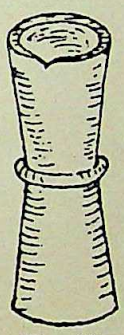

Fig. 86.
Antaryāma-gr.

Fig. 87.
Aindravāyava-gr.

Fig. 88.
Maitrāvaruṇa-gr.

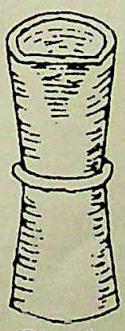

Fig. 89.
Āśvina-gr.

Fig. 90.
Śukra-gr.

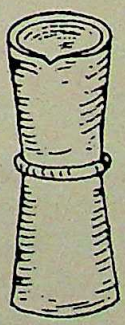

Fig. 91.
Manthi-gr.

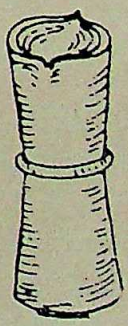

Fig. 92.
Ṛtupātra-gr.

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(14) *Āditya-graha* (Fig. 98), no particular feature.

(15) *Ṣoḍaśi-graha* (Fig. 99), made of *khadira*, quadrangular in form.

Grahas 2–15 are the same in material, form, and size as *graha* 1, except where it is otherwise stated.

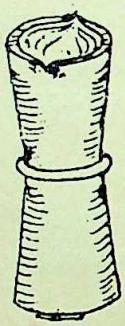

FIG. 93.
Pratiprasthātur ṛtupātra-gr.

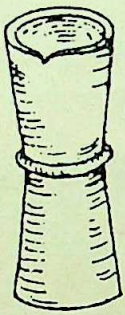

FIG. 94.
Ukthya-gr.

FIG. 95.
Atigrāhya-gr.

FIG. 96.
Dadhi-gr.

FIG. 97.
Aṃśvadābhya-gr.

FIG. 98.
Āditya-gr.

FIG. 99.
Ṣoḍaśi-gr.

At the end I give the *yūpa* (Fig. 100), the post to which the sacrificial animal was tied. It was made of *khadira*, *bilva* (*Aegle Marmelos*), *palāśa*, or *rohitaka*. The length was 3 or 4 *aratnis*. It had eight sides. The lower portion was left rough. It tapered towards the top. At the top was the *caṣāla*, a wooden ring 13 *aṅgulas* high and hewn out of the *yūpa*-wood. I have no doubt but that the *yūpas* were prepared by skilful

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artisans, though the Poona specimen is as crude as could ever be conceived :

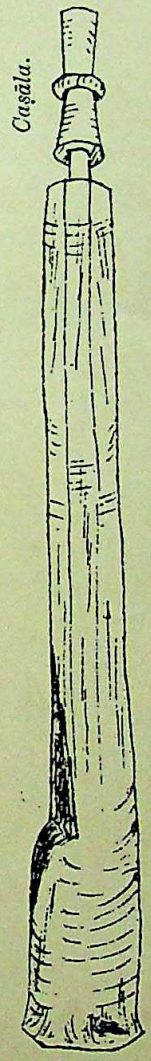

FIG. 100.

I here take the opportunity of thanking most cordially Messrs. Kinjavdekar Śāstrī and Rāma Dīkṣita, of the Poona Mimāṃsā Vidyālaya, for the facilities they offered me of witnessing and participating in the rituals, as well as of handling and taking drawings of their *yajña-pātras*.

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The Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

THE *Ratnāvalī* by Nāgārjuna was well known from the numerous quotations scattered in the Mahāyāna literature in India as well as in Tibet, but no manuscript of it was up to now available. Fortunately, Nepal, which has yielded so many treasures of ancient Indian literature, has recently rendered back to light a large fragment of this work, the importance of which cannot be overlooked by scholars. Nāgārjuna was certainly one of the greatest thinkers ever born in India, and whatever was written by him deserves our greatest attention. His thought has permeated, as it were, not only the Abhidharma of Mahāyāna, but also the mystical experiences of the Tantric systems. Therefore we must welcome anything written by him, because it will help our understanding of Buddhist, and therefore of Indian, mind.

The palmleaf-manuscript of the *Ratnāvalī* is but a fragment,[1] but it will not be difficult to restore the missing portions after the Tibetan translation of the same text preserved in the *bsTan ạgyur* (*mdo. ạgrel*, vol. ꣡, fol. 124).[2] I begin by giving an edition and a translation of the first chapter, by far the most important from the *ādhyātmika* point of view. It is, in fact, from this that later authors chiefly draw their quotations of the *Ratnāvalī*. The other chapters will follow in the next issue.

The small work is, in fact, one of those *abrégés* of the doctrine, usually in the form of letters, *lekha*, of which we know other examples from the pen of the same Nāgārjuna, from Candragomin, etc. But the *Ratnāvalī* is styled a *rāja-parikathā*, that is, a discourse to a king. Who this king was is not expressed

[1] 1–23 leaves, of which 5, 8–14 and 22 are missing.

[2] There is a commentary on our text by Ajitamitra, to be found in the same volume of the *bsTan ạgyur*.

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in the text itself, but we know from the commentator Ajitamitra that he was the same to whom, according to the Chinese and the Tibetan tradition, the *Śiṣyalekha* was directed, I mean *bDe spyod*. Whether this Tibetan form may correspond to *Śātavāhana*, the name of the patron, according to the tradition, of Nāgārjuna, is a question still open to discussion.[1]

|| Namo ratnatrayāya ||

Sarvadoṣavinirmuktaṃ guṇaiḥ sarvair alaṃkṛtaṃ |
praṇamya sarvajñam ahaṃ sarvasattvaikabāndhavaṃ || 1.
dharmam ekāntakalyāṇaṃ rāja [n dha] rmodayāya te |
vakṣyāmi dharmaḥ siddhiṃ hi yāti saddharmabhājane || 2.
prāg dharmābhyudayo yatra paścān naiḥśreyasodayaḥ |
samprāpyābhyudayaṃ yasmād eti naiḥśreyasaṃ kramāt. || 3.
sukham abhyudaya[s tatra mokṣo] naiḥśreyaso mataḥ |
asya sādhanasaṃkṣepaḥ śraddhāprajñe samāsataḥ || 4.

1–2. Having paid homage to the All-knower, the only friend of all living beings, who is devoid of every defect, but adorned with every good attribute, I shall expound for thy spiritual profit, O king, the law which is altogether propitious. Nay, the law brings forth its fruit (when the seed is planted in him) who is worthy of receiving the supreme law (as thou art).[2]

3. Whenever there is perfection in the law, the supreme happiness of salvation will also appear later on, because those who have reached the perfect life (which is the consequence of the practice of the law) will gradually attain to salvation.[3]

[1] In the course of this paper, the following abbreviations are used: *TSP.* = *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā*, of Kamalaśīla (Gaekwad's Oriental Series); *PP.* = *Prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti the commentary upon the *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā* (Bibliotheca Buddhica); *BCAP.* = *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (Bibliotheca Indica).

[2] *Ekāntakalyāṇam* means, as the commentator explains, that it is *ādimadhyāntakalyāṇa* that is propitious from beginning to end.

2*b*. restored after the Tibetan *rgyal po k'yod la c'os bsgrub pai p'yir.*

[3] The way to salvation is represented by the Transcendental Wisdom, *prajñā*, the teaching of which cannot be imparted to those who are not yet ripe to receive it. The *puṇya-saṃbhāra*, or moral purification, must therefore always precede the investigation of the *śūnyatā*, viz. the doctrine of the

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śrāddhatvād bhajate dharmaṃ prājñatvād vetti tattvataḥ |
prajñā pradhānaṃ tv anayoḥ śraddhā pūrvaṅgamāsya tu || 5.
chandād dveṣād bhayān mohād yo dharmaṃ nātivartate |
sa śrāddha iti vijñeyaḥ śreyaso bhājanaṃ param || 6.
kāyavāṅmānasaṃ karma sarvaṃ samyak parīkṣya yaḥ |
parātmahitam ājñāya sadā kuryāt sa paṇḍitaḥ || 7.
ahiṃsā cauryaviratiḥ paradāravivarjanam |
mithyāpaiśunyapāruṣyābaddhavādeṣu saṃyamaḥ || 8.

4. Indeed, perfect life is considered to be happiness and salvation to be final emancipation from contingent life. The concise enunciation of the method of realizing that is summarized in faith and wisdom.[1]

5. In so far as a man is possessed of faith, he becomes a partaker of the law; in so far as he is possessed of wisdom he apprehends according to truth. Of the two virtues wisdom is the foremost; faith, however, comes first.

6. He who does not transgress the law on account of worldly cravings, hatred, fear, and mental bewilderment must be considered as a man possessed of faith; nobody is a fitter recipient than he for salvation.[2]

non-existence of independent things. Later schools of Mahāyāna will also state that the path to salvation is twofold, in so far as it consists of *upāya* praxis and *prajñā*. For Nāgārjuna, the *upāya* is not yet *karuṇā*, as in the mystic sects alluded to, but chiefly *śraddhā*, faith, upon which he largely insists in his *Ta che tu lun*, the big commentary upon the *Prajñā-pāramitā*. We have in either case a single path divided into two moments differently called :—

puṇya-saṃbhāra :	*jñāna-saṃbhāra :*
abhyudaya	*naiḥśreyasa*
sukha	*mokṣa*
śraddhā	*prajñā*
upāya	*śūnyatā*
karuṇā	

[1] *Tatra mokṣo* restored from Tibetan : *de la mṅon mt'o bde ba ste ṅes par legs pa t'ar par ḍod*. As suggested by the commentator, the real meaning is that *abhyudaya* is not happiness, nor is *naiḥśreyasa* final emancipation, but rather happiness and emancipation are to be understood as the result of them.

[2] From here up to verse 24, *śraddhā*, viz. its effect, I mean the practice of the law is described, which coincides with *abhyudaya*. *Chanda*, *dveṣa*, *bhaya* and *moha* are symbolized by the four Māras who keep away men from the observance of the moral rules as laid down in the law.

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7. One must carefully examine whether actions deriving from one's own body, words, thoughts, are good or not and, having settled what is good for others and for oneself, this only one must always do ; then he is indeed a wise man.[1]

lobhavyāpādanāstik[yadṛṣṭīnāṃ parivarjanaṃ |
ete karmapathā] śuklā daśa kṛṣṇā viparyayāt || 9.
amadyapānaṃ svājīvo 'vihiṃsā dānam ādarāt |
pūjyapūjā ca maitrī ca dharmaś caiṣa samāsataḥ || 10.
śarīratāpanād dharmaḥ kevalān [nāsti tena hi] |
[2,a] na paradrohaviratir na pareṣām anugrahaḥ | 11.
dānaśīlakṣamāspaṣṭaṃ yaḥ saddharmamahāpatham |
anādṛtya vrajet kāyakleśago daṇḍakotpathaiḥ || 12.
sa saṃsārāṭavīṃ ghorām anantajanapādapām |
kleśavyālāvalīḍhāṅgaḥ sudīrghaṃ pratipadyate || 13.

8. Refraining from killing living beings, from theft and from adultery, control over one's own words so as to avoid any false or slandering or cruel or futile speech [2] ;

9. Complete abstaining from covetousness, hatred, and wrong views denying the existence of karman ; these ten virtues constitute the tenfold pure conduct. The actions opposed to these constitute the tenfold impure conduct.[3]

10. Not drinking intoxicating liquors, lawful livelihood, hurting nobody, kindness in giving, reverence towards those deserving reverence, and universal sympathy, this is in short the law.[4]

[1] The *parīkṣā* consists in examining whether a certain *karman* is moral, *kuśala*, immoral, *akuśala*, or indifferent, *avyākṛta*. Then the man is in a state of complete consciousness and presence of spirit, which is called the *saṃprajanya* or *apramāda*. This *parīkṣā* is expounded in the following *ślokas*.

[2] Up to adultery, the author enumerates the three bodily actions to be avoided ; then the four *vāk-karman*, and, in the first half of *śloka* 9, the three mental actions, altogether the ten abstentions from immoral deeds.

[3] Tibetan :—

c'ags daṅ gnod sems med pa la |
ñid kyi lta ba yoṅs spaṅ ba ||
ḍi dag las lam dkar bcu ste |

[4] The secondary injunctions are here enumerated.

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11. Through penances alone inflicted upon the body one cannot get at the law; by that method one is unable either to stop doing harm to others or to benefit them.[1]

hiṃsayā jāyate 'lpāyuḥ bahvābādho vihiṃsayā |
cauryeṇa bhogavyasanī saśa[truḥ] paradārikaḥ || 14.
pratyākhyānaṃ mṛṣāvādāt paiśunyāt mitrabhedanam |
apriyaśravaṇaṃ raukṣyād abāddhād durbhagaṃ vacaḥ 15.
manorathān hanty abhidhyā vyāpādo bhayadaḥ smṛtaḥ |
mithyādṛṣṭiḥ kudṛṣṭitvaṃ madyapānaṃ matibhramaḥ 16.

12–13. Those men who, disregarding the great road of the supreme law, clear on account of generosity, moral conduct, and patience, wander through the wrong paths of that wilderness which are bodily penancy, enter indeed a terrific forest, viz. the *saṃsāra* which has infinite rebirths as its trees, while beasts of prey, namely moral defilements, lick their limbs.[2]

14. Those who kill any living being shall have a short life in a new existence; those who do harm to others shall suffer many offences; by stealing one shall be thwarted in worldly enjoyments; an adulterer shall get enemies.[3]

15. The fruit of telling falsehood is repulse, of slandering breaking the friendship, of cruel speech hearing things unpleasant, of futile expressions unfortunate words.

16. Covetousness causes the failing of every desire,

[1] MS. not clear. Tibetan :—

lus gduṅ byed pa ạba'žig las |
c'os med ạdi ltar de yis ni ||

This *śloka* is directed against the yoga-practices of those sects in whose minds *dharma* consisted chiefly in severe asceticism and penances, viz. Ājīvakas and Nirgranthas.

[2] Having thus expounded the very essence of the law, the author shows the *vipāka* or consequence of *karman*, so that everybody may be careful about the *parīkṣā* of what he is doing; *śloka* 13, *a*, *b*.

Restored from Tibetan :—

ạk'or bai ạbrog ni mi bzad pai |
mt'a' yas skye ba šiṅ can du |

godaṇḍaka is for: *gokaṇṭaka*

[3] Restored from Tibetan: *byi bo byed pas dgra daṅ bcas*. This *śloka* expounds the *vipāka* of immoral bodily actions; the *śloka* 14th, that of actions derived from one's own speech, the 15th, that of mental actions.

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hatred is said to be the source of fears, wrong views produce incapacity of seeing aright, drinking of intoxicating liquors is the cause of mental confusion.

apradānena dāridryaṃ mithyājivena vañcanā |
stambhena duḥkulīnatvam alpaujaskatvam īrṣayā || 17.
krodhād durvarṇatā maurkhyam apraśnena vipaścitām |
phalam etan manuṣyatve sarvebhyaḥ prāk ca durgatiḥ || 18.
esāṃ akuśalākhyānāṃ vipāko yaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
kuśalānāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ viparītaḥ phalodayaḥ || 19.
lobho dveṣaś ca mohas ca tajjaṃ karmeti cāśubham |
alobhāmohādveṣāś ca tajjaṃ karmetarac chubhaṃ || 20.
aśubhāt sarvaduḥkhāni sarvadurgatayas tathā |
śubhāt sugatayaḥ sarvāḥ sarvajanmasukhāni ca || 21.

17. Avarice is the cause of poverty, bad livelihood of being deceived, pride of low birth, envy of scanty personal strength.

18. Anger of bad colour; stupidity is derived from not asking wise men (about the law); this fruit is ripened when one is reborn as a man; but first of all there is the rebirth in bad conditions of existence.[1]

19. All those sins are called vices; their consequence has been explained above. All virtuous actions bring forth an effect quite contrary to that.

20. Covetousness, hatred, bewilderment, and karman derived from that are sinful; absence of covetousness, hatred, bewilderment, and karman derived from that are sinless.

21. From sinfulness every pain and every unhappy destiny

[1] Bad conditions of existence are: rebirth in the hells, among beasts and ghosts. According to the Abhidharma the effect of our actions is, in fact, triple: the first is rebirth in the various conditions of existence according to the *karman* of a previous life; the second is an effect of compensation, viz. the necessity of undergoing the same experiences of which we have been the cause to others; the third effect affects the entourage and the physical surroundings in which we shall have a rebirth. "Colour" means also "caste".

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are derived ; from sinlessness every happy destiny and every pleasure in life are derived.

nivṛttir [2, b] aśubhāt kṛtsnāt pravṛttis tu śubhe sadā |
manasā karmaṇā vācā dharmo 'yaṃ dvividhaḥ smṛtaḥ || 22.
narakapretatiryagbhyo dharmād asmād vimucyate |
nṛṣu deveṣu cāpnoti sukhaśrīrājyavistarān || 23.
dhyānāpramāṇārūpyais tu brahmādyasukham aśnute |
ityabhyudayadharmo 'yaṃ phalaṃ cāsya samāsataḥ || 24.
naiḥśreyasaḥ punar dharmaḥ sūkṣmo gambhīradarśanaḥ |
bālānāṃ [aśrotravatām] uktas trāsakāro jinaiḥ || 25.
nāsmy ahaṃ na bhaviṣyāmi na me 'sti na bhaviṣyati |
iti bālasya santrāsaḥ paṇḍitasya bhayakṣayaḥ || 26.

22. Refraining from every sinfulness and constant practice of sinlessness with mind, body, and word : this is styled the twofold law.

23. By this law one is saved from being born in the hells and among ghosts and beasts ; nay, one gets plentifulness of joys, glory, and kingly power both among men and gods.

24. One gets the happiness of the gods, Brahmā, etc., through the four meditations, the four immeasurable experiences, and the four absorptions in the immaterial spheres ; this is in short the law of the blissful life and its fruits.

25. On the other hand, the law of salvation consisting in the subtle and deep vision [of reality] was said by the Victorious ones to be terrific to foolish men who have not ears [prepared to hear it].[1]

ahaṃkāraprasūteyaṃ mamakāropasaṃhitā |
prajā prajāhitaikāntavādinā 'bhihitā khila || 27.
asty ahaṃ mama cāstīti mithyaitat paramārthataḥ |

[1] Now Nāgārjuna expounds what is salvation and the way which leads to it, viz. *prajñā*, whose essence consists in the doctrine of the voidness of everything and which, on account of its depth, is likely to fill with fear those who are not yet fit to hear it. Therefore the teaching of Buddha is always based upon the knowledge of the moral and mental preparation of his disciples and hearers, *upāya-kauśalya*.

25, c. is restored from Tibetan : *byis pa t'os daṅ mi ldan pa*. So in the commentary, while the text of the *kārikās* has wrongly *daṅ mig ldan pa*.

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yathābhūtaparijñānān na bhavaty ubhayam yataḥ || 28.
ahaṃkārodbhavāḥ skandhāh, so 'haṃkāro 'nṛto 'rthataḥ |
bījaṃ yasyānṛtaṃ tasya prarohaḥ satyataḥ kutaḥ || 29.
skandhān asatyān dṛṣtvaivam ahaṃkāraḥ prahīyate |
ahaṃkāraprahāṇāc ca na punaḥ skandhasaṃbhavaḥ || 30.
yathādarśam upādāya [svamukhapratibimbakam |
dṛśya]te nāma tac caivam na kiṃcid api tattvataḥ || 31.

26. When the foolish man hears the utterance: "I am not, I never shall be, nothing belongs nor ever will belong to me" he is stricken with fear, while the wise man gets over every fear.[1]

27. The Buddha, who utters exclusively what is good to creatures, has stated them to be the offspring of the error that there is an ego and something belonging to the ego.[2]

28. From the point of view of the absolute truth it is wrong to say that there is an ego or that there is something belonging to the ego, because both these assumptions are impossible when one has fully understood the reality of things.[3]

29. The groups forming a person are originated from the assumption of a personality, but this personality is, from the standpoint of the absolute truth, unreal; then, if the seed of something is unreal, how can its sprout be real?[4]

[1] This verse is quoted in *TSP.*, p. 866, and *BCAP.*, p. 449.

[2] For the wise man there is no fear, because, having realized the truth of this doctrine, he gets over any attachment to the idea of the personality or of something belonging to it, and therefore the *saṃsāra*, which is the first cause of fear, vanishes for him. But for the others—as explained in the following *ślōka*—the *saṃsāra* will continue to exist, in so far it is a mere creation of their wrong assumption of a personality and of the existence of things.

[3] The sentence: "From the point of view of the absolute truth" implies that the ego, etc., may be said to exist only from the point of view of the conventional worldly truth, *samvṛti, loka, vyavahāra-satya.*

[4] The five groups are, as known, *rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāra,* and *vijñāna. Arthataḥ* is, according to the commentator, to be taken in the sense of *paramārthataḥ*. The verse is quoted, as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*, by Candrakīrti *PP.*, pp. 346 and 458. The author wants to demonstrate that the notion of the groups is dependent upon that of personality and vice versa, so that neither is self-existent.

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ahaṃkāras tathā skandhān upādāyopalabhyate |
na ca kaścit sa tattvena svamukhapratibimbavat || 32.
yathādarśam anādāya svamukhapratibimbakam |
na dṛśyate tathā skandhān [3, a] anādāyāham ity api || 33.
evaṃvidhārthaśravaṇād dharmacakṣur avāptavān |
Āryānandaḥ svayaṃ caiva bhikṣubhyo 'bhīkṣṇam uktavān || 34.
skandhagrāho yāvad asti tāvad evāham ity api |
ahaṃkāre sati punaḥ karma janma tataḥ punaḥ. || 35.

30. If one considers the groups as unreal, the assumption of a personality is abandoned; when the assumption of a personality is abandoned there is no more room for the groups.[1]

31. Just as through the medium of a mirror one sees the reflex of one's own face, though it is in fact nothing real,

32. even so one perceives the personality through the medium of the groups, though, in truth, it is nothing real, but like the reflex of the face.

33. Just as without the medium of a mirror no reflex of the face can be seen, even so without the medium of the groups, the personality cannot be perceived.

34. The noble Ānanda having heard from the Buddha such tenets, obtained himself the insight into the law and over and over repeated them to the monks.

trivartmaitad anādyantamadhyaṃ saṃsāramaṇḍalaṃ |
alātamaṇḍalaprakhyaṃ bhramaty anyonyahetukaṃ || 36.
svaparobhayatas tasya traikālyato 'py aprāptitaḥ
ahaṃkāraḥ kṣayaṃ yāti tataḥ karma ca janma ca || 37.
evaṃ hetuphalotpādaṃ paśyaṃs tatkṣayaṃ eva ca |
nāstitām astitāṃ caiva naiti lokasya tattvataḥ || 38.
sarvaduḥkhakṣayaṃ dharmaṃ śrutvaivam aparīkṣakaḥ |
saṃkampaty aparijñānād abhayasthānakātaraḥ || 39.

35. The assumption of an ego exists as long as there is

[1] This *śloka* is also quoted in *PP.*, pp. 346 and 458. Verses 31–4 are quoted by Candrakīrti in *PP.*, p. 345.

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the assumption of the five groups ; when there is the assumption of an ego there is again karman, and from this a new birth.

36. This whirl of life which has no beginning, no middle, and no end, like a whirling firebrand, whirls round with its three successions (personality, karman, and birth), which are the cause one of the other.

37. In so far as the ego cannot be demonstrated as being produced either by itself or by another or both by itself and another, nor as being produced either in the past or in the present or in the future, the ego vanishes ; then karman and lastly new birth.[1]

38. When a man has recognized [that the idea of] the growth of cause and effect and [that of] their destruction must be understood in this way, he cannot maintain either that this world is not or that it is in reality.

na bhaviṣyati nirvāṇe sarvam etan na te bhayam |
ucyamāna ihābhāvas tasya te kiṃ bhayaṃkaraḥ || 40.
mokṣe nātmā na ca skandhā mokṣaś ced īdṛṣaḥ priyaḥ |
ātmaskandhāpanayanaṃ kim ihaiva tavāpriyaṃ || 41.
na cābhāvo 'pi nirvāṇaṃ kuta eva tasya bhāvatā |
bhāvābhāvaparāmarśakṣayo nirvāṇam ucyate || 42.

[1] It is not produced by itself on account of two laws admitted by Nāgārjuna and his followers, viz. that of *abhūtvā abhāva* and that of *svātmani virodhāt*. Whatever was in a previous moment non-existent is devoid of self-existence and therefore cannot come to existence by its own agency ; nor can existence be active upon itself. It cannot be produced by another, because the idea of cause is equally an antinomy ; in fact the cause is such, only in relation to its effect. But, then, as long as the effect is not produced it is absurd to speak of cause, and, if this cause is non-existent, *a fortiori* the effect will be non-existent.

The third antinomy : "neither by itself nor by another," is evident, being the consequence of the two others. To the refutation of the idea of time Nāgārjuna has dedicated the second chapter of his *Mādhyamikakārikās*. The meaning is that it is not produced in the past, because whatever is past is no longer active, nor in the future, because it would be like the birth of a child from a barren woman, nor in the present because the present has no duration. The conclusion of this is that it is impossible to demonstrate either that there is a producer or that there is a thing produced.

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samāsān nāstitādṛṣṭiḥ phalaṃ nāstīti karmaṇaḥ |
apuṇyāpāyikī caiṣā mithyādṛṣṭir iti smṛtā || 43.
samāsād astitādṛṣṭiḥ phalaṃ cāstīti karmaṇām |
puṇyā sugatiniṣyandā samyagdṛṣṭir iti smṛtā || 44.

39. But, if a man lacking discrimination hears this law which puts an end to all sorrows, he, on account of his ignorance, fears a place where there is nothing to be feared, and trembles.[1]

40. When they say that all this will not exist in the nirvāṇa, this tenet does not make you afraid ; but when we state that here everything is not existent, how is it that this statement fills you with fear ? [2]

41. In the condition of salvation (as you believe it to be) there are neither the groups nor the ego. But if such a kind of salvation is dear to you why do you not like the elimination of the individual ego and of the groups in this very existence [as preached by our doctrine] ?

jñāne [3, b] nāstyastitāśānteḥ pāpapuṇyavyatikramaḥ |
durgateḥ sugateś cāsmāt sa mokṣah sadbhir ucyate || 45.
sahetum udayaṃ paśyan nāstitām ativartate |
astitām api nopaiti nirodhaṃ saha hetunā || 46.
prāgjātaḥ sahajātaś ca hetur ahetuko 'rthataḥ |
prajñapter apratītatvād utpatteś caiva tattvataḥ 47.

42. But nirvāṇa is not even non-existence ; how can it be existence ? nirvāṇa is called the suppression of any notion of existence and non-existence.[3]

[1] The place where there is nothing to be feared is *nirvāṇa*, which is suppression of the personality.

[2] The sentence : " All this " is the whirl of cause and effect. The *nirvāṇa* referred to is evidently the aupaniṣadic *nirvāṇa*. The author asks his supposed opponent why, though going after the aupaniṣadic *nirvāṇa*, which is suppression of every personality, is he, nevertheless, unwilling to accept this doctrine which makes the realization of *nirvāṇa* possible in this very life.

[3] Now Nāgārjuna, having referred to *nirvāṇa*, states, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that *nirvāṇa* which he describes is not like the *nirvāṇa* of the other schools, but it is beyond the notion of existence and non-existence. The verse is quoted in *PP.*, p. 525.

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43. To say it in a few words, the nihilistic view consists in denying that karman brings forth its effect. This view is sinful and causes rebirth in the hells. It is called a wrong view.[1]

44. To say it in a few words, the realistic view consists in affirming that karman brings forth its effect. It is meritorious and causes rebirth in happy conditions of existence. It is called the right view.

45. But when through the right knowledge one has suppressed any notion of existence or non-existence, one is beyond sin and virtue. Therefore the saints say that this is the salvation from good as well as from bad conditions of existence.

46. In so far as one recognizes that any origin has its cause, one gets rid of the nihilistic view, and in so far as one understands that there is a destruction of things determined by causes one gets rid of the realistic view.[2]

asmin satīdaṃ bhavati dīrghe hrasvaṃ yathā sati |
[tasyotpādād udetīdaṃ dīpotpādād yathā] prabhā || 48.
hrasve 'sati punar dīrghaṃ na bhavati svabhāvataḥ |
pradīpasyāpy anutpādāt prabhāyā apy asaṃbhavaḥ || 49.
evaṃ hetuphalotpādaṃ dṛṣṭvā nopaiti nāstikyaṃ |
abhyupetyāsya lokasya yāthābhūtyaṃ prapañcajam || 50.
nirodhaṃ ca prapañcotthaṃ yāthābhūtyād upāgataḥ |
nopayāty astitāṃ tasmān mucyate 'dvayaniśritaḥ || 51.

47. If a cause is born before the effect or along with it, in both cases, from the standpoint of the absolute truth it cannot be the cause. In fact, the notion of birth cannot

[1] Up to this point Nāgārjuna has denied the existence of every thing; so the objection of the opponent, viz. that his doctrine is simple nihilism must be expected. The author therefore meets this argument and after defining what are, according to him, nihilism and realism, shows that his system is neither of them.

[2] Of course, the notion of cause belongs to the *saṃvṛtisatya*, viz. to the relative truth, because, as stated in the following verse, from the *paramārtha* point of view, viz. from the point of the absolute truth, the notion of cause is absurd.

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be conceived either from the conventional or from absolute point of view.[1]

48. The notion of relation may be expressed in this way: When this thing exists this other thing also exists, for example, the idea of short in relation to that of long; when this thing is produced this other thing also is produced, for example, the light when there is a lamp.[2]

49. If there is not the idea of short there cannot be that of long, as a self-existent thing; if there is no lamp it is impossible to have any light.[3]

50. When one understands that the origin of the notions of cause and effect is like this, one cannot be the follower of the nihilistic view, in so far as he admits that the real nature of this world consists in the display of subjective differentiation.

durād ālokitaṃ rūpam āsannair dṛśyate sphuṭam |
marīcir yadi vāri syād āsannaiḥ kiṃ na dṛśyate || 52.
dūrībhūtair yathābhūto loko 'yaṃ dṛśyate tathā |
na dṛśyate tadāsannair animitto marīcivat || 53.
[marīcis toyasadṛśī yathā nāmbo na] cārthataḥ |
skandhās tathātmasadṛśā nātmāno nāpi te 'rthataḥ || 54.
maricim toyam ity etad iti matvāgato 'tra san |
yadi nāstīti tat toyaṃ [gṛhṇīyān mūḍha eva saḥ || 55.
marīcipratimaṃ lo]kam [4, a] evam astīti gṛhṇataḥ |
nāstīti cāpi moho 'yaṃ sati mohe na mucyate || 56.

[1] Since the cause is called a cause in so far as it produces an effect, if it exists before the production of this effect, that cause cannot be the cause of this effect, because it would have no relation to it.

[2] *a, b* is quoted in *PP.*, p. 10, where we read: *hrasve dīrghaṃ yathā sati*; the Tibetan supposes *dīrghe hrasvaṃ yathā sati*. *riṅ po yod pas t'uṅ du bžin*. *c, d*—almost effaced; Tibetan: *ḍi skyes pas na ḍi skyes dper*. Here Nāgārjuna states that if the notion of cause and effect is antinomical, the origin of things can only be explained according to the law of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, viz. of relativity.

[3] The same must be understood as regards the notion of "short" and that of "lamp". In the sphere of material experience things are interrelated, though, from the standpoint of the absolute truth, they are devoid of any essence.

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51. Destruction also is derived from the display of subjective differentiation, and therefore one cannot admit that it is something real in itself. In such a way one does not become a follower of the realistic doctrine. Therefore, in so far as one has taken standpoint in neither view, one attains to salvation.

52. A form seen from afar becomes manifest to the eyes when one gets near to it. If a mirage were really water, how is it that this cannot be seen when one gets near ? [1]

53. This world does not appear to those who are far away [from the truth] as it appears to those who are near [to it]—that is like a mirage devoid of specific characteristics.

54. Just as a mirage looks like water but it is neither water nor something real, in the same way the groups look like the ego, but in fact they are neither the ego nor something real.

nāstiko durgatiṃ yāti sugatiṃ yāti cāstikaḥ |
yathābhūtaparijñānān mokṣam advayaniśritaḥ || 57.
anicchan nāstitāstitve yathābhūtaparijñayā |
nāstitāṃ labhate mohāt kasmān na labhate 'stitāṃ || 58.
syād astidūṣaṇād asya nāstitā''kṣipyate 'rthataḥ |
nāstitādūṣanād eva kasmān nā''kṣipyate 'stitā || 59.
na pratijñā na caritaṃ na cittaṃ bodhiniśrayāt |
nāstikatve'rthato yeṣāṃ kathaṃ te nāstikāḥ smṛṭāḥ || 60.

55. If a man [seeing from afar] a mirage, believing that it is water, goes near to it and then thinks that there there is no water, this man is a fool.[2]

56. So, when a man takes this world, which is similar to a mirage, to be either existent or non-existent that man is under the influence of bewilderment. But if there is bewilderment there is no salvation.

[1] The verses 52–4 are quoted by Candrakīrti, *PP.*, p. 347, as from the Ācāryapāda, the verses 55–6 are quoted by Candrakīrti as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*, *PP.*, p. 188.

[2] Because he did not yet realize that it was a mirage which he saw, and water, therefore, is out of question.

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57. The nihilist is bound to be reborn in bad conditions of existence, the realist will be reborn in good conditions of existence. But those who have understood the things as they really are attain to salvation, in so far as they have taken their standpoint in neither view.

58. Those who, unwilling to conceive existence and non-existence according to their real nature (as stated by us), state, on account of their ignorance, [that nirvāṇa is] non-existence why they do not state that it is existence ?

Sasāṃkhyaulūkyanirgranthapudgalaskandhavādinam |
pṛccha lokaṃ yadi vadaty astināstivyatikramam || 61.
dharmayautakam ity asmān nāstyastitvavyatikramam |
viddhi gaṃbhīram ity uktaṃ buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam || 62.
vibhavaṃ naiti nāyāti na tiṣṭhaty api cakṣaṇam |
traikālyavyativṛttātmā loka eva kuto 'rthataḥ || 63.
dvayor apy āgatigatī prasthitiś ca na tattvataḥ |
lokanirvāṇayos tasmād viśeṣaḥ ka ivārthataḥ || 64.

59. If you object that by the refutation of the existence its non-existence is logically implicit, why then refutation of non-existence would not imply existence ? [1]

60. [For us] there is no thesis to be demonstrated, no rules of conduct, and on account of our taking shelter in the supreme illumination, not even mind, our doctrine is really the doctrine of nothingness. How then can we be called nihilists ? [2]

61. You may ask the common people along with its philosophers either the Sāṃkhyas or the Vaiśeṣikas or the Jainas or those who maintain the existence of a personality as represented by the five groups whether they preach a doctrine like ours beyond the dualism of existence and non-existence.[3]

[1] That is, it is impossible to affirm existence or non-existence, because this affirmation implies logically its contrary.

[2] Of course, all this from the standpoint of absolute truth, not from that of conventional truth. Nihilism is in fact, affirmation of a negation, but for Nāgārjuna truth is beyond either negation or affirmation.

[3] Quoted in *PP.*, p. 275, as taken from the *Ratnāvalī*.

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62. Therefore you must realize that this present of the law going beyond any dualism of existence and non-existence is the ambrosia of the teaching of the Buddhas known as the deep one.

sthiter abhāvād udayo nirodhaś ca na tattvataḥ |
uditaḥ sthitaś ceti niruddhaś ca kuto 'rthataḥ || 65.
katham aksaṇiko bhāvah pariṇāmaḥ sadā yadi |
nāsti cet pariṇāmaḥ syād anyathātvaṃ kuto 'rthataḥ || 66.
ekadeśe [4, b] kṣayād vā syāt kṣaṇikaṃ sarvaśo 'pi vā |
vaiṣamyānupalabdheś ca dvidhāpy etad ayuktimat || 67.
kṣaṇike sarvathā bhāvet kutaḥ kācit purāṇatā |
sthairyād akṣaṇike cāpi kutaḥ kācit purāṇatā || 68.

63. How can this world be something real, since it does not vanish into non-existence nor come to existence nor even possess the duration of an instant, and is, therefore, beyond the threefold temporal relation ?

64. From the standpoint of absolute truth, both this world as well as *nirvāṇa* are equally non-existent, either in the future or in the past or in the present ; how can then any difference between them be real ?

65. Since there is no duration, there is in truth neither origin nor destruction ; how can therefore [this world] be really born, permanent, destroyed ?

66. If there is always change into new forms is not, then, existence momentary ? If, on the other hand, there is no change how could you explain the modification which we perceive positively in things ?

yathānto 'sti kṣaṇasyaivam ādir madhyaṃ ca kalpyatām |
tryātmakatvāt kṣaṇasyaivaṃ na lokasya kṣaṇaṃ sthitiḥ || 69.
ādimadhyāvasānāni c[intyāni kṣaṇavat punaḥ |
ādimadhyā]vasānatvaṃ na svataḥ parato 'pi vā || 70.
naiko 'nekapradeśatvān nāpradeśaś ca kaścana |
vinaikam api nāneko nāstitvam api cāstitām || 71.
vināśāt pratipakṣād vā syād astitvasya nāstitā |
vināśaḥ pratipakṣo vā kathaṃ syād astyasaṃbhavāt || 72.

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nirvṛtes tena lokasya nopaity ūnatvam arthataḥ |
antavān iti lokaś ca pṛṣṭas tuṣṇīṃ jino 'bhavat || 73.

67. One thing is momentary because either it disappears partially or totally. But since no difference appears in the two cases, therefore both assumptions are equally illogical.

68. If things are mere moments, they are, then, in no way existent; therefore any temporal relation like that of oldness, etc., would be impossible; if, on the contrary, things are not momentary, on account of their duration any temporal relation like that of oldness, etc., would be equally impossible.[1]

69. If the instant has a final moment, we must assume that it has the other two moments as well, viz. the initial and the middle; but inasmuch as the instant consists of three moments the world cannot have the duration of the instant.[2]

70. Again, beginning, middle, and end must be considered to be like the instant, viz. divided each one into three moments; the condition of being beginning, middle, and end is not existent by itself nor by another.[3]

[1] Verses 68–70 are quoted, as taken from the *Madhyamakasiddhānta*, by Candrakīrti in *PP.*, p. 546.

If things are always changing, they have no time to become old; if there is no change, there is also no oldness, but things would be eternally new.

[2] *Tri* is not in the quotation by Candrakīrti, but is found in the Tibetan text as well as in the commentary thereon; *tri* refers to beginning, middle, and end.

[3] This verse meets the possible objection, viz. that, if there is no instant, as it is not simple, but complex as being composed of three moments, then the instant would be implicitly represented by these three moments, into which the instant has been decomposed. The answer of Nāgārjuna is that they also, if they are something real, must be composed of other moments, and so there would be *regressus in infinitum*. Moreover, the fact or the condition of being beginning, middle, and end is, from the absolute point of view, illogical because it is not by itself, which would be contradictory, nor by another cause, because, in this way, there would not be the necessary connection between the cause and its effect, which is the fundament of the causal relation. So, as demonstrated in the following *śloka*, everything has only a relative existence.

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sarvajña iti sarvajño budhais tenaiva gamyate |
yenaitad dharmagāmbhīryaṃ novācābhājane loke || 74.
iti naiḥśreyaso dharmo gambhīro niṣparigrahaḥ |
anālaya ity proktaḥ saṃbuddhais tattvadarśibhiḥ || 75.
asmād anālayād dharmād ālayābhiratā janāḥ |
astināstyavyatikrantā bhītā naśyanty amedhasaḥ || 76.
te naṣṭā nāśayanty anyān abhayasthānabhīravaḥ |
tathā kuru yathā rājan naṣṭair na vipranāśyase. || 77.

71. No [atom] is simple being many-sided; and no [atom] is sideless [in so far as its connection with other atoms would, then, be impossible]; on the other hand the idea of plurality is inconceivable without that of unity nor that of non-existence without that of existence.[1]

72. Non-existence of existence is only possible through destruction or antithesis; but how can destruction or antithesis be conceivable if existence is logically impossible?

73. Therefore attainment of *nirvāṇa* does not imply in fact any destruction of worldly existence. That is why even the Buddha, when requested whether this world has an end, remained silent.

74. Therefore, the wise men realize that the All-knower is really the All-knower, because he did not preach this deep doctrine to those who are unfit [to hear it and cannot, therefore, rightly understand it].

75. Indeed the perfect Buddhas, who have realized the absolute truth, stated that this law, conducive to salvation, is deep, beyond the attachment to any particular thesis, stating the existence of nothing which one can depend upon.

76. Ignorant men, who like to state the existence of something which they can depend upon and did not yet get rid of

[1] Having shown that the atom or the instant cannot be conceived as being composed of more elementary moments or as having a dimension, the author shows that they cannot be also considered to be a unity, because unity is not conceivable without relation to plurality, and plurality is not conceivable without relation to unity. Therefore, since existence and non-existence are, in fact, impossible to be conceived, even *nirvāṇa* cannot be considered as the non-existence of this world.

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contradictory theses like that of existence or non-existence of things, feel but fear of this law which does not state the existence of anything we can depend upon, and are then ruined.

77. And being themselves ruined they want to ruin others, also being afraid of (this teaching) where there is nothing to be feared. Be careful, O king, unless these wicked ones might ruin you also.

PS.—I prepared the edition of the text on a modern copy marred by many clerical errors. But, on my request, His Highness the Mahārāja Joodha Sham Shere was kind enough to send me a good photographic copy of the original, which in many a point permitted a revision of my first readings.

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Reciprocal Influences in Music 'twixt the Far and Middle East

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

"You see the Great Kaan [Khubilāy Khān] had not succeeded to the dominion of Cathay by hereditary right, but held it by conquest; and thus having no confidence in the natives, he put all authority into the hands of Tartars, Saracens, or Christians, who were attached to his household and devoted to his service, and were foreigners in Cathay."—*The Book of Ser Marco Polo.*

IN spite of the hoary belief in the conservatism of the Chinese we find that exotic music and instruments of music found favour in "Far Cathay" from quite an early period, long before the Mughal régime. Thanks to the researches of M. Maurice Courant [1] and others, we are able to appreciate with considerable definiteness the influence of the Middle East on the Far East in these matters. On the other hand, the Rev. A. C. Moule [2] is of opinion that "the musical systems of Persia and Arabia seem to have had but little effect on Chinese music, and the use of only a few instruments can at all probably be traced to the great intercourse which existed between those countries and China in the middle ages".

§ 1

One of the earliest legends concerning music in China suggests Middle Asian influences. A third century B.C. story tells of an emperor Huang Ti, who lived before the Hsia dynasty (2205–1766 B.C.), who sent a certain Ling Lun "from West of Ta-hsia to the north of Yüan-yü", where he obtained bamboos for the construction of the *lü* or musical pipes which

[1] Courant, "Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois": In Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, i.

[2] Moule, "A List of Musical and other Sound-Producing Instruments of the Chinese": In the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xxxix.

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became the basis of the Chinese scale. Chavannes, who has dealt with this question, identifies Bactria in the above.[1]

The cultural indebtedness of China to the Middle East during the early Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 25) is generally acknowledged.[2] Under the later Han rulers (A.D. 25–220), when a considerable portion of Eastern Turkestān, including Khotān, Kāshghar, and Kucha, was added to the Chinese realm, these influences asserted themselves more definitely. Indeed, the early appearanceof the pear-shaped lute in Khotān [3] prompts the suggestion that the Chinese lute known as the *p'i-p'a* (*phi-pha*) [4] was introduced from Eastern Turkestān which, in turn, had borrowed it from Western Turkestān.[5] In fact, although it is said that the name *p'i-p'a* is derived from the names given to the two movements of the hand in lute-playing,[6] there are reasons for believing that *p'i-p'a* is a phonetic off-spring of the Persian word *barbaṭ*, just as the Greek βαρβιτος was.

In the year 568 a Turkish princess married the Chinese emperor Wu-ti (560–78) and she took with her to China a musician of Kucha named Su-ch'i-p'o, who played the "barbarian" *p'i-p'a* (i.e. the Turkomanian *barbaṭ*). It was this musician who introduced into China the traditional seven musical modes of his country.[7] The ancient Chinese names

[1] Chavannes, "Des rapports de la musique Grecque avec la musique Chinoise": In *Memoires Historiques*, iii, Append. ii. See also A. E. Moule, *The Chinese People*, 110–12.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), vi, 194.

[3] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, ii, pls. xliii, xlvi.

[4] The transliteration used here is that generally adopted and it is used by Van Aalst, Moule, and other English writers on Chinese music. The name in parentheses is that given by Courant. It is included here because the latter's system of transliteration may be better known to musicians.

[5] Huth, *Die Musikinstrumente Ost-Turkistans bis zum* 11. *Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (1928), 33, 38.

[6] Courant, 177. Moule, 113.

[7] Cf. the seven traditional modes of Persia mentioned by Al-Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, viii, 90, 417) and Sir William Jones (*Asiatick Researches*, 1807 ed., iii, 63). See my article on "The Old Persian Musical Modes" in the *JRAS.*, Jan., 1926.

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for these modes are foreign and carry distinct features of Aryan, if not definitely Persian, origin.[1] Further, the eighty-four systems (*tiao, t'iao*) which issued from these seven modes may have been prompted by the eighty-four circulations (*dawa'ir*) of Persian music, but altered to suit the native theory and practice. At the same time it has to be admitted that we have no documentary evidence of the "circulations" in the Middle East earlier than the twelfth century.

Under the Sui emperors (A.D. 581–618) bands and musicians from Bukhārā, Samarqand, Kāshghar, Kucha, and elsewhere, were favoured at the Chinese court.[2] The contemporary Wei monarchs were acquainted with the music of Ṭurfān and after the conquest of this place in 640 a band of music from Ṭurfān was established at court.[3] The T'ang dynasty (618–907) extended the empire to the borders of Persia and the shores of the Caspian which gave greater impetus to Middle Asian influences. These prevailed under the Sung rulers (960–1279).[4] Perhaps the use of bowed instruments in China was due to this cultural contact.[5] Indeed, the instruments of music of Eastern Turkestān up to the eleventh century which are to be found in the works of Sir Aurel Stein,[6] Paul Pelliot,[7] Albert le Coq,[8] and Albert Grünwedel,[9] together with the classification of Arno Huth, enable us to see what the cultural borrowings were 'twixt the Middle and Far East in this respect. Huth divides the instruments of Eastern Turkestān into three provenances—Western Asiatic, Indian, and Eastern Asiatic.

[1] Courant, 96.

[2] Courant, 192.

[3] Courant, 193–4.

[4] Courant, 191–2, 195.

[5] Courant, 181. Cf. Moule, 3.

[6] Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (1907), *Sand buried ruins of Khotan* (1903), *Serindia* (1921), *Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas* (1921).

[7] *Les Grottes de Touen-Houang* (1922–4).

[8] *Chotscho* (1913), *Die Buddhistiche Spätantike in Mittelasien* (1922–6).

[9] *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idykutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902–03* (*Abhdlg. d. kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1906), *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* (1912), *Alt-Kutscha* (1920).

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Those of Western Asiatic origin are the various lute and pandore types, the harp with the upper sound-chest, and the oboe.[1] All these found their way into China. The lute *p'i-p'a* (= Pers. *barbaṭ*) has already been mentioned. The harp with the upper sound-chest, apparently the *shu-k'ung-hou* (*choú khōng heoû*), which was used by the bands of Kucha and Kāshghar at the Chinese courts of the Sui and Wei emperors, fell into desuetude during the Middle Ages.[2] As for the oboe, i.e. a conical reed-pipe played with a double reed, this is considered to be of Middle Asian origin.[3] It is certain that the *su-êrh-nai* (*soū-eùl-nái*) or *so-na* (*swò-nā*) of China came, as these names testify, from the Middle East. Both the *kuan* (*kwàn*) and the *pi-li* (*pĭ-lĭ*), which are cylindrical reed-pipes played with a double and single reed respectively, are admitted by Chinese authors to be of alien origin. The former was borrowed from the Ch'iang on the western borders of China, probably Kucha.[4] The latter is called by Giles "the Tartar horn" [? pipe]. Even the transverse flute (or perhaps a particular type or types) came from Middle Asia and the *Lü lü Ching*, written in 1595–6, says that the ancient Chinese did not use the transverse flute called *ti* (*tĭ*), but that it was borrowed from the Ch'iang. The *hu-ti* (*hoù tĭ*) was also called the *ch'iang ti* because of its Tatar origin. The *hêng-ti* (*hêng tĭ*) also came from abroad.[5] Among instruments of percussion of Middle Asian origin were the cymbals *t'ung-po* (*thông pŏ*) and the carillon *fang hsiang* (*fāng hyàng*), as well as many drums.[6] The viol family is said by occidental writers to have come from India, but it has to be remembered that our earliest documentary evidence comes from Arabic sources.[7] The old

[1] Huth, 33–4, 38.

[2] Courant, 192–3. For examples of this instrument in China and Chinese Turkestān see T. Richard, *A Paper on Chinese Music*, and Stein, *Serindia*, pl. iii (yo 0066).

[3] See Moule, 3.

[4] Courant, 159. Moule, 84, 151.

[5] Courant, 155. Moule, 80, 151–2.

[6] Courant, 146, 151. Moule, 146.

[7] Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 99 seq.

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Chinese writers on music recognize both the foreign and the native (Chinese) instruments.[1] At any rate no viol appears to be mentioned earlier than the Yüan or Mughal period, a circumstance which points to a Middle Asian influence.[2]

When the Mughals entered and became masters of China (1213–1368), a more direct contact with the Middle East was maintained. It is true that the conquerors encouraged native musicians (Chingiz Khān preferred those of Tangut, and Ogodai those of Kin) and adhered to the musical customs of China, encouraging musical theorists to write on the *lü*.[3] On the other hand, several foreign elements in Chinese music are traceable to this period. The *kung-ch'e* notes appear to have been introduced from Middle Asia about this time and their names vouch for their origin. The notation which accompanied this system soon became popular "on account of the simplicity of the characters". These innovations were retained, with modifications, by both the Ming (1368–1644) and the Ch'ing (1644–1912) dynasties.[4]

During the Yüan or Mughal period we have an account of the introduction of the organ called the *hsing-lung-shêng* into China by Khubilāy Khān in 1260–4, and it is expressly mentioned that the instrument came from the "Muslim kingdoms", the "lands of the West".[5]

From this period the music and instruments of music of the Islāmic peoples of the West became better known in China. This was only to be expected. The armies of the Yüan rulers were made up of large contingents from Turkestān,

[1] Moule, 149.

[2] Moule (A. E.), *The Chinese People*, 119.

[3] Courant, 84.

[4] Moule, 135. Van Aalst, 15–16.

[5] In the *JRAS.* for 1926 (pp. 193–211) the Rev. A. C. Moule and Canon F. W. Galpin gave a description of this instrument, with the Chinese texts and translations. Although the former thought otherwise (p. 193), attention had already been directed to this instrument by Courant (op. cit., 161). See also Farmer, "The Organ of the Muslim Kingdoms" (in *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 495); *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 30–35; and *The Organ of the Ancients, from Eastern Sources*, 76, 138, 176.

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whilst a considerable number of the officials at court and in the administration were Persians,[1] as Marco Polo testified.[2] This influence extended as the Muslim communities grew in China, and many of the instruments of music bear evidence of this. Among these are the following [3]:—

tan-pu-la (*tān-poú-lă*)	= Turkī *tanbūr*, Arabic *ṭunbūr*.
sai-t'o-êrh (*sái-thō-eùl*)	= Turkī, Persian *sitār*.
huo-pu-ssŭ (*hwò-poŭ-seū*)	= Turkī *qūbūz*, Arab. *qabūs*.
hun-pu-ssŭ (*hwên-poŭ-seū*)	= Arab. *qanbūṣ*.
la-pa-pu (*lă-pā-poŭ*)	= Turk., Pers. *rubāb*.
ha-êrh-cha-k'o (*ngŏ-eùl-tchă-khĕ*) [4]	= Turk. *ghijjak*, Pers. *ghizhak*, *ghishak*.
k'o-êrh-nai (*khŏ-eùl-nái*)	= Pers., Arab. *qānūn*.[5]
su-êrh-nai (*soū-eùl-nái*) [6]	= Turk., Pers. *surnāy*, *surnā*.
pa-la-man (*pā-lă-màn*)	= Turk. *balāban*.[7]
na-ka-la (*ná-kŏ-lă*)	= Turk. *nāghārā*, Arab. *naqqāra*.
ta-pu-la (*tă-poú-lă*)	= Arab. *ṭabl*.
ta-pu (*tă-poŭ*)	= Pers. *daf*, Arab. *duff*.

With the exception of the *huo-pu-ssŭ*, which is given as *hu-po*, these instruments are not mentioned by Moule. Of

[1] See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, i, 846.

[2] He called them "Saracens".

[3] These are all mentioned in the Statutes of the Ch'ing dynasty (*Ta Ch'ing hui tien*, etc.).

[4] *ha* 哈 is also pronounced *kah*, *ga*, in some parts. Courant writes *ngo*. Hamil, once the capital of a Turkic state, is called both Hamil and Khamil in China.

[5] Not *qālūn* (*kaloun*) as Courant writes.

[6] The Rev. A. C. Moule, in a communication anent this article, gives *so-na* in preference to *su-êrh-nai*. Courant reverses this preference.

[7] Courant says "comparez turk *bālābān*, grosse caisse?" Curt Sachs (*Reallex. der Musikinstrumente*) says that it is a "pauke", but the *balabān* of Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) is a reed-pipe as is also the *balāban* of Evliyā Chelebī (d. *c.* 1679). To-day, the *bālābān* of Turkey and the *balabān* of Turkestān are reed-pipes. My authorities are Ra'ūf Yekta Bey (*personal communication*), Fitrat (op. cit., 48), and Belaiev (*Muzïkalnïe instrumentï uzbekistana*, 40).

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course, they were generally to be found in the hands of Muslim or Middle Asian bands of music in China, notably in the Turkestānī band formed in 1760 at the Chinese court.[1]

§ 2

That there was a reciprocal influence must also be allowed. Although the influence of China is certainly most marked in Eastern Turkestān,[2] yet, strange to say, in Western Turkestān it is almost negligible.[3] The latter has been more deeply impressed by Arabian and Persian culture in music as in most other things. Still, the influence of the Far East is traceable yet further west. Even the most casual observer must have noticed the seemingly alien types of instruments of music handled by the minstrels in Persian and Mughal paintings from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Indeed, one can find them as early as the thirteenth century in Persian pottery and Mesopotamian metal work. These strange-looking instruments are, for the most part, of Chinese provenance, although originally they may have come from Turanian peoples. They were passed on to the Islāmic countries of the west *via* the Mughal and Tatar incursions of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Yet China had already influenced these people long before this. We read of a certain Aḥmad al-Ṣīnī in the *Kitāb al-aghānī*.[4] Al-A'shā Maimūn (d. *c.* 629) mentions an instrument called the *mushtaq ṣīnī* (Chinese *mushtaq*), which Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (d. 920) says is the Arabicized form of the Persian

[1] Courant, 203–4.

[2] Huth, op. cit., 35, 38.

[3] For works on the music of Western Turkestān see Uspensky, *Sovietsky Uzbekistan* (Tashkent, 1927); Uspensky and Belaiev, *Turkmenskaia muzīka* (Moscow, 1928); Belaiev, *Rukovodstvo dlia obmera narodnīkh muzīkalnīkh instrumentov* (Moscow, 1931), *Muzīkalnīe instrumentī uzbekistana* (Moscow, 1933); Mironov, *Pesni ferganī bukharī i khivī* (Tashkent, 1931), *Obzor muzīkalnīkh kultur uzbekov i drugikh narodov vostoka* (Samarqand, 1931), all in Russian; and Fitrat, *Uzbīk qilāssiq mūsiqāsī* (Tashkent, 1927), in Turkī.

[4] *Aghānī*, Sāsī ed., v, 83.

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mushta ṣīnī.[1] In the tenth century, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* it is called the *mustaq* and is described as being "made of compounded tubes (*anābīb*)", its name in Persian being given as *bīsha mushta*.[2] I have surmised elsewhere [3] that this instrument was the Chinese mouth-blown organ known as the *shêng*, but its phonetic parent was probably the *ho-shêng* (*hwô chēng*).[4]

Both Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) [5] and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048) [6] refer to an instrument called the *ṣanj al-ṣīnī* (Chinese *ṣanj*),[7] which was played with beating rods (*maṭāriq*). This would appear to have been similar to the dulcimer which is known to-day in China as the *yang-ch'in* (*yâng khîn*), i.e. the foreign *ch'in*. Courant thinks that the latter is of European origin and that it may have been introduced into China in the seventeenth–eighteenth century,[8] but the mention of the instrument by eleventh-century Arabic authors shows that the type must have been known in China at an earlier period, and it may have been the *chu-ko-ch'in* (*tchoū-kŏ khîn*).[9]

As already indicated, the Mughal and Tatar incursions into Islāmic lands brought about a more forceful crescendo of cultural influences from the Far East, and as an example of

[1] Cairo MS. *Kitāb al-malāhī* (Fine Arts, 533), pp. 21–2. This manuscript, which I hope to issue in facsimile shortly, together with a translation, is in the hand of the noted penman and geographer Yāqūt (d. 1229) whose fame as a calligraphist is, perhaps, only eclipsed by Ibn Muqla.

[2] *Liber mafātīh al-olūm*, ed. Van Vloten, 237.

[3] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iii, 541.

[4] But cf. ستق in the *Qāmūs* of Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414), where a *mustaqa* is defined as "an implement [a reed or piece of wood] with which the *ṣanj* (harp, dulcimer, psaltery) and the like are beaten".

[5] India Office MS., *Al-Shifā'* (No. 1811), fol. 173.

[6] British Museum MS., *Kitāb al-kāfī* (Or. 2361), fol. 235 v.

[7] The instrument is called the *ṣanj al-ṣīnī* (الصنج الصيني) only by Ibn Zaila. In the various copies of the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā it is called the الصنج الجيني (*var.* الخيني, الحمى). See my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, 7.

[8] Courant, 180; but Moule says (118) that it is "very much like the Persian *santīr*, a fact which, added to the name, makes it probable that it was introduced from Persia".

[9] Courant, 180. See Moule, 150, for instruments played with beating rods.

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this three instruments depicted in Mesopotamian and Mughal art (thirteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively) are shown here. The first is the Chinese lute known as the *p'i-p'a*. It has this interesting feature that the artist has reversed, it would seem, the shape, i.e. the curve, of the sound holes. A sixteenth-century example may also be seen in a line drawing reproduced by Marteau-Vever.[1] The second specimen is the Chinese pandore called the *huo-pu-ssŭ* or *hun-pu-ssŭ*. This occurs quite frequently in Persian and Mughal art and a published example may be seen in a late fifteenth-century miniature given by Martin.[2] The third is, perhaps, another Chinese pandore known as the *shuang-ch'in*.

§ 3

We have a very interesting account of the music of "Far Cathay" at the beginning of the fifteenth century from a Persian source which has not been used by any of the writers on Chinese music so far as the present writer is aware. It occurs in the itinerary of an embassy which set out for China from the Mughal court at Herāt and it is given in the *Maṭla' al-sa'dain* of 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Samarqandī (d. 1482), on the authority of a certain artist, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh, who accompanied the embassy.[3] It left Herāt in December, 1419, and returned there in September, 1422. At Sukjū, the modern Su-chou, which is called the chief town of Khaṭā (Cathay), Ghiyāth al-Dīn describes the chamber music heard at the grand reception given in their honour. First he calls attention to the *kūrka pādshāhī* or "Royal drum". To the right and left of this were arranged musicians playing on the *bātūghān* (*sic*), *bīna* (*sic*), *kamānja*, *nai* (two kinds), *tunbuk*, *ṭabl dūrū'i*, *ṣinj*, *chahārpāra*, and *duhul*.[4]

[1] Marteau-Vever, *Miniatures persanes esposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, fig. 212.

[2] Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century*, pl. xciv.

[3] *Notices et Extraits*, tome xiv.

[4] Text, 312. Trans., 392.

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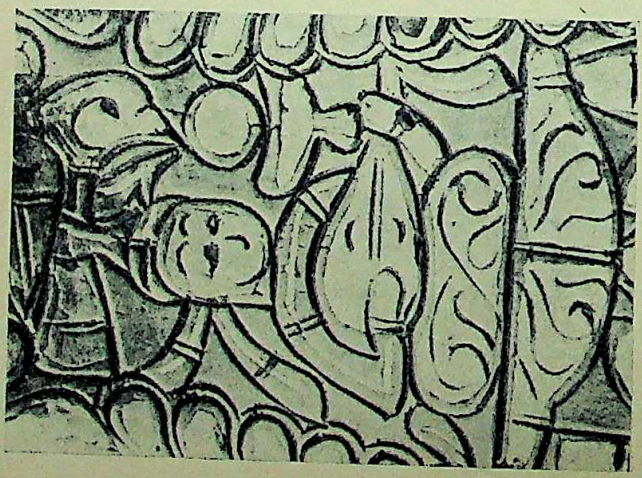

FIG. 1.—Performer on the Chinese *p'i-p'a.*

From a brass ewer of the Mausil School (13th cent.) in the British Museum.

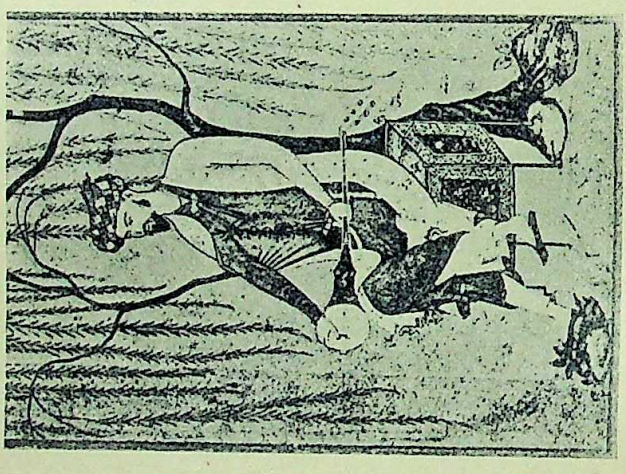

FIG. 2.—Performer on the Chinese *hwo-pu-ssŭ.*

From a painting of the Mughal Schoo (16th cent.) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

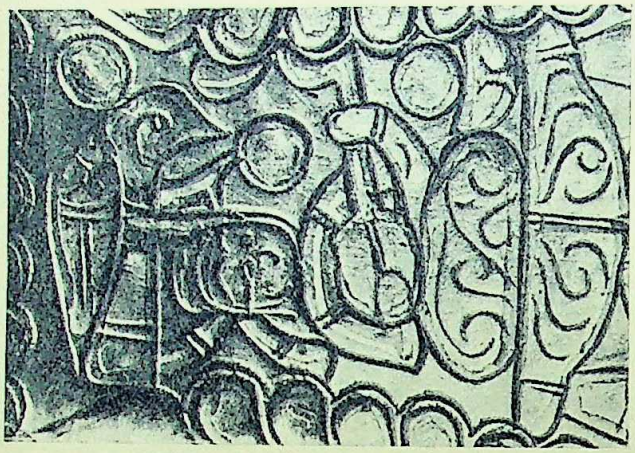

FIG. 3.—Performer on the Chinese *shuang-ch'in* (?)

From a brass ewer of the Mausil School (13th cent.) in the British Museum.

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At Khānbāliq ("King's town"), the modern Pekin, he speaks about the outdoor music as well as the chamber music of the court.[1] Outside the palace he saw a *kūrka* and a *nāqūs*. He also tells us that he heard two thousand musicians (*mughannī*) singing to the accompaniment of their instruments (*sāz*). The outdoor music comprised that played by musicians on the *kūrka*, *duhul*, *damāma*, *ṣinj*, and *nāqūs*.[2] As for the palace chamber music, he describes performances on the *bātūghān* (*sic*), *bīna* (*sic*), *mūsīqār*, and *chahārpāra*.[3] The player on the *bātūghān* (*sic*) performed twelve airs (*maqām*) that were not of Khaṭā. This shows that there were alien influences in the music of China under the Ming dynasty, just as there had been under the T'ang and Yüan rulers.

It will be noticed that all these instruments are given Persian or Mughal names and we cannot, therefore, be certain in every case in identifying the Chinese originals. Instruments of percussion played an important part in the music of Khaṭā in these days as in the present time. The *kūrka* was evidently one of the huge drums used for ceremonial purposes.[4] With the Mughals of India, as we know from the *Ā'īn-i akbarī* (sixteenth century),[5] the *kūrka* was a monster kettledrum almost the height of a man and was played in pairs, each drum being controlled by a player who used two sticks. With the Mughals of Persia it also appears to have been a kettledrum, and from the *Maṭla' al-sa'dain*, *Ẓafar-nāma*, and *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, the best known histories of the period, we known that it was different from the *damāma*, *kūs*, and *naqqāra*, which were also kettledrums.[6] It was part of the royal insignia

[1] Text, 321. Trans., 402.

[2] Text, 321. Trans., 403.

[3] Text, 328. Trans., 410–11.

[4] Marco Polo calls the great kettledrum of the Tatar khān the "great naccara" (= *naqqāra*), but, as Yule very correctly observes, the proper name for this instrument was *qūrqah* (= *kūrka*) and this is the instrument (a pair) delineated by him (i, 304), although he calls it a *nakkāra*. See my article s.v. in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

[5] *Ā'īn-i akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, i, 50–2, pl. viii.

[6] *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 129. See also *JA.*, Fev.–Mars, 1852, p. 261.

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and its tones accompanied the royal edicts. On the death of a sulṭān, after being played at the royal obsequies, it was broken to pieces.[1] Perhaps the great drum (*ṭabl al-kabīr*) mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the cortège of the Mughal sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (d. 1457) of Al-'Irāq, was the *kūrka*.[2] The Turks attribute the origin of their monster kettledrum called the *kūs* to the Chinese [? Mughals], and they used to call it the *khakhānī* in consequence.[3]

According to the *Ā'īn-i akbarī*, another name for this drum was *damāma*, but in the *Maṭla' al-sa'dain* these two were different instruments. We do not know the type of drum that Ghiyāth al-Dīn saw in Khaṭā, but the modern Bengalī *damāma* or *damāmā* is a kettledrum with an earthenware shell or body. It is played in pairs in the *nauba* or military band, and a specimen in the museum of the Brussels Conservatoire de Musique measures 46 cm. in height and 36 cm. in the diameter of the "head".[4] It is difficult to identify either the *kūrka* or *damāma* with any of the Chinese drums, but probably the former was simply one of the large drums of the *t'ang ku* (*tcháng koù*) type.[5]

The *ṭabl dūrū'i*, as its name implies, was a double-headed drum, and since we are told that it was mounted on a stand or tripod (*pāya*), it may have been the Chinese *lung ku* (*lōng koù*).[6] The *duhul* of Persia to-day is a double-headed drum,[7] and has a barrel-shaped shell or body.[8] It is likely, therefore, that the instrument of Khaṭā which Ghiyāth al-Dīn heard was the *po-fu* (*pō foù*).[9] The *tunbuk* of Persia in the seventeenth century,[10] as to-day,[11] was a tambourine with a shell or body

[1] *History of Timur-Bec* (1723), ii, 418.
[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, 128.
[3] Evliyā Chelebī, *Travels*, i, ii, 226.
[4] Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif* . . ., i, 106.
[5] Moule, 58, pl. vii.
[6] Courant, 150. Cf. Van Aalst, 79.
[7] Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans* (1885), 15 and pl.
[8] Cf. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum* . . . (1712), 740–1.
[9] Courant, 149. Van Aalst, 76. Moule, 56.
[10] Kaempfer, 741–2. Here it is written *dunbak*.
[11] Advielle, 15.

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in the shape of an egg cup. It was identical with the *darabukka* of the Arabs, but an instrument of this type is not used in China to-day unless the *shou-ku* (*cheoù koù*) is what is referred to.[1]

The *ṣinj* were cymbals or metal castanets. They were doubtless identical with the Chinese *hsing* (*sīng*).[2] In Persia, the *chahārpāra* were castanets of wood and were probably identical with the Chinese *p'o-pan* (*phŏ pàn*).[3] Quatremère was of opinion that this word was a copyist's error for *chahārtāra* (= *chārtār*), a four-stringed lute or pandore, but he was mistaken in this. The *nāqūs* of Khaṭā, which Ghiyāth al-Dīn says was suspended, was evidently a gong of the *t'ê-ch'ing* (*thĕ khing*) type.[4]

Of wind instruments we find the *nai* and *mūsīqār* mentioned. Of the former, two species are described, one played from the end like the Arabian, Persian, and Turkī *nāy* (flute), and the other played from the side. They probably represent such types as the Chinese *hsiao* (*syāo*) and *ch'ih* (*tchhî*).[5] The *mūsīqār* of the Persians and Arabs was the panpipes. What Ghiyāth al-Dīn saw was perhaps the *p'ai-hsiao* (*phâi syāo*).[6]

Two stringed instruments are given by Ghiyāth al-Dīn—the *bātūghān* and *bīna*. In a Persian treatise on music by 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) the first of these instruments is written *yātūghān*, and it would seem, therefore, that the former is a copyist's slip. The second of these instruments may also be a scribal error. We certainly have a similar looking

[1] Courant, 148. Moule, 53.

[2] Courant, 146.

[3] Courant, 147.

[4] Courant, 146. Van Aalst, 48. Moule, 30.

[5] Courant, 152–3. Van Aalst, 70–1. Moule, 74. In his communication on this article the latter asks "Why not the *ti*?" It is true that the latter is given greater prominence in the palace ceremonies than the *ch'ih* (although sometimes four of each were employed), yet the Persian chronicler does not mention the ornamentation and other adornments that are usual with the *ti*, a fact that he would probably have commented upon. Further, whilst the *ch'ih* approximated to the ordinary transverse flute, the *ti* had a distinctive feature in a membrane covered hole.

[6] Courant, 152. Van Aalst, 70–1. Moule, 62–3.

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word in the *bīn* (= *vīṇā*) of India,[1] but the above form is apparently a mistake for *bība* (= *pīpā*), the Persian way of writing the Chinese *p'i-p'a*, as we see from Ibn Ghaibī. We shall see both the *yātūghān* and *pīpā* described shortly. The *kamānja* (= *kamāncha*) of Persia was a long-necked viol. What was seen in Khaṭā was probably an instrument of the *hu-ch'in* (*hoû khîn*) or *t'i-ch'in* (*thî khîn*) types.[2]

§ 4

Four of these instruments of Khaṭā are described by the aforementioned 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), a gifted musician and theorist of music in the service of the Jalairid and Tīmūrid sulṭāns.[3] Both of these dynasties were of Mughal or Tatar origin and at their courts it is highly probable that several instruments of music from Khaṭā were in use. This description by Ibn Ghaibī is contained in a holograph of his entitled the *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.[4] It is supported by another holograph treatise of his, the *Maqāṣid al-alḥān*, in the same library.[5] The instruments described by him that concern us are the *yātūghān*, *pīpā*, *shidirghū*, and *chubchīq*.[6]

The *yātūghān*, says Ibn Ghaibī, was an instrument "peculiar to the people of Khaṭā". It was made of wood, was long and hollow. Strings were mounted on the surface of the instrument and in the middle were movable bridges (*kharak*). The performer plucked the strings with the fingers of the right hand, whilst with the left he sharpened (*tīz*) the notes (*āhang*) by pressing down the strings or by moving the bridges. Adept performers, we are told, could play the Persian modes

[1] Day, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan*, 109–110.

[2] Courant, 181–2. Van Aalst, 67. Moule, 121–131.

[3] I have given his biography in the *Encyclopædia of Islām* (Suppl.).

[4] Bodleian MS., *Marsh* 282.

[5] Bodleian MS., *Ouseley* 264.

[6] *Marsh* 282, fol. 80.

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(*adwār*) and systems (*jumū'*) on it. Seemingly, it was an instrument of the *chêng* (*tchēng*) or *chu* (*tchoŭ*) types.[1]

The *pīpā* was also "much used by the people of Khaṭā", says Ibn Ghaibī. According to him it had a shallow sound-chest (*kāsa*) about 9 cm. (= 4 *angusht*) in depth. The "belly" or face was of wood. It had four strings which were tuned thus: Between the lowest string and the one above it was an interval of 498 cents (= 3 : 4): between the second lowest string and the one above it was an interval of 204 cents (= 8 : 9): and between the third lowest string and the one above it was an interval of 498 cents (= 3 : 4). It was, of course, the *p'i-p'a* which, even to-day, has the same *accordatura*.[2]

The *shidirghū*, says our author, was "mostly used by the people of Khaṭā". It was a long[-necked] instrument, half of its "belly" being covered with skin. It had four strings, the three lowest being tuned similarly to the Arabian and Persian lute (*'ūd*), i.e. a fourth (498 cents = 3 : 4) between them. The people of Khaṭā, we are told, could play the Persian modes of *'ushshāq*, *nawā*, and *būsalīk* upon it, each system (*jam'*) of which was called a *kūkī*. The *shidirghū* would appear to be an instrument not unlike the *huo-pu-ssŭ*.[3]

[1] Moule, in the communication already quoted, says that my mention of the *chu* "must be a slip". "The *chu*," he says, "is a wooden instrument of percussion, *not a stringed instrument* at all like the *chêng*." He suggests that the word intended is *shê*, an instrument "very much like the *chêng*".

It is quite true that the *chu* 柷 is "a wooden instrument of percussion", but there is also another *chu* 筑 which is "a stringed instrument"—a psaltery with a neck. It is to this latter instrument that I refer. As for the *shê*, Giles says that it is "a kind of guitar or lute, resembling the *ch'in*". This is not quite correct. The *shê*, like the *ch'in*, *chêng*, and *chu*, is a psaltery.

[2] Courant, 176–7. Van Aalst, 64–6. Moule, 113–16.

[3] Curt Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v., has an instrument of Eastern Turkestān called the *shidūrghūr*. Marco Polo refers to the Tatars playing "a certain two-stringed instrument" (book ii, chap. iv). This was evidently a pandore of the type of the *dūtār* of Western Turkestān. It may have been the *rūd* of Eastern Turkestān. The two-stringed pandore of China is the *êrh-hsien*, a name also given to a two-stringed viol.

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The *chubchīq* is called by Ibn Ghaibī the "*mūsīqār* (pan-pipes) of Khaṭā". It was made of a number of pipes of reed (*nai*) bound together, and was blown through a tube, the wind being stored in a wind-chest (*jauf*). By means of [finger] holes, melodies were played. I believe that this was the Chinese mouth-blown organ known as the *ch'ao-shêng* (*tchhâo chēng*).[1]

NOTE.—Fig. 2 on the plate is said to be a portrait of Jahāngīr (d. 1627). The artist is Āgā Riḍā. It has been reproduced by Marteau-Vever, *Miniatures persanes* . . . pl. 128, Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia* . . . fig. 29, and *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, No. 110.

[1] Moule, in his communication, writes as follows: "*Ch'ao* alone is more correct and usual, but *shêng* alone is what is needed here." As Courant points out, the word *shêng* is a generic one for all the species of the mouth-blown organ, the several species being generally distinguished by the number of pipes such as the *ch'ao* and *ho* of 19 and 13 pipes respectively. I have used the name *ch'ao-shêng* because it equates phonetically with the name *chubchīq* which Ibn Ghaibī gives it. Further, the name *ch'ao-shêng* was used during the Mughal period. See Courant, 161.

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On the Assyrian words for "whetstone" and "corundum"

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

^{tak}*Sû* = "WHETSTONE" [1]

CT. xiv, 17, 1–2, and 15, 1–2, and Matouš, *Lex. Taf.*, No. 88, 2, 46–7, give the equivalences ^{tak}*KALAG.GA*, $^{tak(alu)}$*KA.ŠAL.LA*, and *aban ki-su-si* as all equal to ^{tak}*sû*.

^{tak}*KALAG.GA* = "the strong (i.e. hard) stone." The next suggestion for its identification comes from *KAR.* 14, ii, 38–9, ^{tak}*su-u a-na* $^{i\check{s}u}$*kakkê*^{pl}*-ia ki-i ta-i* (?) . . . "when thou . . . the *sû*-stone to my weapons," that is to say, a hard stone is brought into association with weapons, which suggests at once a whetstone.[2] This is borne out by the synonym *aban kisusi* "stone of rubbing" (כסס, late Heb. *pilp.* and Aram. *palp.* "rub"). Asia Minor is still noted for its whetstones: "the most celebrated [oilstone] is the Turkey oilstone . . . obtained in the interior of Asia Minor" (Thorpe, *Dict. of App. Chem.*, iv, 1). Sir John Hill (in Theophrastus, *Hist. of Stones*, lxxvii) in his note on the ancient whetstones says that the *coticulae* of the Latins and ἀκοναι of the Greeks were of extreme hardness, but "After-ages found out the *Armenian*".

^{tak}*sû* "whetstone" is, of course, distinct from ^{tak}*šû* "pumice", used for polishing the parchment of drums (see my article in *Babyloniaca*, 1934, on "Assyrian Prescriptions for Diseases of the Urine"). There is an obvious difficulty in deciding which of the Semitic cognates should be relatively associated with these, there being the late Heb. שוּעַ

[1] For abbreviations see *JRAS.* 1929, 801, and 1933, 885.

[2] Cf. ibid., 32–3, *kar-ra-du a-na* ^{tak}*si-e* (Sum. ^{tak}*SU.U*) ^{tak}*ka-šur-ri-e iz-ziz-ma i-* . . . "the hero unto the *sû*-stone, basalt, presented himself and . . ." Can the ^{tak}*kašurrî* be a gloss to ^{tak}*sî?*

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"polish" (Aram. the same), Syr. ܡܠܐ "polish", ܡܚܘܢܐ "lapis lævis", and Arab. سَحَى "scraped off" (سِحَآء "parchment"), the latter doubtless to be referred to *tak šû* "pumice".

tak(alu) KA.ŠAL.LA is difficult: the Sumerian alone suggests *os uteri*, but with the addition of *alu*, the name of a city, whence perhaps this stone came.

tak Algamišu "AMETHYST", "CORUNDUM", *tak KUG.BAL.E* "CORUNDUM"

In *OTC.* 36, I compared *tak algamišu* to جمست (+ ال) "amethyst". Additional matter now allows us to enlarge on this.

First, *CT.* xiv, 15, 7, and 17, 7, and Matouš, *Lex. Taf.*, 88, 2, 52, 53, give the equivalences *tak KUG.BAL.E* = *tak UD* + *ŠAL* + *KAB* = *tak AŠ.MUR* = *tak algamiš*.

tak KUG.BAL.E means "bright + spindle (drill)", indicating the lapidary's tool. Amethyst, as a form of corundum, suggests at once emery (also corundum), employed for cutting gems, and this is paralleled by *tak ṣipru*, for which I suggested "sapphire" (*Chem.* 103), lit. "the scratching stone" (Heb. צִפֹּרֶן "finger nail"), another form of corundum, described as *tak kunu*[*ku*] (*CT.* xiv, 15, 23), the stone for cutting seals. Cf. *KAR.* 213, 2, 11 (dup. *AM.* 46, 1, 24), *kaḳkad (iṣu) pilakki GIŠ.MIŠ kaḳkad (iṣu) pilakki UD* + *ŠAL* + *KAB* (= *algamiš*) *ŠE GIŠ.MIŠ ŠE (tak) UD* + *ŠAL* + *KAB (tak) AŠ.GI.GI (tak) KA.MI (tak) PA.ša - VII.TAR pl - ša* (v. *šu*) *(tak) šu-u GIRA* (*u*) *ŠAL* (*tak ṢAB*) *X abnê pl Enuma NA ênâti pl-šu iṣṣanundu pl (du)* [1] "A head of a spindle of *Celtis Australis*, a head of a drill of corundum, a grain of *Celtis*

[1] *AM.* shows that these are to be threaded on a cord and hung on the neck with an appropriate incantation.

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Australis, a grain of corundum, arsenic, black iron oxide, *PA*-stone of seven colours, male and female pumice, (lime), ten (!) minerals for *When a man's eyes roll* (?)."

There is, I think, no difficulty in accepting a *wood* (and not a *stone*) as the head or whorl of the first of the two spindles. The second is obviously that of the lapidary: the first is that, doubtless, for spinning wool. The bazaars in Mosul sell these latter spindles with wooden heads, and although I do not know what kind of wood it is, it is worth noting that the *Flore Française* (Gillet et Marne, 1898, 438) says that *Celtis Australis*, L., is used by basket makers, and its branches are made into forks. In this ritual the magician introduces by sympathetic magic objects which have a definite rotatory motion to stop the eyes rolling, and the grain of the tree, I presume, acts as representative of the spindle for wool. The yellow arsenic and black iron may perhaps represent the colours of the eye, and the pumice the idea of smoothing (?).

Scheil's text, *RA*. 1918, 115, 21, also shows the *ḳaḳḳad alga*[*miš*], head of corundum, and a lapidary's list in *KAH*. 185, iv, mentions (12) "two ^{tak}*algamiš* (13) one *SAG.BAL* (spindle-head) ditto". Emery powder may possibly be quoted in *I* ^{tak}*KIL.ŠE al-ga-miš* as far back as the epoch of Ur (De Genouillac, *Textes Econ.*, No. 6055, r. iii, 10).

Boson was correct in his reading ^{tak}*AŠ.MUR*, σμυρις, "emery," Eg. *jsmr* "smeriglio", a discovery on which he is to be congratulated (*Riv.* vi, 976; vii, 411); but until Matouš' text No. 88 was published I had assumed that it was merely a form ^{tak}*AŠ.ḪAR*, confused with ^{tak}*AS.ḪAR* "arsenic", both being used for eyes,[1] emery, of course, as a very gritty substance being out of the question.[2] Matouš' text 88, 2, 49–52, however, gives ^{tak}*AŠ.MUR* as equivalent to ^{tak}*BALAG.GA* ("pumice"), ^{tak}*KU.IM* ("powder of clay",

[1] *PRSM*. 1924, 24.

[2] That the word for arsenic is to be read ^{tak}*AS.ḪAR* is obvious from the form in *KAR*. 71, 9 (Ebeling, *MDAG*. v, 3, 31) *anaku AS.ḪAR našaku* ^{tak}*AS.ḪAR pa-* . . . *lisaḫra*, etc. Similar puns will be found in *Maḳlu*, v, 30 ff.

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uncertain, but it = ^{tak}*BALAG.DU*, *l.* 48), and ^{tak}*KU.A.BAR* "powder of antimony (stibium)" as well as ^{tak}*KUG.BAL.E* "corundum". ^{tak}*AŠ.MUR*, thus representing at least three well-known powdered stones, allows us to recognize that even the Assyrians, usually so careful, were compelled to admit in their grammatical lists, at all events, a serious variability in the meaning of a word used in the medical texts which, one would have said, demand a careful accuracy.

But, in any case, we can now say that ^{tak}*AŠ.MUR* (= stibium) and ^{tak}*AS.ḪAR* (= arsenic) (both drugs for eyes) are distinct, and ^{tak}*algamišu* is amethyst or corundum, and is the same as the Arab. جمست (and not אלגביש "hail", as has been suggested). It is conceivable that ΑΔΑΜΑΣ (misread ?) might have its origin in this word, as the hardest stone.

211.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SABHĀ, GRĀMAṆĪ, STHAPATI, ETC., IN THE SŪTRA LITERATURE

Sabhā

In the Śrauta Sūtras the term *Sabhā* does not occur, but *Sabhāsad* is mentioned, though only once.[1] In the Gṛhya Sūtras *Sabhā* is frequently met with. In one case [2] it is distinctly used in the sense of a room in the house where, according to Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, "the householder sits at ease with his own men and visitors." In another case also the term is used in the sense of a hall, but distinctly a village-hall where some matters of public importance appear to have been discussed and decided.[3] If along with this we take another reference,[4] which would grant autonomy to villages in private matters, then we may conclude that during this period the *Grāma Sabhā* was flourishing as a local administrative authority.

Coming to the Dharma Sūtras, we may note that it is only in the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra—one of the Southern Sūtras—that the term *Sabhā* occurs.[5] It does not occur at all in the other Dharma Sūtras. And in the Āpastamba *Sabhā* is clearly used in the sense of a common hall for gambling For judicial purposes in both civil and criminal causes the responsibility would appear to be that of the king,[6] and the general administration in the villages and towns would appear to have been carried on through officers appointed by the king.[7] While adjudicating causes, the King or his officers would appear to have been assisted by a body of assessors [8] (*Sabhya*), who were to be selected out of the same class of

[1] Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 9, 17.
[2] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, ii, 7, 9 to 12.
[3] Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, 94, 1.
[4] Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, i, 8, 13.
[5] Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ii, 9, 25–5–12–13 (in *SBE*. 10.9, 25–5. 12–13).
[6] Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xvi, 2.
[7] Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ii, 10, 26–4.
[8] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xiii, 11.

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people as the parties to the cause.[1] If we base our conclusions entirely on the Dharma Sūtras (near about 300 B.C.), then the *Sabhā* as a local administrative unit would appear to have ceased to function.

Grāmaṇī

The term *Grāmaṇī* is met with in the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras only. In the Brāhmaṇas we were told that to become a *Grāmaṇī* was the highest ambition of life of a Vaiṣya. Here, however, we are told that a Rājanya, that is a Kṣatriya, is *gataśrī* if he has become a *Grāmaṇī*.[2] While in another passage a *Grāmaṇī* of the Sūta (charioteer) caste is mentioned.[3] From these references it may be inferred that, as the power of the king increased, the *Grāmaṇī*, instead of being appointed from among the people, came to be one of the members of the ruling caste. Besides the above deduction from the Gṛhya Sūtras it would appear that the *Grāmaṇī* had also gained in power in the internal economy of the village. A passage prescribing the rite for obtaining villages provides that "the *Grāmaṇī* be fed".[4] This indicates that the *Grāmaṇī* had gained in authority: otherwise why try to propitiate him.

In the Dharma Sūtras, unfortunately, the term *Grāmaṇī* does not occur, though there is clear evidence to show that both towns and villages had officers to carry on the administration.

Sthapati

The term *Sthapati* is met with both in Śrauta Sūtras and the Dharma Sūtras. From the context of the references [5] it would appear that he was a higher officer than the *Grāmaṇī*. What was the name of the local division at the head of which the *Sthapati* was placed is difficult to say. Of the local

[1] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 22.

[2] Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, ii, 6, 5.

[3] Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xvi, 1, 16.

[4] Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, ix, 7 to 10.

[5] Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, viii, 7, 11; Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, i, 1, 12; xxii, 5, 28; 11, 11; Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, xiv, 22, 3; Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ix, 14, 2.

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divisions we find mentioned *Grāma*, *Nagara*, *Janapada*,[1] and *Deśa*.[2] That *Janapada* was a division higher than the village is clear; but what it precisely was is impossible to determine. Its etymological sense would suggest that it was the name given to a whole area over which a homogenous section of people (*Jana*) was settled. In the Dharma Sūtras the term *Deśa* is used precisely in the same sense as the term *Janapada* in the Gṛhya Sūtras. In the Dharma Sūtras the designations of the village and the town officers are not mentioned. However, the village and town officers were required to "protect a town from thieves in every direction to the distance of one *Yojana*", and, each village "to the distance of one *Krośa* from each village". If they failed to recover the stolen property, then "they must be made to repay what is stolen within these boundaries".[3] Presumably they were also to collect taxes for the king.

Śreṇī

There are clear indications in the Dharma Sūtras that communal, trade, agricultural, and industrial groups had a fair measure of self-government.[4] It was the duty of the king to see that each of these self-governing groups carried on its work according to its own rules and regulations. The king and his officers would appear to interfere only when a self-governing group deviated from its Dharma.[5] One of these group organizations was called a *Śreṇī*.[6] It is unfortunate, however, that these Sūtras do not give any information on such interesting points as the methods of choosing the representatives, the designations of the representatives, the functions exercised by them, and various other things that we should have liked to know. Only vaguely can we say that they had a great deal of autonomy.

119. B. G. Bhatnagar.

[1] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 1, 7, 1; Kauśika Gṛhya Sūtra, 94, 1.
[2] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 20; Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, 1, 17; xix, 7.
[3] Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, ii, 10, 26–6–7–8.
[4] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 21, 22; Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xvi, 15.
[5] Gautama Dharma Sūtra, xi, 10; Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xix, 7–8.
[6] Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra, xvi, 15.

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ON A NEW TYPE OF BRĀHMĪ *JA* INSCRIBED ON SOME ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

The object of this short note is to consider whether some Brāhmī *ja*'s inscribed on certain ancient Indian coins should be taken as constituting a new type of Brāhmī *ja* not hitherto noticed by any scholar.[1] The coins in question are the Dojaka-Negamā coins found only at Taxila by Cunningham [2] and the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles.[3] The following legends are found on the above-mentioned types of coins: (1) The Dojaka-Negamā type: obv. Dojaka, rev. Negamā [4]; (2) the Brāhmī-reversed coin-type of Pantaleon: obv. ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] above, ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ below, rev. r. rajane, l. Patalevaṣa; and (3) the Brāhmī-reversed coin-type of Agathokles: obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ[ΟΥΣ] below, rev. r. rajane, l. Agathuklaye (sha).[5] Rapson opines that the first type of coin should be dated at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century B.C.,[6] and Smith has allotted *c.* 190 B.C. to Pantaleon and *c.* 185 B.C. to Agathokles.[7]

In course of considering the letter-shape of the legends on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, Gardner opines that "some of the forms of letters seem abnormal".[8] While discussing the palæography of the letters inscribed on the Dojaka-Negamā coins, Bühler observes, "From their inscriptions, which are partly in Brāhma characters of the Kālsī type and partly both in Brāhma and Kharoshṭhī letters, Sir Alexander Cunningham has already drawn the obvious inference, that both alphabets were used

[1] *Indische Palæographie*, p. 36; *Siebzehn Tafeln zur Indischen Palæographie*, Tafel II, ii, xvi, 15.

[2] *Coins Ancient India*, pl. iii, No. 10.

[3] *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, p. 16.

[4] *Coins Ancient India*, pl. iii, No. 10; *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 49.

[5] *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, pl. ii, No. 1, No. 2.

[6] *Indian Coins*, Sec. 4 and 6.

[7] *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. i, p. 16.

[8] *Cat. Ind. Coins Br. Mus.*, Gk. and Scythic kings of Bactria and India, p. 9, footnote.

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in Northern India during the third century B.C."[1] In the footnote regarding the peculiarity of the Kālsī type, he adds: "The Kālsī type is visible in the looped *ja*."[2] What the late Dr. Bühler contends is that the *ja* inscribed on this type of coins resembles the Kālsī type, and so should be taken as belonging to it.

Regarding the morphology of *ja* of this period, Bühler observes: "Die sämtlich aus dem j der Drāviḍī (C. XIII–XVI) abgeleiteten Formen zerfallen in a) nördliche mit der Schleife in C. III (K.M.), mit dem Punkte in C. IV–V (A., DS., DM., R., Bai. I, Ni., Dh., J., Si.) oder mit dem kurzen Mittelstriche in C. II (K., J. S. Ed., Sah., Rū.), b) südliche in C. VIII, X, XI, XVI (G., Dh., J., Gha.) und in C. IX (G.)."[3] The present writer has very carefully compared the *ja* inscribed on the Dojaka-Negamā type of coins with the Kālsī looped *ja* and has come to the conclusion that there is such a difference in shape between these two *ja*'s that we should certainly take these two *ja*'s as belonging to two distinct types. There is no doubt that these two *ja*'s have loops; but the shape of the left curve and of the right loop in these two specimens are altogether different.

The present author had also the opportunity of examining all the specimens of the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for which he thanks the Indian Museum authorities, and finds a remarkable similarity in shape which exists in the *ja*'s found on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. Moreover, there is a striking resemblance in shape between the *ja* inscribed on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles, on one hand, and the *ja* on the Dojaka-Negamā type of coins. Again the Dojaka-Negamā coins "are found only at Taxila"[4] and the coins

[1] *Indian Studies*, No. iii, p. 48.
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Indische Palæographie*, p. 36.
[4] *Coins, Ancient India*, p. 63.

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of Pantaleon and Agathokles "are found both in the Kabul Valley and W. Punjab—those of Agathokles also as far south as Kandahar (C. N. Chr. 1869, p. 41)"[1]; and it is thus quite natural to find the striking similarity in shape between the *ja* inscribed on the Dojaka-Negamā coins and the *ja* on the Brāhmī-reversed coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. In conclusion, the writer opines that the type of *ja* whose existence has been proved by its presence on these three classes of coins should be taken as a new type, quite distinct from the Kālsī type, of the northern form of the so-called Maurya variety. The origin of this type should be placed at least as early as the fourth century B.C., because Rapson's view seems to be more cogent than that of Cunningham, and its prevalence at least as late as the second century B.C., because Smith's view should be accepted.

C. C. DAS GUPTA.

150.

THREE LETTERS FROM BUDDHIST KINGS TO THE CHINESE COURT IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

I am pleased to be authorized to communicate the following valuable notes by Professor Pelliot, relating to Professor Chungshee H. Liu's communication on the above subject, *supra*, 1933, pp. 897–903.

F. W. THOMAS.

1. Le *Song chou* a à tort (ch. 97) deux notices distinctes, une sur 訶羅陁 *Ho-lo-t'o*, l'autre sur 呵羅單 *K'o-lo-tan*; nous y gagnons de savoir que le nom de 毗沙跋摩 *P'i-cha-pa-mo* était traduit en chinois 堅鎧 *Kien-k'ai* "Ferme-armure"; je ne veux pas discuter les restitutions possibles. L'envoyé 毗紉 P'i-jen de 436 avait déjà été l'envoyé de 430; malgré nos textes, j'incline à lire 毗紐 *P'i-nieou, Viṣṇu.*

[1] *Indian Coins*, Sec. 21.

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2. P. 897 : Au lieu de *Yueh-po*, lire *Ye-po* ; il s'agit de la région du Gandhāra.

3. P. 900 : 闍邪仙 *Chö-ye-sien* est surement *Jayasena* ; mais je ne sais que faire de la suite du nom.

4. P. 901 : Au lieu de "Banvan" et "Bantang" lire *P'o-houang* et *P'o-ta*. Au lieu de "Panwoami" les textes ont 槃和沙彌 *P'an-houo-cha-mi*, qui est vraisemblablement *Bhavasvāmin*.

5. P. 902 : La traduction n'est pas très littérale. Ainsi le roi de Kia-p'i-li dit que le lieu où il habite s'appelle 迦毗河 *Kia-p'i-ho*, "Fleuve de Kia-p'i," et est protégé par "le dieu 首羅 *Cheou-lo*". Dans d'autres textes, ce nom de *Cheou-lo* est celui d'un des "huit *yakṣa*", et le Dictionnaire d'Oda Tokunō rétablit *Cuḍa*, bien qu'il y ait des difficultés phonétiques à l'identification.

110.

Dear Col. Hoysted,

In the Society's *Centenary Volume* (1923) I find among the Contributions cited (p. 175) under my name the entry "A Nepalese Vajra, 1916, p. 733" ; and in the volume for 1916 the title of the article (pp. 733–5, with plate) is followed by the words "By L. de la Vallée Poussin and F. W. Thomas". That particular collaboration with my old friend and colleague, Professor Poussin, has no place in my recollections, and I suspect a misattribution by the Society's secretariat, in which case there must be long arrears of credit due to the real collaborator.

Yours sincerely,
F. W. Thomas.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CHANSONS POPULAIRES TURQUES DU NORD-EST DE L'ANATOLIE. Recueillies par MARTTI RÄSÄNEN. Studia Orientalia. Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica, iv, 2. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 52. Helsingfors : Librarie Académique, 1931.

The present little work is the continuation of Turkish popular songs collected by the author on the coast of the Black Sea between Trebizond and the Caucasian frontier, and published in 1926 in the *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, pp. 17–60. It contains thirty-seven popular songs, which include primitive love-songs and some soldiers' songs. They were collected at Trebizond, Atiné, Pindoz, Rizé, and Kirason, in North-Eastern Anatolia. As for their metres, they include two *destāns*, several *mānīs*, and some very primitive verses (*keram-türkülär*) in irregular metres. The songs are published in phonetic transcription and in French translation.

In his preface the author gives his observations on some phonetic phenomena of the Turkish dialects of North-Eastern Anatolia. The most essential differences between these dialects and the literary *Osmānli* language are a less rigorous assimilation of vowels and the phonetic transformation of some consonants.

738. JOSEPH de SOMOGYI.

NAIRĀTMYAPARIPṚCCHĀ. Ed. by SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA, with a foreword by VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA. Visva-Bharati Studies No. 4. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. ii + 22. Calcutta : Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1931. Rs. 2.

Contient une introduction (critique justifiée de la traduction française de ce petit traité par Léon Feer, Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. 5, et non pas 50, Fragments extraits du Kandjour), le texte de la traduction tibétaine, le texte sanscrit refait sur cette traduction, le texte sanscrit authentique.

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En effet, au moment où Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya avait achevé son travail, il eut connaissance de l'article de Sylvain Lévi, "Encore Aśvaghoṣa," qui contient le texte de la Nairātmyaparipṛcchā édité d'après un MS. népalais, et l'auteur reproduit ce texte à la suite du texte restitué.

A première impression, pourquoi le savant tibétanisant-sanscritiste de la Viśvabharatī n'a-t-il pas renoncé à publier le texte sanscrit né de son labeur ? Pour donner, dit le préfacier, *an illustration of the standards which can be reached in Tibetan studies.* En effet j'admire comment, dans la majeure partie du texte, vers et prose, la restitution s'approche de l'original.[1]

948. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

L'INDE ANTIQUE ET LA CIVILISATION INDIENNE (*L'evolution de l'humanité, synthèse collective,* XXVI). By P. MASSON-OURSEL, H. DE WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA, and P. STERN. 8 × 5½. pp. xxii + 497, pls. 16, figs. 24, maps 5. Paris : La Renaissance du Livre, 1933. 40 fr.

This volume, one of an extensive series entitled *L'Évolution de l'Humanité,* strikes me as a very favourable specimen of the French art of *vulgarisation.* It covers the period up to the death of Harsha, with occasional glances at later developments ; and an idea of its scope can be gathered from the allocation of space—47 pages to general history, 67 to political, social, and economic life, 127 to religion, 140 to literature, and 65 to art. Throughout, the treatment is precise, the language very clear, and the general result sane and reasonable. Specialists will doubtless criticize various statements or judgments on particular topics, and,

[1] Page 17, l. 2, *nirātmakam* vaut mieux que *nairātmakam* (Lévi et Bhattacharya) ; l. 5 *asmākam* (Bhattacharya) vaut mieux que *āsmākam* (Lévi) ; p. 18, les derniers mots du § 14 doivent passer en tête du § 15 ; l. 12, *dharmāṇām* (Lévi) vaut mieux que *dharmānām* (Bhattacharya). Le premier pāda de la stance 8 est mauvais ; le tibétain indique *svargasthānāt.*

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though no specialist, I have noticed a few phrases which strike me as likely to mislead ; but to explain the points at issue would take more space than they are worth, and I will content myself with one small pin-prick—that the mention of maize on p. 125 may lead the general reader to infer that that staple was grown in Ancient India. Of the ancillary matter, the bibliography (376 titles), if not complete, is at any rate ample for students who want to go further, and there is a useful index. The maps are borrowed from English works, and perhaps French readers are entitled to complain of elevations being given in feet instead of metres, while the unexplained presence of modern canals on Map I may tempt the unlearned into the regions of anachronism. The illustrations have been carefully chosen to show the development of art, and, while the scale is necessarily much reduced, most of them serve their purpose ; but even with a powerful lens I can make nothing whatever of Plates XI or XII, the two examples of Ajanta paintings on which the text so largely relies. All deductions made, however, the book is a good one, certainly better than anything of the kind I know in English.

978. W. H. MORELAND.

CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. Vol. I. Edited by LABHU RAM. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiii + 138 double pages. Lahore : For the University of the Panjab, 1932.

The University began to form this "Woolner Collection" of Sanskrit manuscripts in 1913. During Principal A. C. Woolner's tenure of the office of Honorary Librarian the collection has grown to a total of 6,782 manuscripts, of which some 2,875 are listed in the present volume. The Library Committee has had the assistance of that veteran collector of MSS., R. Anantakrishna Shastry ; and the collection includes some important works in the classes of Veda, ritual literature, and Tantra and Śaiva āgama, with which the

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present volume is concerned. Among those which are singled out for mention by Pandit Bhagavad Datta in his introduction are a fragmentary *Kapiṣṭhala-saṃhitā* and rotographs of a *Jaiminīya-saṃhitā* and two *Ṛcaka* MSS. (the originals of which remain in private ownership); Śaunaka's *Pada-vidhāna;* a palm-leaf *Bhāradvāja-śrauta-sūtra* and an almost complete copy of Devayājñika's *bhāṣya* and *paddhati* to the *Kātyāyana śrauta*; two *Kāṭhaka gṛhya* works and a commentary on the *Baudhāyana-gṛhya*; and several Pāñcarātra *saṃhitās*. The present volume is, as the Librarian points out in the preface, simply a hand-list. A descriptive catalogue was planned and begun, but discontinued.

918. H. N. RANDLE.

MAHĀKARMAVIBHAṄGA (La Grande Classification des Actes) ET KARMAVIBHAṄGOPADEŚA (Discussion sur le Mahākarmavibhaṅga). Textes Sanscrits rapportés du Népal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en Sanscrit, en Pali, en Tibétain, en Chinois, et en Koutchéen. Illustré de quatre planches: Le Karmavibhaṅga sur les bas-reliefs de Boro-Boudour, à Java. Par SYLVAIN LÉVI. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 272, pls. 4. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1932.

The lengthy intitulation to this notable by-product of the eminent author's labours renders any further expository matter superfluous, and leaves me free to comment on the dozen pages of his Introduction. It appears that, among a number of miscellaneous MSS. submitted to Professor Sylvain Lévi during his second visit to Nepal in 1922, through the courteous aid of General Chandra Sham Shere, the Maharajah's son, he detected one bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 1410–11. This proved to be the Catalogue, or Analysis, of modes of karma and their results, a Buddhist Sūtra, of which we have the archetype in one of two similarly entitled in the Pali Sutta-Piṭaka: (No. 135 of the Majjhima-Nikāya)

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the Cūḷa-Vibhanga-Sutta. The book thus becomes a valuable lesson in the history of a religion's scriptures.

We have on the one hand the relatively archaic Pali Sutta. The brahman Subha-Todeyya-putta asks Gotama Śākyamuni why man's fate on earth is so unequal. Their deeds, is the brief grave reply, are their heritage, the matrix of their circumstances here. Exposition is entreated, and *in very general terms*, simple and sober, it is told how man reaps what he has in his past lives sown. Recollecting Gotama's frequent psychic converse with devas, I find nothing here that such an elect man may not have conceivably learnt from worthy advisers in the Unseen. That we have his very words recast into Pali I should be far from admitting. But in worth and dignity the short discourse is one well befitting such a man, and may possibly be a true, if a late garnered, memory. Other such, bearing the marks of *vieille roche*, we find also at the end of the Saṁyutta-Nikāya ; they may possibly have been brought to headquarters during the Mauryan hegemony, when the whole question of revision and standardization, in an oral thesaurus grown unwieldy, appears to have become very pressing.

In the Sanskrit Sūtra, on the other hand, we have a silly story, relegated in the Pali scriptures to the Commentary—the jam round the powder—brought into the text to explain the occasion of its utterance, Subha-Todeyya-putta being now Śuka-Taudeyya-putra. Gotama visits the Brahman house, where in the son's absence the house-dog barks at him. Śuka returns and pursues his visitor, only to learn, after being thrice warned, that the dog is his own father reborn. Śuka, naturally protesting, is sent back to his dog primed with a threefold instruction by which he can make the creature corroborate the truth of the Teacher's saying. Śuka puts this to the test, is convinced, and returns to acknowledge. He then proceeds—as in the old Pali wording, *ko hetuḥ, kaḥ pratyayaḥ*—to inquire into the ups and downs of rebirth in general (*not, be it noted, of the case before him*). The Sage

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responds, also in old Sutta idiom, and, "the cackle being cut (or, rather, finished), gets down to the horses"—in other words to the wordy pedantic "Classification", so evidently the work of medieval pundits belabouring the tradition of a great but dead, because not growing, religious mandate.

Very significant for me is the silence in the Pali Sutta on rebirth as animal as compared with the Jātaka chatter about the dog of the Pali Commentary, which has been raised to Sūtra dignity in the Sanskrit recension. It is a silence, almost total, that runs throughout the Piṭakas, once we omit the Jātaka Commentary. Mahā-Pajāpatī's reminiscent verses give us the true, the more original, outlook :—

> Oh! but 'tis long I've wandered down all time
> Living as mother, father, brother, son,
> And as grandparent in the ages past—
> Not knowing how and what things really are
> And never finding what I needed sore . . .[1]

Much editing of their own the Pali Suttas have undergone, yet are we in them, at least in this respect, nearer to that divinization of the man which led religious thought in India at the birth of the Buddhist movement, and with which such a worsening of the man as lies in animal rebirth seems so incongruous. Sharply shall I here be taken up with quotations from the early Upaniṣads. Yes, I know those three passages—are there not only three ?—Bṛhad, Chāndogya, Kauṣītaki, and how the second contradicts the first. Very incongruous are they, too, with the lofty central teaching, as little inherent in it as are the passing allusions of Empedokles and Plato with their main positions. And I believe that, when at last the Upaniṣads come to be sifted by really historical criticism, these three passages will be voted to be glosses, cankers of later decadent editing.

M. Lévi might conceivably judge this to be one of the *hypothèses hâtives et constructions ambitieuses*, which "so many questions left in suspense should give us humility to

[1] *Therīgāthā.*

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suppress" (p. 12). However that be, his *travail de science austère* leaves me profoundly grateful for a type of scholarly scrutiny, out of which the coming generation of Indologists will build more safely than I can a true history of Buddhist literature.

852. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

BUDDHIST LOGIC (Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXVI). By TH. STCHERBATSKY, Ph.D. In two volumes. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$. Vol. I, pp. xii + 560; Vol. II, pp. vi + 468. Leningrad: Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., 1932.

This work sets itself a very ambitious task, but one which the author's known erudition will be held to justify. It claims to be heeded by "the historian of the culture of Asia, the Sanskrit philologist and the general philosopher". Its aim is unquestionably a worthy one: it is to set beside the Western traditional logic another traditional logic, guarding the while the child of the former from reading his own overmuch into the latter, and also conversely, guarding the child of the latter from doing likewise. Herein it is a book which the wider vista of the twentieth century logician should secure for his library.

But he must be prepared for the greater amplitude of a study lacking our advanced specialization. "Buddhist logic" is a system which *includes* both epistemology and a theory of sense-perception. The little *Nyāyabindu*, the oldest known manual on the subject, a translation of which: aphorisms, commentary and *ṭīkā*, these two by Dharmakirti and Dharmottara respectively, forms part of the first volume (published in 1930), starts with sense-perception and inference, with not a few epistemological considerations. All the more will he be grateful to the author for this excellent "Baedeker" in a field so wide. But so perhaps will the reader be also, if I do not here make a synopsis of contents

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so ample. The appendixes alone amount to 176 pages, and include translations of four Buddhist-Sanskrit texts.

As to the *Nyāyabindu* I still hold [1] that it is originally a Sānkhya, not a Buddhist text, the Sānkhya contention that the senses do not function for their own pleasure and profit but for an experiencer, a valuer, being affirmed *in the text.* The argument is valid for anyone from then till to-day, save for Buddhists of the decadent *anattā* teaching. And even the commentators glide respectfully past the affirmation, without quarrelling with it. Where Buddhism does quarrel with it is in the *Milindapañho.* Both this Pali and that Sanskrit text ignore the Piṭakan assertions, that "manas", not "man" is the "enjoyer" of sensations.[2] Probably both writers were ignorant of the canonical context. Or, if not, both would wave aside the true enjoyer, the "man", or self, the Sānkhyan, because "he" did not really "enjoy" anything, the *Milinda* author, because the orthodox Buddhist whom he is representing was coming to believe, that the man could only "be got at" (*upalabbhati*) as a mental (in this case) ideational functioning.

Now, that Buddhism which, with Indian thought generally, derived its crude psychology from the movement started by Kapila, should, centuries later, have proceeded to derive its logic also from Sānkhyan sources seems to me highly probable. It is the historic way for a new mandate of psychology, or "how man thinks", to go on to a new mandate in logic, "how man ought to think (consistently)." Sānkhya analysis started in early Buddhism a preoccupation with ways of mind, as distinguishable from the very "self", and orderly like the ways of body. Sānkhyan analysis aimed at throwing the self into higher, because *unworthable* relief. Buddhist monasticism, diverging from its original mandate, used the Sānkhyan analysis for the inverse process of throwing the self out of the picture altogether. Sānkhya culture probably

[1] Cf. my "Sānkhya Logic", *Journal Taisho University,* 1930.
[2] *Majjhima,* No. 43, and *Saṃyutta,* xlviii ("Uṇṇābha").

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proceeded to develop its own logic. Buddhism is just as likely, then, to have found Sānkhya logic useful as it had found Sānkhya psychology useful. There might be awkward corners, but Buddhist editors have ever shown great deftness in negotiating them.

One *caveat* remains to be said about the much excellent guidance here provided. In connecting Buddhist logic, i.e. a system of values of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., with "early Buddhist philosophy", Dr. Stcherbatsky goes back too far, when he brings in the Śākyamuni of 1,200 years earlier as having taught "a very minute analysis of the human Personality". By this he means the crude and misfitting doctrine, discarded by later Buddhist Hīnayanism,[1] of the five *skandhas*. Thrust as this unfortunate quincunx has been by Buddhist pundits into the earliest Sayings, it is out of place in the sixth century B.C. Again, by "Personality" the author means *pudgala*, a term *quite foreign* to the religious terms of the sixth century B.C. and which we see creeping into the Suttas (often in the compromise *purisa-puggala*), betraying as it comes the worsened concept of the Man which was creeping over Buddhism. And then we come to the repetition of the deeply-ingrained error: "This is the first main feature of early Buddhism, its Soul-denial." If by "early Buddhism" is meant the new ecclesiaticism of the centuries *succeeding* that of the Founder's lifetime, I have no quarrel with the tragic statement. So that the Founder's name and those of his first men be kept free from a teaching so irrational, and *so impossible in their day*, let it stand. But keep "the Buddha" out of this "Buddhism"! Or if his title (unknown to the recorders of the first and second Councils) be claimed as a *symbol* of the aftermen's teaching, let us then hear only of Gotama as the real Śākyamuni. If we use the torch of history, let us at least be historical!

877. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

[1] For *rūpa*, *viññāṇa*, and *cetasikas*, *e.g.* in the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* of the eleventh century.

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ENGLAND'S QUEST OF EASTERN TRADE. The Pioneer Histories. By Sir WILLIAM FOSTER. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 355, sketch maps 13. London: A. & C. Black, 1933. 15*s*.

The scope of this book is confined, in conformity with the title, to those voyages and travels which had a commercial object, chiefly expeditions in behalf of the great trading companies founded in the sixteenth century. Private travels, however remarkable in themselves, such as those of Coryat, the "Odcombian leg-stretcher", find no place. Again, only the pioneer and early expeditions are dealt with, and the story virtually closes at the period when the East India Company had settled its agencies in most parts of India, or about the middle of the seventeenth century. Within these limits Sir W. Foster, than whom no one is better qualified for the task, has given a series of accurate records of gallant endeavour, fortitude, and tenacity of purpose.

The chief object of the quest was, in the author's opinion, to find fresh markets for English manufacturers, especially woollen goods, though the prospect of procuring a return cargo of pepper, spices, and other products of the East must also be admitted to have been an attraction. We should not, however, forget the stimulus of that spirit of adventure that has ever prompted men of our race to new discovery, evidence of which is apparent to-day. The outburst of maritime and exploring activity in the fifteenth century, largely inspired by the great Prince Henry "the Navigator", which may be said to have culminated in da Gama's discovery of the Cape route to India, and the exaggerated reports in circulation of the wealth and attractions of the East, including the fortunes to be reaped from traffic therewith, had aroused the interest, if not the envy, of adventurous spirits in England as well as other countries. The wonder perhaps is that, though destined to achieve the widest sphere of influence in the East, England was so many decades behind in embarking upon such enterprise; and Sir William has suggested the causes of this delay:

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but once started, she pursued it vigorously throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

The story begins with the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor "for the discoverie of Cathay" by the north-east route, which, though it failed like so many other attempts to sail round the north of Asia, had important results. Chancellor alone reached the White Sea. From there he courageously pushed on to Moscow, where he obtained from Ivan IV a letter granting English merchants freedom of trade throughout his dominions. This led to the formation in 1555, under royal charter, of the "Russia" or "Muscovy" Company, whose activities long continued, though eclipsed later by the Levant Co. established in 1581 and the East India Co. chartered in 1600. The voyages of Frobisher, Drake, Fenton, Davis, Cavendish, Wood, Weymouth, Knight, and Hudson are described so far as they concern the quest for Eastern trade, while that of Lancaster, who succeeded in rounding the Cape (1591) and reaching Sumatra and the Straits of Malacca (1592), receives special mention as it led to the adoption by us also of the Cape route.

Among the most noteworthy of the land journeys included in this volume are those of Jenkinson, Newbery, and Midnall. Sir William suggests, with much probability we think, that the account of Newbery's travels printed by Purchas was woven by the latter into the form of a narrative from rough notes recorded by Newbery. Attention has very justly been directed to the cruel irony by which "his due meed of praise has been so long withheld from him, while Fitch, his subordinate, who had the luck to survive and return to his own country, has been hailed as 'England's pioneer to India'." In regard to Fitch some interesting fresh facts have been disclosed relating to his later life. We notice that Fitch has been described as having visited Kachua, Sripur, and Sonargaon in East Bengal; but Fitch writes Bacola, not Kachua, and the identification of Bacola, or Bāklā, with Kachua proposed by the late Mr. H. Beveridge is open to question. Midnall, more familiar perhaps

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as Mildenhall, performed in 1600–3 a journey, the remarkable nature of which has scarcely been appreciated hitherto, through Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, Sistan, and Afghanistan to Agra, and he seems to have returned to Europe by the same route. After some years he again travelled overland, as it seems, to India, only to die there.

Some of the most interesting chapters, containing much that will be new to the average reader, are those dealing with expeditions to the Malay Archipelago and our disputes with the Dutch, especially the struggles in the Banda Islands; and here we find justice done at last to the gallant Nathaniel Courthope.

A good index has been provided, and the bibliographical notes will be useful for those who wish for further detail. The sketch maps are helpful, but that on p. 81 is defective. The editors are to be congratulated on having secured the services of Sir W. Foster for the preparation of this volume of "Pioneer History".

891. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

GIDS IN HET VOLKENKUNDIG MUSEUM. V: JAVA EN DE KOPERKAMER. 2nd ed. Door C. LEKKERKERKER. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$; pp. 132, map on cover 1, plans 2, ills. 14. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, 1931. F. 0.75. VIII: NIEUW GUINEE. Door J. C. LAMSTER. $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$; pp. 69, plan 1, ills. 11. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, n.d. F. 0.50.

No. V of this series of nine sectional guide books to the Amsterdam Ethnographical Museum, whose titles and prices are announced inside the cover, begins with a short account of Java and its people, followed by descriptions of the relevant exhibits in the showcases, under such heads as music and drama, dances and songs, costumes and ornaments, objects connected with transport, agriculture, fishing and hunting,

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as well as several others. Twenty pages at the end are devoted to another department of the Museum which houses bronzes and other metal ware from various parts of Indonesia, some Javanese woodcarving, and also foreign, mainly Chinese, porcelain.

No. VIII follows much the same lines, giving a geographical and ethnographical description of Dutch New Guinea, with an account of the customs and beliefs of its inhabitants, and then deals with the exhibits, such as domestic utensils, ornaments, wood carvings, ceremonial objects, boats, weapons, statues, etc.

974. A 77. C. O. BLAGDEN.

A HISTORY OF ISRAEL. Vol. I, FROM THE EXODUS TO THE FALL OF JERUSALEM, 586 B.C., by THEODORE H. ROBINSON. 9 × 5½, pp. xvi + 496, maps 11, 15*s*. Vol. II, FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE BAR-KOKHBA REVOLT, by W. O. E. OESTERLEY. pp. xvi + 500, maps 11, 15*s*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932.

The history of Israel is here described in two volumes. The first, covering the period of the Bible, is the work of Professor Robinson. He takes his stand on the latest results of Biblical criticism and makes full use of recent archæological discoveries. Notwithstanding, his treatment of the subject is cautious, reverential, and scholarly throughout, and provides an excellent guide from the period of Israel's entry into Palestine to the fall of the Monarchy and the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadrezzar. The historical books of the Bible, especially for the post-Davidic era, constitute his chief authority, appropriately supplemented with information elsewhere derived, while from the accounts of the earlier period he deduces certain conclusions more or less hypothetical, since they are based on a peculiar treatment of Biblical and especially Pentateuchal records. In the arbitrary manner of the Higher

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Critics, the Pentateuch is dissected into many portions, some being assigned to an older, some to a later period, and the conclusions which are thus drawn rest on a particular interpretation of these *membra disjecta*; but Professor Theodore Robinson is not unwilling to accept the historicity of the patriarchs, and still more the natural existence of Moses. Of course, all the relevant passages seem to originate in oral tradition and tribal memories. With the wane of hypercritical tendencies, this section of Ancient History will have to be rewritten more in the spirit of ancient tradition and more in conformity with the origin and growth of a national consciousness experienced by the authors of these literary remains. But from the standpoint of its author, the book presents a scholarly account of the ancient history of Israel.

The second volume, from the pen of Professor Oesterley, deals with the post-Biblical, or rather post-Exilic period, for as some of the books which are found in the Bible are claimed by him to be post-Exilic, the period under review cannot be justly described as post-Biblical. This volume is much more bulky and less impersonal than the preceding one. The author has read into his period much more than some might wish and his conclusions are sometimes open to serious objection. His task, in fact, is not a very easy one. Although he ranges over only seven centuries (a much shorter period than that covered by the first volume), the fact that the data are here less abundant, certainly does not diminish the difficulties in reconstruction.

There are unavoidable lacunæ in the history, since in practice very little is known of the period between the Return and the Hellenistic Age, the conquest of Palestine by Alexander, and later, of the wars among the Diadochi. Josephus is no doubt a very ample mine of information for the later period. There is in the first place the exceedingly difficult problem of the relation between Ezra and Nehemiah, after which a pall of obscurity falls upon events in Judaea and Samaria. The Samaritan schism is treated somewhat

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vaguely, in a manner not usually adopted by writers on Jewish History. The author is convinced of the influence upon the Jews of Persian eschatology and traditions, although, as he himself states, no trace of such an influence can be found in any of the ancient writings. Probably for the Jews of the Dispersion the Hellenistic influence was more serious: it should be noted that despite the large percentage of Greeks in the population of many towns, no sign of their influence has been detected among Palestinian Jews themselves.

The Professor's outlook, as far as books of the Bible are concerned, coincides more or less with that of the Higher Critics, and he goes so far as to say that some portions of the Pentateuch may have been due to the activity of the Scribes. How such late documents can have had so profound an influence upon the religious life of the Jews (its depth the author fully appreciates), is a question not easily answered, if we indeed assume that some of the most important parts of the Pentateuch are the work of those who were almost their contemporaries. The Maccabean period is very fairly described, but here again the author accepts the antiquated view of the true character of the Sadducees and Pharisees, and ascribes to the latter an influence unknown to Jewish tradition. They were not religious sects—a point upon which one cannot lay sufficient stress, if the history of the period is to be properly understood. The opposition was between two sections, rivals for political power. The religious element was quite secondary, although of course it cannot be entirely eliminated, in view of the religious tendency of the people.

Yet, in spite of the author's conclusions and the interpretation of events from a special point of view, the book is the work of a scholar who has not only given much thought to his subject, but has earned the deep gratitude of students, no less than has Professor Theodore Robinson, by reason of the lucidity with which they have presented their material. Such a History was a desideratum, and the gap has been satisfactorily filled. Chronological tables and excellent indices

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greatly increase its practical value, and the low figure of thirty shillings for the two volumes will certainly bring this History of Israel within the student's easy reach.

700. 701. M. GASTER.

ḤAḌRAMAUT: SOME OF ITS MYSTERIES UNVEILED. By D. VAN DER MEULEN and DR. H. VON WEISSMANN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxvi + 248, ills. 97, maps 2. Printed for the Trustees of the De Goeje Fund. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1932.

This is a delightful and most instructive book of travel. Owing to the constant intercourse between Java and Ḥaḍramaut, whose inhabitants migrate to the island in order to prosper under the Dutch government, and having "made their pile" return to build themselves mosques and fine houses, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Netherlands in Jeddah was commissioned to visit the chieftains who rule in the Arabian province; and in order that science might profit by his expedition he took as a companion a German geographical expert. Owing in part to the official character of Van der Meulen, but probably still more to the travellers' wisdom, tact, and linguistic attainments, they met in most places with a cordial reception, and even reached Wrede's objective, the Tomb of the Prophet Hūd, and Bi'r Barhūt, supposed to be the home of lost souls. The latter proved to be not, as was supposed, a volcanic crater, but a group of lengthy caves, a more comfortable residence than its fancied inmates might expect. Hūd appears in one sense to have been the greatest of the prophets, for his tomb is 120 feet long! The expedition threw no light either on his mysterious personality or the process whereby he became associated with the place.

The travellers brought home a rich collection of exquisite photographs, representing towns, villages, scenery, and persons. Although their journey lasted only six weeks, they

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were able to furnish a great quantity of fresh information about towns of which little more than the names had previously been known, the institutions, and general conditions of the region. Here too the motor-car has made its way, not yet to the entire supersession of the camel and the donkey, but greatly restricting their employment. Possibly the car will have to yield to the aeroplane, which (we are told) would be the surest expedient for surmounting the greatest obstacles to travel, the intertribal feuds and the long stretches of waterless desert. To these anti-European fanaticism must be added, which in some places is still rife.

Finally, a compliment is due to Miss Barber, of The Hague, who translated the work from the original Dutch. Had not this fact been mentioned in the Preface, it would scarcely have occurred to the reader that the book is a translation.

683. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES. Compiled by Lieut.-Colonel Sir WOLSELEY HAIG. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 32. London : Luzac & Co., 1932. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Sir Wolseley Haig has succeeded in compressing into thirty-two small pages the matter which occupies some sixty quarto in the work of Wüstenfeld and Mahler. The principle which he follows is simple : each day of each month can be expressed as the xth day of the year ; if, then, we know the synchronism for the first day of the year, and have the ordinal number for the day, tables giving the ordinals for the Christian and Islamic months respectively will enable us to find the corresponding day of the month. His work provides the necessary three tables, with provision for Leap-years.

673. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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La Céramique Musulmane de l'Égypte. Par Aly Bey Bahgat et Félix Massoul. 15 × 11, pp. 97, pls. 80 (5 in colour). Cairo, 1930.

Although the Muhammadan pottery of Egypt has attracted a good deal of attention since Dr. Fouquet undertook his researches and published the result in his *Contribution a l'étude de la céramique orientale* in 1900, a comprehensive survey of the Egyptian School of Muhammadan ceramics has not been attempted before. *La céramique égyptienne de l'époque musalmane*, which appeared in 1922, is merely an album of plates without any letterpress. One of the authors of the present book, M. Massoul, is a well-known technical expert. His colleague, the late Aly Bey Bahgat, was distinguished as a scholar and archæologist, and as Director of the Arab Museum in Cairo was largely instrumental in forming the extensive collection of pottery that the Museum possesses.

A satisfactory account of the progress of the ceramic art in Egypt during the Muhammadan period would show how Egypt contributed to the remarkable ceramic development resulting from Islam. Material for the inquiry is not wanting. The large mass of remains of pottery of the Islamic epoch which has been collected in Egypt doubtless includes specimens of all the various sorts of pottery that were made in the country during the time. But these remnants do not consist solely of pieces of Egyptian make : there was a considerable import of pottery into Egypt. None of the pieces is marked to show where it was manufactured ; only a few insignificant ones not older than the fourteenth century bear direct indications of date. Moreover, knowledge of other pottery with which Egyptian pottery requires to be compared, particularly that of Mesopotamia and Syria, is still extremely deficient.

From the book, one learns that the manufacture of fine pottery in Egypt was carried on from at least as early as the ninth century to perhaps as late as the eighteenth century, the earliest form being lustre, which is an Egyptian invention, and that a great variety of types was produced. The different

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kinds are brought under divisions, such as lustre ware, coloured glazes, incised decoration, painting under glaze, and graffito. A large number of examples are shown in the illustrations and discussed, their dates being estimated. Nearly all of them consist of fragments too small to convey the full decorative effect of ornamental designs, but some are admirable for their decoration or for their colour, the most remarkable for their artistic merit being ascribed to the Fatimid period (tenth to twelfth century) and to the thirteenth century. A valuable chapter gives a clear explanation of the processes of manufacture and is illustrated by remains of kilns of the fourteenth century and potters' apparatus discovered at Cairo. Another noteworthy item is a collection of passages from medieval Arabic authors alluding to fine pottery in Egypt and to the kilns of the capital in their day.

The reader is warned that the history of the pottery is fatally incomplete and it is evident that the subject cannot be cleared up as far as is desirable until further discoveries are made in Egypt and elsewhere. All will agree that the account given will be most useful in the meanwhile and that it represents a considerable advance on the beginning made by Dr. Fouquet. The book nevertheless will be found to be disappointing in some respects. It is characterized by a certain vagueness and looseness of statement and want of precise fact, as well as by a good deal of unsupported and questionable assertion.

The pottery discussed is not described as systematically and thoroughly as is desirable. The colours and the constitution of the body of pieces are indicated by general statements so that those of individual specimens may be uncertain or not apparent. Inscriptions on pieces are dealt with only casually and partially, some that are obviously important being passed over without notice. Wasters do not receive the careful attention and particularization that they deserve. Where the pottery was found should have been stated. One is left to suppose that the bulk of it came from the

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rubbish mounds of Cairo, but that the place of discovery of individual pieces is often unknown, so that there may be nothing to connect some of them with Egypt. As regards the manufacture of Egypt, it may be correct that a certain kind of body is peculiar to Egypt, but the fact requires to be demonstrated before it can be accepted as proved. There seems to be room for doubt whether some pieces of lustre regarded as wasters are really such. At any rate, even if all the evidence brought forward in favour of Egyptian identity is admitted, only a small proportion of the examples can be shown with certainty to be of Egyptian make and for the Fatimid period they include only the work of the potter Muslim. The place of manufacture of the rest depends upon probability and it is often difficult to come to a conclusion with regard to it. Evidence is given of an extensive pottery manufacture at Cairo and doubtless the common pottery used there was made locally; the imports would naturally have included better sorts, and it is conceivable that they may have consisted of a large proportion of the superior pieces.

It is misleading to suggest as is done that there is no difficulty in distinguishing between Egyptian and any other pottery and to declare that the Arabic authors who refer to special varieties of faience without saying where they were made tell us of their fabrication at Fustat. The chapter on the origin of lustre contains several statements for which no proof is given. It omits some important considerations concerning the question, and the argument by which the invention is attributed to Egypt is not convincing. The dating of the pieces depends almost entirely on comparison and thus is liable to large errors. It may be doubted whether a reliable chronological classification more precise than one of broad periods, such as Fatimid, pre-Fatimid, and Mamlûk, can be established, yet, in any case, little reason is shown for dividing the Fatimid pieces into eleventh and twelfth century groups, or for making a thirteenth century Aiyubid division.

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The grounds on which the earlier lustre is divided into pre-Tulunid (middle of the ninth century), Tulunid (end of the ninth century), and Ikhshîdid (beginning of the tenth century) seem to be quite insufficient. It is not explained how pottery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be distinguished.

Professor Wiet has had a hard task with the editing. He has managed to supply most of the references that had dropped out and adds warnings where the translation of passages goes beyond the wording of the originals. A certain number of mistakes have not been corrected. Thus under glaze decoration is said in one place (p. 22) to appear for the first time in the eleventh century, but elsewhere (p. 71) in the twelfth. p. xxxiii is headed époque fatimide (xie et xiie siècles), but three out of the eight pieces it displays are attributed to the thirteenth century. There are several false references to the plates in the text. A maker called Ez Zarî' is declared in one passage (p. 94) to have installed his workshop in Egypt, but in another (p. 81) it is said that perhaps his work is foreign. Ibn el Ikhwa is said to have lived in the twelfth century, but he died in A.H. 729 = A.D. 1329.

The date 744, said to be on a piece reproduced on pl. xxxvii, is not to be found there at all. The date 745, said to be reproduced on numerous shards, turns out to be on only one of these to which allusion is made. What the signature on the Kelekian bowl is appears to be doubtful, but it is certainly not Sa'd.

By a strange omission it is not mentioned that Ibn Naẓîf, one of the Fatimid potters, has the appellative El Âmidî attached to his name showing that in some way he was connected with Âmid in Jazîra nor that the figures in the curious scene depicted in fig. 5 of pl. xxxii have the names Abû Ṭâlib, er Rasûl, and Mas'ûd written against them, whence it may be surmised that the subject is a scene in the life of the Prophet. The same expressions are sometimes translated by different terms. Thus *khâfiqîya*, rendered rightly on p. 87 as *grand plat*, is translated on p. 7 as *vase*, a meaning which

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does not suit the context. No authority is given for the statement that *khazaf* denotes *terre émaillée* and the dictionaries limit its meaning to clay baked so as to become pottery or made into vessels before it is baked.

The book has suffered from the death of one of its authors before he was able to correct his contribution, but for which it would doubtless have been considerably revised and altered and perhaps entirely recast. Nevertheless it will be of great value to students of Islamic pottery.

N.R. 22. R. GUEST.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS ON THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR AT NINEVEH, 1930–31. University of Liverpool, Annals of Archæology and Anthropology, vol. xix. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON and R. W. HAMILTON. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 62, pls. xlvi–xcii. Liverpool: University Press, 1932. 6*s*.

This description of the Excavations in the ruins of Nineveh during 1930–1 occupies pp. 55–116, and is a monograph of much importance. Quite apart from the topographical questions involved, light is thrown upon the worship of Ishtar of Nineveh by its discovery. We know from the Old Testament and numerous Greek and Roman authors how wide the worship of Ishtar (Astarte) extended in the ancient East, and the archaic Babylonian inscriptions show us how ancient was that worship. In Babylon existed a much-venerated temple dedicated to her, and close by was the great Ishtar-gate, uncovered by the German explorers before the war. Noteworthy also is the cult of Ishtar of Arbela, whose fane has yet to be explored, and equally renowned was this extensive structure at Nineveh, sought for first by L. W. King, of the British Museum, and now fully described, as far as it is preserved, by the writers of this monograph.

In the discovery of the site our explorers seem to have been guided by Sennacherib's description of it as he found it when he turned his attention to the temple's restoration.

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This the authors give in full (p. 56). It is described as "a solid *libn* foundation", some 6 feet thick. This, covering an area of roughly 300′ × 150′, is proved to be the foundation of the Temple of Ishtar by the inscribed bricks of Asshur-naṣir-pal found in situ. Numerous other records referred to by the explorers also confirm this identification.

Of special interest is the "recorded history" of the temple. How soon after the prehistoric period the temple came into existence we do not know, but it was apparently some time after 3000 B.C. Its first recorded builder was Man-ish-tushu,[1] the son of Sargon of Agadé, about 2450 B.C. This is recorded on Shamshi-Hadad I's cylinder, translated on p. 106. Nineveh was at that time apparently a city of the Babylonian empire. We have still to confirm the identity of Nimrod, but there is but little doubt that Assyria was an Akkadian possession, and may even have been colonized from the south, which would confirm the rendering of Gen. x, 10, "he (Nimrod) went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh," etc. The other builders include Shamshi-Hadad I, 1840 B.C.; Asshur-uballiṭ, 1386 B.C.; Shamshi-Hadad IV, 1000 B.C.; Asshur-naṣir-pal, 883 B.C.; and Asshur-bani-pal, "the great and noble Asnapper," 668–626 B.C. The texts are cited in every case, and we realize how the various records fit in. Among most noteworthy texts are the numerous fragments of the *zigāti*—upright posts with knobs at the top inscribed circularly with royal inscriptions relating to the buildings in which they were set up, and giving details of the king's reign. These must have been very numerous, and as they were scattered about so plentifully they suggest that reading and writing in the complicated Assyro-Babylonian script was a common accomplishment, and it was supposed that visitors to the temple-courts would be able to read them as they passed by.

The state of the ruins is described on pp. 57 ff., and the

[1] Man-ishtisu in the text published by me in the *Journal* of this Society 1920, pp. 21–4.

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views on pls. 46–50 show how flat the "plain of Nineveh", as it may be called, looks. The scantiness of the remains is naturally due to the long period which has elapsed since the abandonment of the site.

The confused state of the ruins may be gathered by an examination of pl. xc. How many Babylonian and Assyrian kings restored or rebuilt the temple of Ishtar besides those referred to in this monograph will probably never be known, but none of them seems ever to have tried to rebuild on the same plan as his predecessor. This was probably due to a desire to erect something larger and possibly better. That they may have succeeded in such a desire is possible, but to what extent the later buildings were better than the earlier will probably never be fully known.

The best summary of the history of the temple appears on p. 75, where the periods are given as follows :—

(1) Prehistoric with possible Sumerian connection. (2) An uncertain but probable gap. (3) Man-ishtushu, the first known builder (2450 B.C.). (4) Repair by Shamshi-Hadad I (1840 B.C.). (5) Kassite period, after which Asshur-uballiṭ repaired it. (6) Earthquake, after which it was repaired by Shalmaneser I (1280) and his son Tukulti-En-urta (1250). Another earthquake in the time of Asshur-dan (1187). (7) Repair of the *namiru* of the great lions' heads gate of the great court by Asshur-rêsh-ishi (1120). Dedication of a statue of Ishtar by Asshur-bêl-kala (1080). (8) Shamshi-Hadad IV (?) paves the great courtyard (1000). (9) Renovation by Asshur-naṣir-pal, with pavements and sculptures. (10) Asshur-bani-pal's pavement (not found) and triplicate inscription.

612 B.C. Destruction of Nineveh.

Following this interesting list of dates is a description of the post-Assyrian buildings, for the site still continued to be occupied, and the worship of the old Assyro-Babylonian pantheon was in all probability still carried on. From the viewpoint of many, this cult may have been unworthy of

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retention, but it is impossible to eradicate at one stroke an old and deeply-implanted faith. The gods of Babylon are said to have been worshipped even during the early centuries of the Christian era.

Among the artistic finds, and one apparently bearing upon the chronological questions involved, is a very fine old Babylonian head, natural size, probably of copper. From its position in the layers of ruins, it is supposed to have been placed in the temple by Asshur-bani-pal, and in that case it is probably from a statue carried off by Kudur-nanḫundi of Elam about 2285 B.C., and taken to Nineveh by Asshur-bani-pal when he captured Susa. It will be remembered that this Assyrian king brought back on that occasion the image of Ishtar of Erech which Kudur-nanḫundi had likewise carried off. The head is in the ancient Sumerian style, and is therefore of great interest and value.

The pottery-fragments found are numerous, and naturally belong to various periods. They include glazed, incised, and painted ware, the latter especially in bold, mainly geometric designs. Among these are certain animal-forms, sometimes grotesque in their mannerism. There are but few fragments of sculpture, but those from obelisks in the well-known Assyrian style—possibly of the time of Asshur-naṣir-pal, are the best. Numerous arrow-heads of various shapes were found. The vases are of many shapes and sizes, both squat and tall. Part of the decoration of one fragment apparently shows a small tree with its root. In very few cases does delicacy of finish seem to have been aimed at. Among the best examples are several cylinder-seals and impressions of similar artistic engraving. These appear on pl. lxiii, which has also an Arabic inscription, "pot in light-coloured clay with gryphons between two lines of inscription." The figurines of baked clay, which are both human and animal, are, as usual, often very crude. Those of late date show Greek influence.

After the artistic objects come the inscriptions. Many

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of the texts are very fragmentary, but the two long inscriptions—those of Shanshi-Hadad and Asshur-naṣir-pal, are of considerable importance—especially the former. This temple of Ishtar was the well-known Ê-mashmash, mentioned several times in Assyrian texts. The interpretation of the second element, *mashmash*, is probably to be found in the renderings *utebubu* and *utelulu*, by which this reduplicate group is translated. The best interpretation of the name is probably "House of supreme brightness", or the like. The shrine of Ishtar within it was called Ê-menu-ê, of doubtful meaning, but as *Menu-annim* (?) and *Menu-nim* (?) are names of Ishtar *sha tanuḫi*, "of lamentation," the question arises whether the shrine here, Ê-menu-ê, may not have been the "temple of lamentation" (for Tammuz).

It is an excellent and very detailed monograph, and the explorers have done their work well. Due credit is given to Sir Charles Hyde, Bart., who financed the explorations, to Mrs. Campbell Thompson, and to her friend, Miss M. Hallett, who also gave valuable personal help.

T. G. PINCHES.

830.

DAS WELTBILD DER IRANIER. Geschichte der Philosophie in Einzeldarstellungen. Abt. 1: Das Weltbild der Primitiven und die Philosophie des Morgenlandes, Band 1a. By O. G. VON WESENDONK. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 354, map 1. Munich: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt. 1933. Price RM. 6.50, in cloth RM. 8.50.

This work, being part of a general history of philosophy, edited by Gustav Kafka, treats chiefly of Iranian thought regarding the origin and meaning of human life and the nature of that "long life" which follows death. It is also, therefore, largely a history of Zoroastrianism and rightly follows a chronological method of treatment. It breaks off at the point when Persia became a Moslem province and its religious

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and philosophical history were merged in the general history of Islam. The author is well qualified for his difficult task and has produced an excellent handbook for the guidance of serious students. Detailed references to the sources and to all the best literature on the many topics treated of are a conspicuous feature of the book.

Dr. von Wesendonk places the lifetime of Zoroaster somewhat before the beginning of the eighth century B.C. (the traditional date being the sixth century B.C.) and strongly emphasizes the distinction between the prophet's teaching and the later system known as Zoroastrianism. A resolute effort is made to extract from the Gathas all the evidence they supply regarding the prophet's own teaching (pp. 63–99). His doctrine is found to be a strict monotheism and the dualism of his system to lie between matter and spirit and not between good and evil as in the later developments. The Yasna haptanghati, upon which the author has already written separately, is treated as embodying the first modifications of the prophet's doctrine made by a priestly class (pp. 102–116). In it conceptions of the popular religion of the period are blended with the prophetical religion of the Gathas, fire (*ātar*) has become an object of worship and the way is being prepared for the identification of the Wise Lord (Ahura Mazda) with the Light and the Sun.

Another main stage in the development is traced by Dr. von Wesendonk with the help of evidence got from the names and records of the Persian kings of the sixth century B.C. and later, from statements by Greek writers and, more fully and precisely, from the later portions of the Avesta. The Zoroastrianism known to the Greek writers of the fourth century B.C. is already clearly a polytheistic faith, distinguished by its conception of a dualistic universe in which good and evil, light and darkness, Ahura Mazda and Angra Manyu, engage in age-long struggle for supremacy. Doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of a final judgment are prominent and characteristic in it.

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It was, of course, this familiar form of Zoroastrianism that permeated and influenced the Hellenistic world which was established in the territories of the Persian Empire after the conquests of Alexander the Great. Yet this Zoroastrianism, according to the conclusions of the work under review, was a degeneration, indeed a complete transformation and perversion, of the original doctrine and system of the Iranian prophet.

Of other topics dealt with by Dr. von Wesendonk, mention may be made of the short accounts he gives of the beginnings of Mithraism and Manichæism. Mithra was an ancient Persian god, who was prominent in the pantheon of the later Avesta and was finally given the role of judge of the dead and saviour of the world from the powers of evil. The cult of Mithra acquired a mystery element from the mystery religions of Asia Minor and reached Rome as an independent religious system in the first century A.D. Its triumph in the Roman Empire dates from that period. Manichæism from its origin was a new religion, being established by the prophet Mani in the third century A.D. and presented by him both as a modified Zoroastrianism and as a modified Christianity. Elements from both the older religions were blended in the new faith. The important find of fragments of Mani's writings in the desert of Turfan is now surpassed by the recent discovery of Coptic versions of at least two of his works in Egypt.

Dr. von Wesendonk carefully warns his readers that both his general views and his particular statements often express simply his own individual opinions on matters still awaiting final determination. His negative views regarding the influence of Zoroastrianism on Greek philosophy and on later Judaism may be mentioned as possibly examples of such opinions. There is much in the history of the beginnings of Greek philosophy still to be examined and cleared up before its possible debt to Zoroastrianism can be finally estimated and pronounced upon.

Meantime, however, the reviewer cordially recommends

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this handbook both to those who may want a general survey of the field it covers and to those who have a special interest in any part of this field.

849. WM. B. STEVENSON.

DIE GOTTHEIT CHRISTI BEI AFRAHAT. By IGNATIUS ORTIZ DE URBINA, S.J. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 140. Rome: Pont. Inst. Orientalium Studiorum, 1933. Lire 25.

This treatise is an interesting study of what Afrahat, or Aphraates, the earliest Syriac "Father" (A.D. 337–345), meant by "God" (ܐܠܗܐ), a question often overlooked by persons who write about the theological standpoint of ancient authors. On p. 52, Dr. Ortiz de Urbina points out that "God" in modern use means the ultimate Supreme Being, the *Urwesen*. But it requires demonstration that θεός in Greek or *Alāhā* in Syriac means as much. The early Christian teaching had been that the Father of All has no name and that θεός is a human appellation like "Lord" or "Father", to be explained from its etymology. About this there was some difficulty, some deriving it from τιθέναι, some from θέειν "set in motion", some from θεᾶσθαι. Thus θεός does not properly denote the Divine Essense, but is to be reckoned in the same category with other epithets for "God" (p. 59).

Dr. Ortiz de Urbina excuses himself from investigating the implications of the meaning of *Deus* on the ground that Latin influence can hardly have reached to Aphraates. That *Deus* is something more than θεός is reflected even in modern typography, where *Deus* almost always gets a capital, whereas θεός is without one. More important is the addition of the clause "very God from very God" in the Nicene Creed. Unless θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ was inadequate in meaning, the addition of θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ is mere tautology.

Somewhat similar to θεός in Greek is אלהים in Hebrew. The true God may call others "God", but men or angels may not take the appellation for themselves. Only the true

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God is האלהים, i.e. ὁ θεός with the article. Unfortunately Syriac is practically without an article, so that *Alāhā* might mean "a god" as well as "God".

All this has as its general object to discount the unfavourable impression that Aphraates's Homily XVII makes on systematic theologians, trained in Greek modes of expression. The Homily is directed against the Jews and appears to be an *argumentum ad hominem*. Dr. Ortiz de Urbina defends the essential orthodoxy of Aphraates (which never was called in question by the Syriac-speaking Church), but he does not go beyond my conclusion (*Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 90) that the Homily is an echo of John x, 33–6. If that passage had been found only in an apocryphal Gospel, would theologians have pronounced it orthodox?

On p. 127, our author confesses that it "uns heute höchst fremdartig klingt", when Aphraates calls God and the Holy Ghost severally the Father and the Mother of a Christian man. It might be retorted by Aphraates that to call the Spirit "the *Lord*, the giver of life" is equally an unjustifiable ascription of sex. The "Word", it may be remarked, is also feminine in early Syriac. The true moral, as it seems to me, is to recognize the metaphorical and inadequate nature of any human description of the career or function of the word of God, at least before Jesus came to His full self-consciousness, and to admit that different languages and different civilizations will express such high speculations differently.

Some of the Greek is not too correctly printed. p. 53, for πάντον read πάντων; for ὄνομά τι read ὀνόματι; p. 54, for δυσεξηγήτοι read -γήτου. On p. 92, note 20, for 3^{12} read 2^{11} (= Titus, Greek text, p. $1^{11, 12}$).

995. F. C. Burkitt.

A Santal Dictionary. Vol. I. By P. O. Bodding. 11 × 7¼. Part 2, pp. 154–440; Part 3, pp. xvi + 212. Oslo: Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, 1929–1932.

The Santals are the largest of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting

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Chota Nagpur and the surrounding districts of Bihar and Bengal which lie to the south of the Ganges. They are also found in North Bengal and Assam, numbering about two and a half millions according to the last census, and Santali is the most widely used of all the aboriginal vernaculars. They are essentially a people of the backwoods, living in small villages and maintaining themselves chiefly by agriculture and hunting. In this world's goods poorer even than the average *ryot*, the Santals are rich in the possession of a language which is a treasure-store for the expert philologist but a weary cacophony for the plain, blunt Englishman when first he sets himself to study it; and yet to those who, through much travail, have mastered its intricacies, a wholly delightful medium of speech.

It is safe to say that Mr. Bodding's *Dictionary* will remain for many years the standard authority on Santali, and this rich fruit of his labours places the Santal people and all who study their language very deeply in his debt. The issue of Parts 2 and 3 (up to *ch*) completes Vol. I of his monumental work. We understand that the *Dictionary* is nearing completion in manuscript, and it is to be hoped that the publication of the remaining volumes will not be unduly delayed.

In his introduction, which is printed at the end of Part 3, the author expresses his indebtedness to the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, whose Santali vocabulary was the starting-point of his own work, and also to the Rev. Dr. Andrew Campbell, who, in 1899, produced the first Santali Dictionary. The present work was begun by Mr. Bodding in 1903, and for two years he gave the greater part of his time to it, but it had to be laid aside for about twenty years owing to the demands of other activities,[1] and it was not till 1924 that he was able again to devote his undivided attention to literary work. The lapse of time is not to be entirely regretted, for, during

[1] Mr. Bodding is a missionary in the service of the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches (the Lutheran Churches of Norway, Denmark, and N. America).

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these years, Mr. Bodding was living amongst the Santals and he acquired an unrivalled knowledge of their mentality, their folk-lore and traditions, and their habits and customs, which has made him the foremost living authority on the people. In addition to his intimate knowledge of the Santals and their modes of thought, Mr. Bodding brings to his task ripe scholarship and a weighty reputation as a philologist.

The excellence of the *Dictionary* owes much to the method of compilation followed by the author. No word is accepted at second hand, but each word in the lists which he has collected is "tested and re-tested as to its meaning and use" before it is finally accepted, and he has never less than three Santals with him while working on the dictionary. Santal women have also been employed with the object of ensuring accuracy in special women's words and phrases not generally used by men. These include a considerable number of highly-seasoned terms of abuse and invective of rich variety!

In the case of almost every word, sentences with an English translation are given to exemplify the meaning, all the examples having been taken down from the lips of Santals. This is particularly valuable in a language which is often given to cryptic usage, and the examples serve the further purpose of illustrating the common laws of syntax as well as of giving some insight into the Santal's mode of thought. Mr. Bodding mentions in the introduction that the translation of these illustrative sentences is literal, "as far as this is possible, even with some disregard for the exigencies of good English." Here and there one finds a needlessly cumbersome periphrasis or an inappropriate word which obscures the meaning, and there are several occasions in which he just misses the English idiom. For example, *Cao beohar do̱ bạnuk-taea* is translated "She has no behaviour" instead of "She has no manners"; *Thọrae chẹlọketʼmea, baṅkhanem gọc̆ utạrkoḳa* is translated, "He grazed you a little, else you might have been downright killed"; *Bạni lagaoketʼlea mõrẽ pạire mõrẽ poakate,* "We had to pay for the work after five quarters

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to five seers," where the meaning is, "We had to pay for the work at the rate of five quarters for five seers." Again, "youngs" is repeatedly used as a plural substantive. There are instances where a closer knowledge of colloquial English would have provided a more exact rendering of the Santali expression, but the general excellence of his translation is on such a high level that it is perhaps a little ungracious to point out minor blemishes.

Hindi, Bengali, Desi, and other equivalents of the Santali words are given where similarities exist or where Santali has adopted a foreign word. Occasionally, the Magyar equivalent is given, and there is a suggestion in the introduction that Mr. Bodding believes that Magyar and Santali belong to the same language stock, or at least that there has been a close relationship between them in the remote past. He also refers to the fact that some pure Sanskrit words not heard in present-day Hindi are in current use in Santali and the question arises as to whether such borrowed words are really Aryan in origin, or whether they were borrowed by the Aryans from a non-Aryan language.

Words relating to Santal customs and other ethnological matters are accompanied by a brief account of the particular custom, etc., and the author proposes to publish an index of such ethnological terms which will make for easy reference and will form a valuable appendix to his *Dictionary*.

Mr. Bodding has some criticisms to make of Campbell's *Santali Dictionary*, in the light of which improvements have been made in the recently-published second edition of that work. On one point, however, Dr. Campbell's successors in the Church of Scotland Mission to the Santals will join issue with Mr. Bodding, namely, when he takes exception to Campbell's belief that only *w* and no *v* is found in Santali. Certainly *v* as we sound it in English is not heard in Santali, and where Mr. Bodding uses *v*, Campbell and his successors invariably use *w* as accurately representing the Santali sound. It will be argued on both sides that the difference of opinion

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is due to faulty hearing, and they must agree to differ as to whether the blame lies with the Scandinavian or with the Anglo-Saxon ear. In this connection we may note that *j* as the Santals sound it is frequently softened into *y* by Scandinavians speaking Santali, whereas it ought to have the full value of an English *j*. It is only fair to add, however, that it is exceedingly rare to find a non-Santal, either Indian or European, who, no matter how fluently he speaks Santali, will not betray his origin by a lapse in pronunciation sooner or later.

Roman script is firmly established as the best medium for writing Santali. Neither Hindi nor Bengali characters lend themselves easily to modification by the use of diacritical signs, and these languages are lacking in certain vowel-sounds common in Santali such as can be represented in Roman script by adding signs to the written vowels. The signs used in the *Dictionary* are those which have been brought into current use largely through Mr. Bodding's own writings. Scientific phoneticians would have preferred him to use the script recommended by the International Phonetic Association, but, as he points out, the Roman script with diacritical signs is of much greater use for practical purposes. As regards spelling we note that in writing the future and present tenses of *hoe*, the verb *to be*, he has preserved the root and writes *hoeoka* and *hoeokkana*, instead of *hoyoka* and *hoyokkana* as these are usually spelt. The change, besides preserving the root of the verb in the written word, is phonetically accurate.

The *Dictionary* is published by the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters and is printed in Oslo. The printers are to be complimented on their work, which is in every respect worthy of the author's erudition.

A. 10. WILLIAM DEMPSTER.

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L'HONNEUR CHEZ LES ARABES AVANT L'ISLAM. Étude de Sociologie. By BICHR FARÈS. Preface de M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes. 9 × 5½, pp. xiv + 226. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1932.

"L'honneur n'est pas chose vaine" is not an auspicious beginning, but M. Farès improves as he goes along. He endeavours to establish the authenticity of the poetry of the *Jahiliyya*, and, where it cannot be established, to admit pseudographs as evidence for the customs and feelings of the Arabs before Islam, except where religious bias is evident. He confines himself to a criticism of Ṭāḥā Ḥusayn's work, and does not reply to Professor Margoliouth's article in the JOURNAL, 1925, p. 417, to which he refers in a footnote. Those who believe that the ancient Arabs have left us some of their poetry will probably hold that belief for reasons other than those given by the author, while sceptics will hardly be convinced that they ought to change their ground. M. Farès is wise in extending the field of his inquiry to early Arabic literature generally.

What is implied by "honour"? It is not the chivalry فُتُوَّة of the Middle Ages, nor the *virtus* مُرُوءَة of the ancient world. Nor is it exactly the شرف of our own day, for modern usage has modified the original meaning. M. Farès argues that عِرْض is the word; that it corresponds to *madḥ*, and that outrage (*dhamm*) corresponds to dishonour.

The best part of the book is the analysis of the concept of honour with illustrations and references from early literature. The author uses Arabic sources, especially the Aghānī, in an interesting way, but practically ignores the work of Orientalists who do not use the French tongue. When he writes of the modern Beduin he ignores Doughty and Philby. An exception is Robertson Smith's *Kinship* (which could not possibly be overlooked in a study of this kind), and this he might have

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used to greater advantage in his discussion of the Arab tribal system. He is probably right in insisting that the reason for putting female infants to death was the aversion to multiplying non-combatants, rather than lack of food; impotence in war was the cause: famine the condition.

He concludes by affirming that a sense of the claims of tribe and family served the ancient Arab in the place of religion. Loyalty, hospitality, bravery, chastity, and manliness, were promoted; and a man was a gentleman in so far as he displayed these qualities in society. Honour, then, was duty, public and private, enforced by no law other than public opinion. But the pressure of censure through the *hijā'* was so great that no formal law was needed till Islam, as the author claims, embraced *l'honneur* within its code.

878. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION. By STEVEN RUNCIMAN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 320. London: Edward Arnold, 1933. 16*s*. net.

A survey of this large field of historical research was much needed. Since Oman's *Byzantine Empire* in the "Story of the Nations" series a generation ago, nothing has been attempted in English except chapters in general histories, and articles in the encyclopædia; while immense advances have been made in almost every aspect of this long period. For eleven hundred years the Byzantine Empire remained continuous, if not stable, in a world where almost everything else collapsed or changed. Though its wonderful constitution was modified in detail, it remained in principle the same, and adapted itself with remarkable facility to successive stresses, internal, or imposed by its frequent wars with aggressive neighbours to north and to east. For the contemporary West, indeed, it seemed always the same, at all events till the disastrous capture by a Western enemy, and his destruction of accumulated wealth and artistry. It is this quality of continuity, indeed, which it has been Mr. Runciman's aim to characterize and illustrate; and herein he has succeeded,

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for the book has unity and clarity, throughout its necessary masses of detail, that could not have been achieved otherwise.

The first chapters illustrate this best. The foundation of Constantinople was one of the world's great political experiments, and Constantine succeeded, where Lysimachus and Diocletian had failed, because he laid his plans on lines large enough to make "New Rome" at the same time an expression of what Hellenism, and Roman Empire, and Christianity respectively and together, had come to mean in the world. In the "new synthesis" it was perhaps inevitable that Christian, and through Christian other Oriental ideas should come to predominate. The West, indeed, during long centuries had so little more to give, after Justinian had held fast that which was still good in it. "The citizen of Constantinople," as Mr. Runciman says, though "fully conscious of his Greek and Roman heritage", yet "took less joy in the world, dwelling rather upon the eternities"; but it was, nevertheless, to Byzantium that the West in due time was to owe most of the classical traditions that it holds dear; and it was to Byzantium, as the repository of culture, of all that made life worth living, that the *Romaioi* of the provinces continued to look through the long centuries of the Byzantine regime.

It is one of the perplexities of historians that, beyond the more picturesque and dramatic episodes, history tends to be a procession, or at best a pageant rather than a drama. But Mr. Runciman's "Historical Outline" has more than the elements of a plot, and is skilfully connected with the chapters on special aspects; beginning with the constitution and the "reign of law" which is so characteristic of the Byzantine outlook; the administration which gave effect to the Emperor's will, and to the legal code; the patriarchate in its relation to the empire, to the other churches, and to Christian belief and practice; and the public services, where successive crises of foreign politics enforced more drastic reorganization than in the civil service or even in finance.

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Round these fundamental structures it is easier to group the less highly organized activities of trade, society in town and country, education, learning, literature, and art; and to estimate finally the influence of Byzantium on the "neighbouring world", to the north, to the east on Saracens and Turks, and to the west before the Crusades and again after the Renaissance. Some of these later chapters are perhaps inevitably more sketchy. It is difficult to discuss art without illustrations, or literature without quotation; but there is also less confident grasp of the subjects or wholes, more dependence on abstracts of well-known authorities. It is on the political rather than on the æsthetic side of history that one feels Mr. Runciman's own interests to lie.

There are a few slips and omissions. On p. 51 "republicans" should be "republics"; p. 141, *drungarius* and *klissura* should be explained; p. 154, is there not more to be said about "Greek fire", p. 211 about the roads, and p. 231 about "schedography", and the pronunciation of Greek? On p. 268, at Jerash, is it a mosaic *map* of Alexandria? On p. 235, Anaximander should belong to the *sixth* century; p. 236, Cosmas' high mountain was surely at the north not the west of his world; p. 262, "Skiprou" should be "Skripou"; p. 226, "Pacomius" and "Pachomius" stand side by side; p. 275, "smelting" should be "fusing"; and p. 40, is "disgruntled" canonical? But these are easily amended in the second edition which may be anticipated for so useful a volume.

861. J. L. MYRES.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR VERGLEICHENDE MUSIKWISSENSCHAFT. Edited by ROBERT LACHMANN in conjunction with E. M. VON HORNBOSTEL and JOHANNES WOLF. [Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Musik des Orients. Jahrgang 1, Nr. 1.] $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 24 + 4 (music, etc.). Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1933.

This is the first issue of a quarterly review which is to be

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the mouthpiece of the new "Society for Research in Oriental Music", founded not long ago by Professors Johannes Wolf and Erich M. von Hornbostel, of the University of Berlin, and Dr. Robert Lachmann, of the Staatsbibliothek, three names which, in themselves, augur well for the future of the society. It is true that only Lachmann can claim to be an orientalist, and his writings have been specially devoted to the music of the Orient (see *JRAS.*, 1929, 940), yet the adhesion of Wolf and von Hornbostel means that the best critical work in the history and physics of music are to be at the disposal of the new society.

The quarterly aims at publishing articles on the comparative study of the music of the Orient in German, English, French, and Italian, together with reviews of books, music, and gramophone records connected with the subject. This first issue contains two forewords, "Zum Geleit," by Wolf, and "East and West", by A. H. Fox Strangways the author of the "Music of Hindustan" and the editor of "Music and Letters". Von Hornbostel and Lachmann write on "Asiatische Parallelen zur Berbermusik" with interesting examples of *badawī* songs from South Arabia collected by Hans Helfritz in 1931–2. Alexis Chottin, who is, I believe, attached to the "Service des Arts Indigènes" at Rabat, in Morocco, contributes an article on the "Instruments, Musique et Danse Chleuhs". These latter (الشلوح) are Berbers in South Morocco. The author believes that the pre-Islāmic *shā'ir* declaimed his *qaṣīda* to the accompaniment of the *rabāb*. It may have been so, but, frankly, we have no *evidence* of it, although a manuscript in my possession contains a sentence which runs—"The *rabāb* is an instrument of the people of Khurāsān and Al-Khalīl [ibn Aḥmad] says that the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its voice". Chottin, with Prosper Ricard, has recently issued the first fascicle of his *Corpus de musique marocaine* containing a *nauba* (suite d'orchestre) in the *ṭab'* (mode) called *'ushshāq*. Lachmann reviews this work. It is to be hoped that this

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corpus is to be something better than the *Repertoire de musique arabe et maure* issued by Yafil and Rouanet at Algiers some years ago. The most valuable part of the new quarterly is a very complete bibliography of publications on Oriental music. It manages, however, to omit my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, 1930.

838. H. G. FARMER.

LA CHINE ET LA FORMATION DE L'ESPRIT PHILOSOPHIQUE EN FRANCE (1640-1740). Par VIRGILE PINOT. 10 × 6½, pp. 480. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1932.

DOCUMENTS INÉDITS RELATIFS À LA CONNAISSANCE DE LA CHINE EN FRANCE DE 1685 À 1740. Par VIRGILE PINOT. 10 × 6½, pp. 190. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1932.

The eighteenth century saw, in Europe, not only a strong current of Chinese fashion or *mode*—that is, a taste for Chinese curios, *bibelots*, etc., a taste lavishly indulged in by Mme de la Pompadour—but also a strong current of Chinese influence on the ideas and morals of the time. A discussion of this influence, in contradistinction to the *mode*, forms the theme of Dr. Pinot's thoroughly documented volumes.

The first contains a careful analysis in two books: I, Les sources de la connaissance de la Chine; II, La découverte de la Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique.

Book I contains three long chapters entitled respectively: Jésuites et Missionaires, La Querelle des Cérémonies chinoises, and Les écrits des Jésuites sur la Chine.

Book II has the same number of divisions and deals with: L'Antiquité de l'Histoire chinoise et la Chronologie, La Philosophie et la Religion des Chinois, La Morale et la Politique des Chinois. A synthesis of the whole is contained in a masterly Conclusion.

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Dr. Pinot shows clearly how Voltaire, in spite of his views, agreed with the Jesuits in declaring "que les philosophies chinois ne sont pas athées, et que la philosophie et l'athésme ne peuvent se concilier ni en Chine ni en France".

The second volume under notice deals with unpublished correspondence from the Bibliothéque Nationale and the Bibliothéque de l'Observatoire, Paris. The letters printed are those from de Focquet to Et. Fourmont, l'abbé de Rothelin, and l'abbé Bignon, and those of Fréret to Fathers Gollet, Gaubil, de Prémare, de Mailla, and others.

Both books are invaluable for any study of Chinese-European relations in the eighteenth century.

650, 649. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

LES TEXTES DES TOMBES DE THOUTMOSIS III ET D'AMÉNOPHIS II. By P. BUCHER. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 224, pls. 42. Tome premier. (Mémoires . . . de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Tome soixantième.) Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1932.

The Book of *Imy-Dwꜣt*, a production drawn up by the Theban priesthood of Amun to increase the prestige of their god and their own material wealth, is found reproduced in many funerary papyri and on many tomb walls as a guide to the deceased along with similar guides, such as the Book of *Prt-m-hrw* and the "Book of Gates". The texts of the tombs of Thutmosis III and of Amenophis II both contain the Twelve Hours of the Book of *Imy-Dwꜣt*, plus the lists of gods appropriate to each hour or division of the *Dwꜣt*, and the shorter or summarized form of the Book. In the tomb of Amenophis II these make up the entire complement of the one inscribed chamber, the pillars being devoted to representations of the king before Osiris, Hathor, and Anubis; in that of Thutmosis III, where two chambers and pillars are

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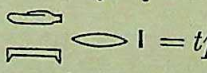
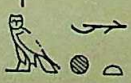
inscribed, there are certain additions, viz. lists of the hour-deities and a formula for recitation at sunset.

A complete description, with plates, plans, and sections, of these two tombs was published by M. V. Loret, the discoverer, in *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, 3rd series, No. 9, and M. Bucher has therefore confined himself in his introduction to the first volume to a statement of the relative positions of the texts upon the walls and their state of preservation.

In the printed text each tomb is dealt with separately, and the corresponding portions are not arranged together one under the other, as might perhaps be desirable for purposes of comparison. The sign of the goose (Gardiner, No. G 38) has rightly been employed in all cases where the scribes (scribes and not sculptors, since the texts were copied out from a papyrus and written upon the walls in linear hieroglyphs in red and black ink) used it to represent other birds. This was not always done through confusion or laziness, but was often part of the system of secret writing in which the names of places and deities of the *Dwꜣt*, or descriptions of them, were frequently rendered, a transcription into normal hieroglyphs usually accompanying the secret version. This type of writing, it should be noted, is merely an attempt to enshroud the names concerned in mystery, and does not work on the same principles as that "enigmatic" writing discussed, for example, by Dévéria in *Bibl. Ég.*, tome v, p. 49, and by Professor Sethe in *Theban Necropolis*, p. 1*. By the system used here, words are often represented merely by their determinatives, or are spelt phonetically by the employment of homophones and rebus, e.g.  = *tpt-r*. We are thus afforded clues to the pronunciation of certain words in Egyptian at this period (compare, for example, the rendering of the preposition by). Use is also made of abbreviations such as for  , and of conventions like .

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The photographic plates at the end of the book, to the number of xlii, cover all the texts and scenes and are excellently clear.

771. M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

THE CITY WITHOUT WALLS. Arranged by MARGARET CUSHING OSGOOD. London: Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square. 15*s*. net.

To set forth the drama of human life has been Mrs. Hamilton Osgood's aim in collecting the writings which make up this fine anthology, and she is well fitted to do it out of the wide experience of life and literature which has been hers. Now, at eighty-five, she gives us the ripe fruit of that experience. In this anthology we have a comprehensive choice of writings fraught with wisdom, derived from many lands and many ages. Saints and poets, prophets and teachers, authors, sacred and profane, have made their contribution to it, and the writers of Christianity and Judaism, of classical paganism, and of the great religions of the East, have been called upon to give of their best to make up this great collection of literary gems, which will be a source of enrichment to all who have access to it.

It is fitting that an anthology with such an aim should begin with the Absolute Reality, "I am that I am," the conception of the Divine Essence as found in many forms among many peoples. "God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger," wrote Heraclitus, "but He is changed just as fire, when mingled with different kinds of incense, and is named after the flavour of each," it may be as the Spirit of Spirits, Aton, the Beginning of Life, of ancient Egypt; or the ageless Brahma, the Unfading, of the Upanishads; or the Olympian Zeus, set up in visible form by Phidias; or the Lord God Almighty, "in Whose hand is the Soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind." We have here Mrs. Osgood's selection from the

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attempts of the human mind to reach out to the Infinite, whether that Infinite be called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah, or Christ, and we see humanity kneeling, in awed and silent adoration, overwhelmed by its consciousness of the all-pervading Presence of God.

The anthology proceeds to show how the One Divine Essence becomes manifested in creation and life, so that "the whole Universe is the sense, life, soul, body, and image of the Most High God". Mrs. Osgood is prepared to find truth in all creeds, and she gives us extracts from the teaching of the Buddha, of Muḥammad, of the Chinese sages, the Christian saints, and the spiritual teachers of all nations and all faiths. We read here what the wisest minds of all the ages have written of the Godhead, and Nature, and all that concerns human life, including sections on the Elements, on "Human Love", on "Time and Eternity", on "Music and Dance", as well as on "Silence and Meditation". But that which has concerned humanity more than all else has always been its relation to the Divine, and it is fitting, therefore, that the last section of all should deal with Prayer, whereby man "shall find all that he can ask", since Prayer, as Jeremy Taylor tells us, "is of itself nothing but an ascent of the mind to God".

This anthology is plainly the work of one who takes the mystical point of view, holding that all Being is a unity and that the soul of man is Divine, as the Roman poet wrote, "One life through all the immense creation runs—And in all substance is a single soul."

So, too, the Christian mystic, writing many centuries later, conceived of the soul as "a spark of the Universal Soul-Body . . . the Unseen Witness, the Divine Guest that no corruption or sin of the body . . . has power to taint or shadow by its proximity". But since the soul came from God, so unto God it must return, and become again what it was before time began, one with the Divine, as Virgil tells us in lines quoted here :—

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"To God again the enfranchised soul must tend,
He is her home, her Author is her End.
No death is here; when earthly eyes grow dim
Starlike she soars and Godlike melts in Him."

The path of return, so the mystic teaches, is through knowledge of the Divine, whereby death is conquered, and salvation is attained.

This anthology is imbued with a spirit of lofty optimism, and Mrs. Osgood has a message of hope for a generation oppressed by despondency, uncertainty, and unrest. She holds that the true destiny of man is to press onwards and upwards until he reaches his appointed end as a citizen of that City with foundations "whose Builder and Maker is God", and so becomes a partaker of Infinite and Eternal Life.

While any reader of this book must be filled with appreciative gratitude for what, to Mrs. Osgood, was plainly a labour of love, there are one or two criticisms to be made. Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite, whom Mrs. Osgood assigns to the first century A.D. (p. 243) was most probably a Syrian monk (pupil of the heretical Stephen Bar Sudayli), whose writings belong to the end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth. Also, though it seems ungracious to ask for more when so much has been given to us—for this anthology runs to more than seven hundred pages—an index, at least of the authors included, would have added greatly to the value of the book, and the lack of it is a considerable drawback from the point of view of the reader, the more so because, having once read this anthology, he will not fail to return again and again to a study of the rich treasures which it contains, seeking therefrom inspiration and counsel and hope, and he would have been still more grateful to Mrs. Osgood had she provided an index wherewith to facilitate that search.

900. MARGARET SMITH.

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THE NICOBAR ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE. By EDWARD HORACE MAN, C.I.E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. x + 186, plates 32, maps 3. Guildford: Billing & Sons for Royal Anthropological Institute.

To all who have shared in the administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands during the present century the name and record of Horace Man have been a real source of inspiration and it may safely be claimed that this book with its introductory memoir of the author by Sir David Prain will not only be generally welcomed by all those interested in the Nicobars, but will form a valuable addition to the existing authoritative literature dealing with these islands. I refer particularly to the Census reports by Sir Richard Temple and Messrs. Lowis and Bonington and to the works of the missionary, Mr. Whitehead, and the naturalist, Mr. Boden Kloss. This book is made up in part from papers that have appeared in scientific journals and in part from notes left by Mr. Man, but hitherto unpublished. The text does not indicate the precise sources except in the case of chapter xiv. Mr. Man served for thirty-two years in the Andaman Administration, and surviving his retirement for twenty-eight years, died only four years ago at the age of 83. He was known not only as a temperate champion of primitive races but as a trained and intensely painstaking observer and recorder in anthropology and linguistics.

All that he has to say in this volume is of value for it is the outcome of years of close application to his subject beginning at the time of our first contacts with the Nicobarese and ceasing only with his death sixty years later. Partly by chance and partly by design the degree and nature of our control of the Nicobars have combined to prevent racial deterioration or indeed any great change taking place. The government has suppressed "devil murder", that cruel ceremony of capital punishment inflicted by the community in former days on any person displaying perverse and inordinate bad

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temper, but with this exception there has been little direct interference in the internal government of the Nicobarese. We have given the more populous islands some education and to a small section the real benefits of a broad-minded christianity, but possibly the chief factor in preserving the age-long culture and contentment of the Nicobarese has been the exclusion of all undesirable aliens and the strict control of such aliens as are permitted to reside for purposes of trade. Thus it is that the picture presented by this book based though it is on observations recorded between the years 1869 and 1901 is true to existing conditions. In striking contrast with many other ocean races the Nicobarese with the exception of the small lethargic sections in the Southern Islands are today much what they have always been as regards health, physique, and the many happy and lovable characteristics depicted in these pages by their old friend and protector.

There is a line of policy recommended by the author forty years ago which is now challenged by informed opinion. He suggests colonization of suitable unoccupied land in the Southern Nicobars by Chinese. There is now a pronounced increase in the population of the northern islands and it is right from every point of view to retain all vacant land for the probable overflow from Car Nicobar rather than to attempt to create a considerable alien colony.

On page 109 *Birgus latro*, the robber crab, is stated to be a serious local pest of the coco-nut, but this crab is recorded only from South Sentinel, a small desert island off Little Andaman, and from no other island in the Andamans or Nicobars. The only serious pest of coco-nuts in the Nicobars of which I am aware is the rat. The damage inflicted by monkeys is stated on page 110 to make them "unfit for sale". Actually monkeys twist off the young coco-nuts when only a couple of inches in diameter and render the deserted plantations of Great Nicobar entirely barren. Luckily monkeys are confined to that island and the island of Kachal.

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The photographs are extremely good. Mr. Man was famous for his photography.

There is a brief index and three good maps, one of which, however, suffers from over reduction. The names need a magnifying glass.

919. M. L. FERRAR.

GUHYASAMĀJA TANTRA, or TATHĀGATAGUHYAKA. Edited with introduction and index by BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LIII. 9½ × 6, pp. xl + 212. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 4.4.0.

The Guhyasamāja Tantra is one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras, dating probably from the third century (time of Asaṅga). Its importance lies in the introduction of the element of Śakti in all forms of Yoga practice. Its style is that of a Saṅgīti, a form of composition peculiar to Buddhist writers. In the earlier days these Saṅgītis begin with the description of an Assembly of the Faithful, where Buddha Bhagavān comes and sits in various *samādhis*, addressing the Assembly on various matters. This style prevails in Hīna- and Mahāyāna works. Later, in Yogatantra works, he is introduced as sporting in the sacred knowledge arising out of the body mind, and speech of the Tathāgatas. The Guhyasamāja is full of interesting features which illustrate the exorbitance to which a systematic pursuit of Yoga in its extreme degree has led. The G. definitely asks its followers to disregard all social laws which to a Yogi have the least importance. It was the introduction of Śaktis which has brought about this unorthodox (to say the least) development of Buddhism, and one may surmise that the spread of this kind of yaugic practice is to a large extent responsible for the disappearance of Buddhism from India.

The G. is full of its own praise. It asserts that its followers can attain enlightenment and Buddhahood in an instant (ch. 17), and no doubt it became very popular on this account.

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In the last (eighteenth) chapter we come upon an explanation of technical terms as used in Tāntric practices, by which we gain a wonderful insight into the history and teaching of the Tantras which were meant only for initiates. The great interest taken in the Guhyasamāja from its first appearance is shown also by the large number of commentaries written on it, including one by Nāgārjuna (A.D. 645) and Śāntideva (A.D. 695).

For all students of Tantra and Yoga this work in Dr. Bhattacharyya's critical edition is invaluable, not only on account of its accurately emendated and beautifully-printed text (a feature which it shares with most volumes of the Gaekwad Oriental Series), but also on account of the illuminating and exhaustive introduction preceding the text.

731. W. STEDE.

PERSIENS MYSTIKER DSCHELÁL-EDDIN RUMI. Eine Stildeutung in drei Vorträgen. By GUSTAV RICHTER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 72. Breslau: Frankes Druckerei, 1933.

The poetry which is the subject of the three lectures comprised in this book represents the greatest combination of lyrical and didactic mysticism that Persian or any other literature has produced, and those best acquainted with it realize that from whatever side it may be approached it raises problems of peculiar complexity. Dr. Richter takes an æsthetic standpoint resembling that of Goethe in the *West-oestlicher Divan*. Beginning with a sketch of the poet's life and times, he lays down the principle—a very sound one—that understanding of his work and personality must be sought in comparative study of Persian literature and literary history, and particularly in careful analysis of his style, not only as a medium of self-expression but also as influenced by the religious and social *milieu* in which he lived. The technique, structure, and composition of his poetry, the subtle methods which he employs in order to develop and unify his theme,

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and kindred matters are discussed and illustrated in a most interesting way by translations and analysis of several passages from the *Mathnawí* and the *Díwán-i Shams-i Tabríz*. It would be unfair to the critic to give a dry résumé of what he says on the "primary" and "secondary" styles and on the illogical but inwardly harmonious movement of an episode, starting from some fable, story, or tradition, through a series of analogies and reflections to a climax in which its apparent values are transformed and invested with eternal significance. All this may be more or less familiar to students of the *Mathnawí*, but the subject is now for the first time surveyed philosophically and handled with such a fine apprehension that no one concerned with the interpretation of Rúmí's poetry can afford to leave these pages unread. Dr. Richter concludes, and I agree with him, that attempts to construct a system of speculative mysticism from the *Mathnawí* and the *Díwán* by attaching fixed and precise connotations to terms which the poet uses for artistic purposes are doomed to failure.

845. R. A. NICHOLSON.

KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1931. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India, and with the support of the Imperial Government of India. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xi + 210, figs. 4, pls. 12. Leyden: E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1933.

Scholars of all countries are well aware that in the great University of Leyden the *Sarvaśuklā Sarasvatī* has long had her fixed abode. Nearly every branch of human learning has there had illustrious representatives during several centuries, and Oriental studies—especially Arabic ones—have been kept highly flourishing in Holland and above all in Leyden since long time ago. The present writer, who is not wholly averse to a slight personal touch even in scientific

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reviews, is easily reminded of the great seventeenth century when his own country, Sweden, and Holland, then two first-rank Protestant Powers, were often tied to each other by close relations of friendship. At that period some eminent Dutch scholars—mostly philologists—at the Court of Queen Christina, the gifted though eccentric daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, tried their best to spread the lights of science amongst the still semi-barbarous descendants of the Goths. And Sweden was by far not the one country that got much inspiration from the sagacity and learning of Dutch scholars.

Sanskrit studies, which are of a somewhat late date, have not had too many representatives in Holland; however, names like Kern, one of the most eminent of all Orientalists, Speyer, and Caland are household words with every Sanskrit scholar, and their works have been of great and lasting use to our Indian studies. Their traditions are nowadays most worthily upheld by Professor Vogel who, together with some of his colleagues, has now presented to the learned world the sixth volume of his most laudable undertaking, the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology*, previous volumes of which have been duly noticed in this JOURNAL. The present volume, with its 982 entries and its set of magnificent plates, has been a very sumptuous undertaking, which was only made possible by two liberal donations recorded in the joint editors' preface. We may thus cherish the hope that Professor Vogel and his collaborators will be able to continue their magnificent and useful series, even if their path be at times strewn with some difficulties.

The introduction, as usual, contains a number of separate papers containing new and interesting information. First amongst these papers comes one by Dr. Fábri dealing with Sir Aurel Stein's location of the famous battle of the Hydaspes. This location, which has been foreshown by Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Cunningham, is most probably the correct one, though it must, of course, be admitted that

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absolute certainty in a case like this is not to be reached. The statement that Alexander moved southwards need not to be taken in a literal sense and would not by itself preclude another solution; still we must admit that the degree of verisimilitude is here approaching to certainty. Thus the site of Aornos, the place of the passage of the Jhelum and the one of the Porus battle, seem all, thanks to the sagacity of Sir Aurel Stein, to have been fairly safely located.

In the second article Dr. Zieseniss, well-known through his researches on the Malay *Rāmāyaṇa*, deals with a Śaiva sculpture that in 1931 was unearthed within the village of Parel, near Bombay. This sculpture has already been described by Father H. Heras, S.J., and by Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, whose interpretations of its figures seem to be slightly differing from each other. Without entering into too many details, it may be safely asserted that the sculpture is to be read from bottom to top and that the three central figures are meant to depict Śiva as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer. Consequently the bottom figure that holds in one hand a rosary and in the other one a nondescript object is Śiva in the role of Brahmā, the Creator, one of whose attributes is quite naturally a *japamālā*. Whatever be the not very clearly defined attribute of the middle figure—personally I much doubt that it could well be a *kamaṇḍalu*—he must be Śiva the Preserver, as there is not the slightest doubt that the ten-armed figure at the top of the sculpture is meant to be the Destroyer of the Universe. Whether the interpretation of the four side-figures given by Dr. Zieseniss on p. 9 may well be doubted; unfortunately I am, however, unable to make any probable suggestion towards the solution of this riddle.

Following articles deal with Indian numismatics and with the progress of archæological research within the state of H.E.H. the Nizam. Professor Vogel himself writes about unidentified sculptures from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and about the discovery, by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil and Messrs. K.

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Venkatarangam and S. K. Govindaswami, of frescoes in South Indian temples. Of the plates from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa III*a* seems to depict Nāgas adoring some caskets which probably include Buddha relics, while IV*a* (and perhaps also *b*) contains a scene from the Nāga world, being apparently in a state of great stir, portending the visit of a Buddha. Unfortunately I am not sufficiently well read in Buddhist lore to be able to identify these scenes; however, I scarcely doubt that passages of Buddhist texts will be found which are apt to solve the riddle. As for Pl. III*b* there are certainly seen some persons pointing to an orb, on the surface of which appear the crescent together with certain stars. Eight of these celestial bodies undoubtedly form the well-known constellation of the Great Bear together with the Pole Star, and this at once reminds us of a certain detail of the nuptial ceremonies regulated by the Sūtras, viz. the pointing out of the *dhruva* to the newly-married couple. Still it, of course, remains highly doubtful whether this be really alluded to here.

The reports concerning archæological researches in Ceylon, Indo-China, and the Eastern Archipelago are full of interest, but cannot be discussed here. Dr. Kramer's classified list of Achæmenian inscriptions is a very useful work for which all scholars concerned with Indo-Iranian studies will feel deeply grateful to its author.

The bibliography as usual deserves only most unstinted praise. Of small misprints not corrected in the Addenda et Corrigenda we have observed one, on p. 118 (No. 405), where read *perdeu* (instead of *perden*).

We once more testify to our deep-felt gratitude towards Professor Vogel and his colleagues, and hope soon again to be endowed with another of their admirable volumes.

971. JARL CHARPENTIER.

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE MYSTIC TENDENCIES IN ISLAM IN THE LIGHT OF THE QUR'AN AND TRADITIONS. By M. M. ZUHŪRU'D-DĪN AḤMAD, M.A. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xiv + 248 + iv. Bombay: M. M. Z. Aḥmad, 1932.

The author is Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the Ismail College, Bombay, and formerly lecturer at Aligarh University. The aim of this interesting study, we are told, is to explain how Islamic mysticism originated and to sketch the history of its development. Professor Ahmad is not unacquainted with the earlier work of western Orientalists who have studied this aspect of Islam and he refers to Nicholson, Macdonald, Lehmann, Margoliouth, O'Leary, and Brown. His main authorities, however, are the Quran and Tradition, with occasional references to the Mathnawi of Jalal-ad-din ar-Rumi. Strange to say, he seems unacquainted with Professor John Clark Archer's study on *The Mystical Elements in Mohammed* (Yale University Press, 1924), which also finds the origin of mystical tendencies in the life of the Prophet and in the Quran itself.

No one doubts that there are occasional traits in Mohammed's character and a very few passages in his Book which lend themselves to the view that mysticism belongs to the essence of Islam. We read that the works of Western orientalists "are marred by their reliance on the works of unknown authors. Their inferences from such works give an impression to the readers that the Muslim Mystics had lived a life absolutely different from the life and tenets of the founder of Islam. Their writings seem to suggest that Muslim saints had chalked out for themselves a path of spiritual progress, which had very little in common with the path of the Prophet and his companions, and almost invariably aim at proving that this new path founded by these saints in some way made amends for the inherent defects of Islam as a theory of life. There is nothing farther from the truth than this suggestion of the Western scholars".

To prove this contention we have brief chapters on the

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Early Beginnings of Sufism in Islam as illustrated in the practices of the Prophet, on Sufi tendencies in his Companions, on the relation between the *Tarîqah* and the *Sharî'ah*, on the Emergence of Present Sufi Doctrines, on the Theory of *tawhîd* and its Relation to Spiritual Growth, with a final chapter on Saintship in Islam and its Decadence. The writer sums up his discussion on present-day Sufism by saying that: "The various reformatory movements started in the Islamic world have not yet proved of any great value. The pernicious practices introduced in the circle of their credulous votaries by the illiterate Sufis still persist and are considered to be the essence of Sufism, by some still more ignorant to be the essence of Islam. The time is ripe for reformation."

Except for an occasional evidence of the propaganda spirit (e.g. note on p. 153), and many unfortunate misprints to which attention is called in a list of corrigenda, the book is worthy of careful study and supplements western thought on the subject.

S. M. ZWEMER.

677.

THE CATUHŚATAKA OF ĀRYADEVA, SANSCRIT, AND TIBETAN TEXTS: With Copious Extracts from the Commentary of Candrakīrti. Reconstructed and Edited by V. BHATTACHARYA (Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 2). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxiv + 308. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Book Shop, 1931. Rs. 8.

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE. Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 3. By A. SEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. viii + 48. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Book Shop, 1931. Rs. 4.

Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya is certainly the leader of those few Indian scholars who have realized the importance of Tibetan and Chinese as subsidiary studies to Sanskrit research and have undertaken original investigations of Buddhism according to the new lines of the comparative method.

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The author has published a new translation of the *kārikās* of the *Catuhśataka* of Āryadeva, that is of one of the most important works of Māhāyāna. In fact it is directly inspired by the teaching of Nāgārjuna, though a careful study of the system of Āryadeva may lead to the conclusion that, in some particular points at least, he expounded the views of his master with a certain originality. As known, some fragments of this work of Āryadeva were discovered in Nepal and published together with a commentary by Haraprasāda Śāstrin. Then Vaidya prepared a new edition of the *kārikās*, together with the Tibetan translation and a restoration into Sanskrit of the lost portions. This very often missed the point, as I tried to show in a new translation from the Chinese.

Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya has now made accessible the complete text, restoring into Sanskrit all the missing portions.

Sen's booklet contains a review and a short résumé of the ideas attributed, in the Jaina literature to the heretical sects, its chief sources being the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, the Bhāgavatī, and other Aṅgas of the Śvetāmbaras, together with their commentaries.

The author had, of course, some predecessors like Schrader, Barua, whom he cites frequently in connection with the Ājīvakas and as regards some other sects, e.g. the Lokāyatas, the Kālavādins, the Svabhāvavādins, and my studies on "Indian materialism".

But, though it cannot be said that the results of this research are quite new, it must be acknowledged that the exposition of the various views is clear: very useful is the list of the religious sects to be found in the Jaina literature and reproduced at p. 39.

627. 628. GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

SARACENIC HERALDRY: A SURVEY. By L. A. MAYER. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 9$, pp. xvi + 302, pls. 71. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. 84*s*.

The body of this book is a list of all those in Egypt and

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Syria who are known to have had coats of arms, and whose coats are known, from the beginning of the custom of bearing arms till the Turkish conquest of Egypt. The blazon is described; there is a full bibliography of all objects bearing it; and whenever possible a short life of the man is given. Much labour has gone to the making of this record; manuscripts in many libraries and printed books have been ransacked to provide the history of everyone named in it, so that it can take its place worthily among the *Ṭabaḳát*.

In the introduction the problems raised by the list are discussed. The conclusions reached are these: some blazons denote office, some are *tamghas*, and others cannot be explained. Only soldiers bore arms and as their children were usually bred to civil professions there is very little evidence to show whether arms were hereditary or not. Dr. Meyer thinks that they were, though he does not believe in "canting coats". Blazons were at first simple and later became complicated; and in the later stage all the arm-bearing mamluks of a chief probably bore the same badge, perhaps differentiated by colour. The earliest known badge is that of Núr ud Dín b. Zangi (†A.H. 569, A.D. 1174). The connection with western heraldry is not discussed, but Núr ud Dín is only a few years earlier than A.D. 1189, the date of the earliest dated western coat. On p. 8 are diagrammatic forms of all known charges. It would have been convenient if these had been labelled, for one is called a gate and the reader is left to guess which is meant. No. 40 looks like a schoolboy's slate, and 46 like a tent-peg. One identification is hard to accept, the "trousers of nobility". If the West had its *manche* there is no reason why the East should not have had trousers. But the two parts of the badge are always separate (except perhaps in pl. 62, 9), not even "hitched together at the top". Pls. 61, 1, and 62, 4, are more like horns; 68, 1, the objects are perpendicular; 68, 7, the thick ends are downwards; 69, 2, the thick ends are outside; and in 64 (which the author does not discuss at all) the two are the same thickness all

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through. They might be swords. Though these things do not seem to be horns, one fears that the traveller who saw a pair of trousers on the banner of Saladin's nephew had had his leg pulled. Some coins in the British Museum throw some light on the question whether arms were hereditary. One of Baraka Khán bears a lion, but it faces to the right, whereas that of his father Baibars faces to the left. Though coats of arms were well known and a poet could say when a change of governor took place, "the badge of striking has gone and the badge of swallowing has come," yet one has an uneasy feeling that engravers and masons were not particular about details so that no argument can be built on small differences. Copper coins of Muḥammad b. Ḳaláún have a rosette of six petals, while one has a wheel or a rosette of five sunk petals. This badge does not appear on gold or silver. Copper coins of his son Isma'il have a bird, possibly a duck, while others have a rosette. There is no apparent reason why one should be a blazon and the other not. On a copper coin of Muhammad's other son, Ḥájji, is a big fleur-de-lys and two silver coins have a small one in the middle of the inscription. Both unfortunately are badly worn. If the engravers are to be trusted, arms may have been hereditary, or hereditary with a difference, or not at all.

The plates are excellent, except 63, but there is nothing to show that many of the rosettes figured in them are heraldic.

The language of the inscriptions is peculiar, small objects being worse than buildings. Nearly every epithet is a *nisba*, even كبير becomes كبيري. This may be an extension of the usage whereby a mamluk took his master's name so that everyone belonging to an-Náṣir was called Náṣiri, and of the practice of reducing an honorific title like Saif ud Dín to a hypocoristicon Saifi. Yet this will hardly account for a form like الذخري "the precious" (?). Some of the translations violate fundamental rules of syntax. الدار الكريمة تقزتمر cannot mean "the noble house of Tuquztamur";

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either the engraver was concerned with making fine letters or it must mean "the noble house, Tuquztamur" on the analogy of the Sublime Porte. The rendering on p. 215 is also impossible. If the words are right, and Arabic, they mean "the *amír dawádár*, the (chief) *dawádár*, the great one of the noble court". On p. 66 (2) السندي and on 96 الامراء are omitted in the translation. On 135 two words are in the wrong order, it must be بالابواب العالية. Probably the explanation lies in illiterate workmen.

There are a few mistakes. The reference p. 33 (3) on p. 91 should be 36 (3), on p. 143, note 2, should be *Durar* (Or. 3044), and there are one or two misprints.

It seems rash to attribute a coin to one sovereign on the strength of a fleur-de-lys and the title Manṣúr.

With amazing industry Dr. Mayer has given us a monumental book. If Ṭabari could read it he would cry: "The zeal for learning is not dead."

802. A. S. TRITTON.

THE LANKAVATARA SUTRA. A Mahayana Text. Translated by D. J. SUZUKI. 9 × 6, pp. l + 300, ills. 1, pls. 7. London: George Routledge, 1932. 16*s*.

Professor Suzuki's important lectures have already been reviewed in this JOURNAL and we are now offered a translation from the original Sanskrit, based on Bunyu Nanjo's version, of the Sutra itself. The translation is preceded by a useful introduction which "may also serve as one to Mahayana Buddhism generally". It treats, *inter alia*, of Mahayana ideas of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva, and under Psychology with the idea of the Ālaya in its relation to the vijñānas, manas, citta, etc., "the Twofold Egolessness," Epistemology, the three Svabhāvas, etc. It also deals with the specific message of the sutra and briefly with "the most important Mahayana texts that thus served to move the religious

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feelings of the Far Eastern peoples and are still continuing to do so". Finally, the author discusses the date of the sutra, and the references to it in early Chinese records.

As the text of Ch'an or Zen Buddhism, this version will be welcomed by all students of Mahayana. Professor Suzuki has spent many years in unravelling the meaning of the "chaotic" text, his translation may not be accepted in detail by Sanskrit scholars, but in general he has supplied a reliable version. Founded on the doctrine of "Mind only", its intricate and involved arguments can only be followed by one who has much patience and insight, and we are indebted to the translator for his endeavour to interpret so difficult a sutra into our own language.

"Then Mahāmatī said: Teach me, Blessed One, concerning that most subtle doctrine which explains the Citta, Manas, Manovijñāna, the five Dharmas, the Svabhāvas, and the Lakshanas; which is put in practice by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; which is separated from the state of mind which recognizes a world as something outside Mind itself; and which, breaking down all the so-called truths established by words and reasonings, constitutes the essence of the teaching of all the Buddhas" (p. 39).

To any Western scholar who wishes to understand the fundamental text of Zen Buddhism this translation is essential.

656. W. E. SOOTHILL.

MATÉRIAUX POUR L'ÉTUDE DU SYSTÈME VIJÑAPTIMĀTRA. Par SYLVAIN LÉVI. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 260. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 208. Front. Paris: Champion, 1932. Frs. 75.

Seven years have elapsed between Professor Lévi's edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Triṁśikā* and the *Viṁśatikā* of Vasubandhu, the former with a *vṛtti*, the latter with the *Bhāṣya* of Sthiramati, which he had the good fortune to discover in Nepal under the auspices of Hemrāj Śarman,

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Rāj-Guru of that kingdom. He then promised at an early date a rendering of these texts, but the delay which has intervened has been unavoidable and has led to the collection of much additional information bearing on the Vijñaptimātra system. He has now given us renderings of the published texts and also of the notice on Ālayavijñāna from the *Fan yi ming yi tsi* (A.D. 1143), in which he had originally the collaboration of the late Édouard Chavannes, and he has prefixed (pp. 15–42) a résumé of the system, and an account of its history following the views of the late D. Shimaji of the Imperial University of Tokyo as adapted by Paul Demiéville. The work therefore forms an indispensable contribution to the study of a historically most important system, which already has had the good fortune to have been studied by Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin in his translation of Hiuan Tsang's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. It has been possible to correct many imperfections in the printed texts (pp. 175–9), and a full index to the technical terms employed completes a work of much love and labour.

So far as it is practicable Professor Lévi's efforts enable us to follow at least the main lines of the thought of these treatises. What remains obscure must almost entirely be ascribed to the author himself. Vasubandhu as a philosopher must always remain strange to occidental minds. He starts with presuppositions which he never examines; the doctrine of transmigration, the chain of causation are binding on him; the whole of his great scheme rests on *a priori* constructions incapable of verification by our mental processes and therefore essentially unreal to us. It evades criticism, and it is easy to understand how very different are the interpretations put upon it in the history of the school. It would be rash, and, within the limits of space here available, quite useless to question details of Professor Lévi's interpretation, and we need only congratulate ourselves and Vasubandhu that he has found so admirable an interpreter.

968. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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THE KALPADRUKOŚA OF KEŚAVA. Vol. I. Edited with critical introduction by RĀMĀVATĀRA ŚARMĀ. Vol. II. Index compiled by SHRIKANTA SHARMA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLII and LX. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Vol. I, pp. lxii + 2 + 485; Vol. II, pp. vi + 283. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1928 and 1932. Rs. 4 each.

ŚABDARATNASAMANVAYAKOŚA of King Sāhajī of Tanjore. Critically edited with introduction and index by VITTHALRAM LALLURAM SHASTRI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LIX. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xxxi + 607. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 11.

The Baroda Oriental Institute carries on actively its excellent task of publishing hitherto unedited works, and, among some really important and much interesting material, includes a certain number of texts, which are of no great value to the majority of Sanskritists. Of the two dictionaries named above, the first dates from 1660 and is arranged by synonyms, of which according to the editor it has the largest collection made by any Indian lexicographer. The introduction, which summarizes our knowledge of this class of literature, unfortunately makes no attempt to estimate the value of Keśava's production or to investigate the manner in which he has used his sources. So far as I can see, it is an industrious compilation, exploiting his predecessors with care, but devoid of originality and adding little or nothing to our knowledge. The editing is good and the index complete and accurate.

The other lexicon, which is a little later in date, is arranged on the opposite principle of giving the various meanings of each word and was presumably of use to court poets striving after the more recondite effects of the later *kāvya*. Otherwise it seems to be of little importance except for the interest attaching to its origin. There are occasional mistakes in the index, but the scheme of the work makes it easy to find words, even when a wrong reference is given.

869, 868.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

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THE PERSIAN RIVAYATS OF HORMAZYAR FRAMARZ AND OTHERS. Their version with Introduction and Notes. By ERVAD BAMANJI NUSSERWANJI DHABAR. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. lxviii + 658. Bombay: The K.R. Cama Oriental Institute, 1932.

This bulky volume contains an enormous amount of matter, but it has been put together in a deplorably clumsy and awkward manner and it is arranged and indexed in such a way that it is difficult to trace any information with regard to any specific point. The book purports to give primarily translations of portions of the Persian Rivayats, eight letters received from Persia at different times, containing guidance for Indian Zoroastrians on points connected with their religion from Persian Zoroastrians, but there is also a great deal of other matter, chiefly in the form of extracts from later letters of a similar character. All these letters have been mixed up in such a confusing way and they are so overlaid with endless and voluminous notes on points, relevant and irrelevant, that it is difficult to see the wood for the trees. The matters dealt with are very largely a repetition *ad nauseam* of discussions about various kinds of ceremonial impurity arising from childbirth, menstruation, and other defilements, and the constant prescribing of bull's urine as a means of purification. This fluid, either directly or under the Persian names of *gomez* and *pādyāb*, is mentioned many hundreds of times.

From the point of view of linguistic scholarship there is very little of interest in the book apart from a list (pp. 630–6) of technical words used in the Rivayats, many of which are not to be found in ordinary Persian lexicons. It would seem that the author would have rendered much better service to scholarship if he had given the Persian texts of the Rivayats in full with a translation and cut down the explanatory notes to a minimum. His English style is very strange in places. He writes in the introduction about the Rivayat throwing a "glaring" light on most points of

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medieval Parsi history, and in a footnote (p. 359) of the omnipresent *gomez* "being drunk by the candidate with his naked body".

884. R. P. DEWHURST.

THE SEALAND OF ANCIENT ARABIA. By RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY. Yale Oriental Series: Researches, vol. xix. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. xii + 204. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1932, 18*s*.

This comparatively small book is priced in England at 18*s*., and is certain to have a very small sale. It contains little or no matter of any originality, and it is only likely to interest a few specialists in a very limited field. The conclusions arrived at, when divested of a cloud of words, really amount to very little. The author in his short preface explains that he has used the term "Sealand" instead of "Sea-land" because of evidence that the designation was looked upon as geographical rather than as merely descriptive, but this distinction seems to be purely fanciful. His conclusion with regard to the numerous passages in the cuneiform texts cited, which refer to the so-called Sealand and the peninsula of Arabia, is given at p. 121, where he says that "the view that they overlapped is the most plausible explanation", though he proceeds to admit that "the degree of overlapping cannot be gained from data now at our disposal".

The extreme vagueness of the evidence may be inferred from the author's own words. He says (p. 156): "It must be admitted that these indices constitute in the main what all will recognize as indirect proof. Direct demonstration would result if a cuneiform geographical document giving the boundaries of the Sealand were available. Knowledge of a more factual [*sic*] character might also be in our possession if numerous texts of Sealand origin had been discovered and deciphered. As it is, dependence must be placed upon indirect

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information of the type which has been presented. In other fields of investigation such evidence is considered very valuable. The most may be made of it in the absence of more specific data." The last sentence seems extraordinarily naïve, being tantamount to saying that in the absence of good evidence the value of weak evidence may justifiably be exaggerated.

A suggestion that the so-called Sealanders influenced the development of Hebrew monotheism is advanced in a very tentative way and is based on the most slender evidence. This is made clear by the last paragraph of the book (p. 191). There is a strange misprint on p. 160, where the "Rub'-al-Khali" is referred to as the "Rub' at Khali".

The binding, paper, and typography of this volume are of excellent quality, but it cannot be said that the contents are of a practical or stimulating nature. There are no maps, a rather surprising omission.

817. R. P. DEWHURST.

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1. ASSAM BURANJI, or a History of Assam. pp. xxii + 152, 1930.
2. KAMRUPAR BURANJI, or an Account of Ancient Kamarupa. By HARAKANTA SARMA BARUA, Sadr Amin. pp. xviii + 152. 1930. Rs. 2.8.
3. TUNGKHUNGIA BURANJI, or a Chronicle of the Tungkhungia Kings of Assam. pp. xlviii + 188, 1932. Rs. 2.8.
4. ASAMAR PADYA-BURANJI, or a Metrical Chronicle of Assam. pp. lvi + 308. 1932. Rs. 3.
5. DEODHAI ASAM BURANJI, with several shorter Chronicles of Assam. pp. lxx + 222. 1932. Rs. 3.

All edited by S. K. BHUYAN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Assam: Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies.

The Āhōms, who entered Assam early in the thirteenth century, possessed an historic sense rarely found in India. From the commencement of their rule a continuous record

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of important events was maintained by their Deodhāis, or tribal priests, in the Āhōm script and language. Later on, when the Āhōms came under the influence of Hinduism, similar records were made by Hindu writers in the Assamese language.

About forty years ago a search was made for such records as part of the scheme for historical research in Assam, which was drawn up by the writer of this review at the request of the late Sir Charles Lyall. As a result, six *burañjis*, or historical manuscripts, in the Āhōm tongue were found and translated into English; and these with eleven others in Assamese formed the most important part of the material used for a detailed history of Assam. The original records, however, remained unprinted.

In 1928, with a view to promote further research, the Government of Assam established a Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies; and the five volumes enumerated above are some of the first-fruits of the activities of the new Department. In them are published a number of works in the Assamese language by various authors. These works have all been edited by Professor S. K. Bhuyan, who has written in English a critical introduction to each volume, with biographical notes regarding the authors and a brief indication of the nature of the contents. (In the case of No. 4 he has given a full synopsis at the end.)

No. 1 is an elaboration of the Chronicle of Kāsīnāth Tāmuli Phukan, which was published in Sibsagar in A.D. 1844. The author claims descent from an astrologer who came from Kānauj in the latter part of the sixteenth century and was one of the first Hindus to obtain a high position at the Āhōm Court.

No. 2 is a compilation from several manuscripts. The most important is one that had already been published at Sibsagar in 1853 by the American Baptist Mission. It contains an account of the Muhammadan invasions during the seventeenth century.

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No. 3 is attributed to Srināth Bar Baruā, but it appears from the first sentence of the record that that personage "caused it to be written", so presumably he was not himself the author. It purports to be a history of the Tungkhungiā dynasty, but very little is said of the first four kings of that line; the editor has therefore prefixed a fuller narrative from two other *buraṅjis*. This work provides a good deal of valuable information for the years A.D. 1751 to 1806.

No. 4 contains two metrical chronicles: (*a*) Kāli Bharat Buranji, by Dutirām Hājarikā, covering the period from the accession of Larā Rājā in 1679 up to the mutiny; its account of the Burmese invasion and the establishment of British rule is of considerable value: and (*b*) Belimarār Buranji, by Viśveśvar Vaidyādhipa, which commences with Welsh's expedition in 1792 and ends with the second Burmese invasion. The latter was written at the instance of the last Āhōm king and the former at that of his son.

No. 5 contains a number of old writings. The most important is that which gives its name to the volume. Unlike the other writings in this series it is not an original Assamese work, but a revision of a translation from an old *buraṅji* in the Āhōm tongue, which was made for the American Baptist Mission, and published in Sibsagar in its local periodical in A.D. 1850–2. Another important *buraṅji* in the same volume was inspired by the Būṛhā Gohāiñ who held office in the troubled years following Mir Jumla's invasion.

It has been impossible in this brief review to go into details, but it is hoped that enough has been said to demonstrate the very useful work which is being done by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, and to induce those who are interested in the history of Assam to study the volumes for themselves. They reflect great credit on Professor Bhuyan, who appears to be the life and soul of the Department.

959, 960, 961, 962, 963. E. A. GAIT.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. By the "HŌSHI" TAI TA-TAI of the Jion-ji Temple. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7$. Kyoto: Academy of Oriental Culture, Kyoto Institute.

We have received from the Academy of Oriental Culture, Kyoto Institute, a critical edition of the well-known *Life of Hsiuen Tsang*, entitled 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳. The editors, Professor Haneda and Mr. Utsunomiya, point out that the various texts hitherto published are very far from perfect, and in preparing this new edition with various readings taken from different old texts they have taken as the basis of this text a Korean manuscript of the eleventh century. In addition to the text and variants the editors have published a learned introduction and an index of proper names. This work ought to prove invaluable to future students of the fascinating life of the famous Buddhist pilgrim.

909. E. DENISON ROSS.

SOME TURKISH TRANSCRIPTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF IRREGULAR ASPIRATES IN MANDARIN. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. Pamphlet. Reprint from the Ts'ai Yüan P'ei Anniversary Volume (Supplementary Vol. I of the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica). $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 12. Peiping, 1933.

In this important little extract Professor Karlgren sets out to prove that the transcription of Turkish names beginning with a T, such as Tegin, Tardu, and Tarkan, do not, as has hitherto been supposed, indicate that the Chinese of the sixth and seventh centuries heard and transcribed the initial T of Central Asia by D, but that the characters employed really go back to an ancient alternative reading of T- for D, and that the Chinese 特勤 is a perfect transcription of Tegin.

A. 57. E. DENISON ROSS.

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GÎTA-GÔWINDA: PASTORALE VAN DJAJADÊWA. In Nederlandsche verzen overgebracht door Dr. B. FADDEGON. 8 × 5, pp. 192, pls. 5 (including a coloured frontispiece). Santpoort: Uitgeverij C. A. Mees, 1932. Frs. 2.90 and 3.90.

This Dutch translation of a Sanskrit poem is preceded by an Introduction of about 30 pages and followed by 15 pages of notes and a brief bibliography. The translation, which is in verse, reads well. Being no Sanskritist, I have not been able to collate it with the original, but a comparison with Sir Edwin Arnold's version (in *Indian Poetry*, Trübner & Co., 1886) indicates that the Dutch translation is a closer rendering than this English one. The Introduction discusses the poem from various points of view and also deals with the life and legend of its author.

712. C. O. BLAGDEN.

MELANGES DE PHILOLOGIE ORIENTALE. (See *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 157.) 10 × 6½, xvi + 230 pp., ills. 8. Liége, Institut Supérieur d'Histoire et de Littératures orientales de l'Université; Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste Marcel Istas, s.a., 228, rue de Bruxelles.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes:—

CANONS OF ORISSAN ARCHITECTURE. By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE. Calcutta: R. Chatterjee, 1932.

EINFÜHRUNG INS URARTÄISCHE GRAMMATISCHER ABRISS UND AUSGEWÄHLTE TEXTE MIT SPRACHLICHEN ERLÄUTERUNGEN. By JOHANNES FRIEDRICH. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1933.

NATIVE EDUCATION. CEYLON, JAVA, FORMOSA, PHILIPPINES, FRENCH INDO-CHINA, AND BRITISH MALAYA. By Hon. H. A. WYNDHAM. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.

HARUN AL RASCHID. By H. S. J. PHILBY. London: Peter Davis, 1933.

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YOSHINO: ANTHOLOGY OF JAPANESE POETRY. *Rhymes Japonais: L'Expression Poétique dans le Folk-Lore Japonais: La Forêt des Symboles.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1933.

SANKṢIPTA JAINA ITIHĀSA (A Brief Jaina History). Vol. ii, pt. 1. By KĀMATĀ PRASĀDAJĪ JAINA. Surat: Digambara-jaina, 1933.

OUTRAM'S RIFLES: A HISTORY OF THE 4TH BATTALION 6TH RAJPUTANA RIFLES. By H. G. RAWLINSON. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

LEGENDS OF OUR LADY MARY. The Perpetual Virgin and her Mother Hanna. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933.

ONE HUNDRED AND TEN MIRACLES OF OUR LADY MARY. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933.

SRI GOURANGA—THE MAN. By SWAMI D. C. BHARATI. Calcutta: M. L. Dey and Co., 1933.

THE TEACHINGS OF SRI GOURANGA. By SWAMI D. C. BHARATI. Calcutta: M. L. Dey and Co., 1933.

THE CONTINENT OF ASIA. By L. W. LYDE. London: Macmillan and Co., 1933.

THE PRIVATE LETTER BOOK OF JOSEPH COLLET. By H. H. DODWELL: Appendix by C. E. Collet. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933.

LA BIBLE ET L'INDE: CLARTÉS CONVERGENTES. By ALEX. EMMANUEL. Paris: G. R. Maisonneuve, 1933.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1931–32.

THREE ARABIC TREATISES ON ALCHEMY. By MUḤAMMAD BIN UMAIL (10th century A.D.). Excursus on the Writings and Date. By H. E. STAPLETON and M. HIDĀYAT ḤUSAIN. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xii, No. 1.

DIE LANGGEDICHTE YAKAMOCHI'S AUS DEM MANYŌSHŪ. By E. E. FLORENZ. Hamburgische Universität, Nr. 4.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Hosea Ballou Morse

Hosea Ballou Morse was a Canadian by birth, having been born at Brookfield, Nova Scotia, on 18th July, 1855. He was the eldest son of Albert David Morse and Mercy Dexter (Park) and came of a family which traced its descent from Massachusetts ancestry of the 1635 flight. But his grandfather's grandfather in 1776 was a loyalist, who, when George Washington entered Boston, thought it better to accompany Sir William Howe to Halifax where he obtained a commission in the Royal Legion.

Nearly a century later the family returned to Massachusetts, Albert David Morse settling in Medford in 1865, when Hosea was 10 years old. The father became naturalized as a citizen of the United States, and the son became an American with him. In 1866 Hosea Morse entered the Boston Latin School, taking the short course, and on graduation in June, 1870, obtained the Franklin medal. The brilliant intellectual equipment which so marked the whole of his life was already showing itself. Though only 16 he proceeded to Harvard, and devoted himself mainly to classics, for which he had a great liking and aptitude, and in which he took a First Class (summos honores) on graduation.

Immediately after graduation in 1874, at the age of 19, he received an appointment in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, on the recommendation, it is believed, of Mr. Edward B. Drew, a New Englander, who, though still quite a young man, had already achieved a distinguished position as a Commissioner of Customs in that Service, and was one of that brilliant group of young men of various nationalities who gave Mr. (as he then was) Robert Hart such effective co-operation in the building up of his Service.

Three other young Harvard graduates went to China

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with Morse—H. F. Merrill, W. F. Spinney, and C. C. Clarke—of whom Mr. Merrill alone survives; and of the many batches of men from various countries who elected to serve China under Hart, this was surely one of the most remarkable. They were all men of sterling character and good ability; all four served their full time in China and did valuable work in important positions; while one of them, the subject of our memoir, accomplished, outside his official activities, a vast statistical and historical work which places him in the first rank among writers upon China.

Robert Hart soon saw that this young recruit was of uncommon calibre, and Morse had not been long in the Service before he found himself selected for some of the special missions and appointments which the Inspector-General held in his gift. His first three years were passed in Shanghai, where he laid the foundations of his knowledge of Chinese. In 1877 he was transferred to Tientsin and while there was sent into the interior of the province on famine relief work, to distribute money and food in the district affected by the great famine of 1876–7. In 1878 he was appointed to the Inspectorate-General at Peking, whence he passed on to the London office of the Chinese Customs in 1879, where he remained for three years. The office was then under the charge of Mr. J. D. Campbell, C.M.G., and its chief occupation at that time was the responsible task of supervising the construction of the ships built in England for the Chinese Navy which was being formed by Li Hung-Chang.

It was while he was in London that Morse married Annie Josephine Welsford, daughter of Joseph Welsford, ship-owner, of Liverpool and New York, a devoted helpmate who not only accompanied him to all the dangerous places of his career, but whose unceasing care of his health made possible the accomplishment of his vast labours.

In 1883 Morse was back in China again and once more appointed to Tientsin. The Commissioner there was a German, Gustav Detring, one of the great figures of the

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China of his time, and the trusted adviser of the Viceroy Li Hung-chang who was the virtual ruler of the Chinese Empire under the Empress Dowager. Morse became Detring's right-hand man, and in July, 1885, was sent on a special mission to Tongking to supervise the exchange of prisoners on the conclusion of peace with France after the Franco-Chinese war, one of China's troubles from which, thanks to Hart's diplomacy, she emerged comparatively unscathed. For this service Morse received the Chinese Order of the Double Dragon.

In the same year he was seconded from the Customs Service to assist in the organization and management of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, one of Li Hung-chang's enterprises, an officially subsidized shipping company, established with the object of competing with the foreign-owned steamer lines on the Chinese coast.

In 1887 Morse returned to Customs duty as Deputy Commissioner charged with the organization of the bonding system at Shanghai. The next year he was appointed Assistant Statistical Secretary at Shanghai; in 1889 Acting Commissioner at Pakhoi, and in 1892, after two years leave, Acting Commissioner at Tamsui, Formosa. Then came the Chino-Japanese war; Formosa fell to Japan as part of the spoils of war, and the Chinese Customs staff was withdrawn. An interesting account of his experiences during this crisis was given by Morse in his article "A Short-lived Republic" which appeared in the *New China Review* in 1919, and which shows, incidentally, the nerve and resource displayed by him at a moment when all foreigners in Formosa stood in grave peril between the contending forces.

His next appointment was Deputy Commissioner in the Shanghai Customs, and in 1896 he was promoted to full Commissioner's rank and sent to Lungchow on the Tongking frontier, perhaps as remote and forlorn a spot as could be found among China's list of frontier posts. From here he went as Commissioner to Pakhoi, only a degree better, whence

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he proceeded in 1899 to Hankow with the special mission of opening up the province of Hunan to foreign trade.

This long spell of unceasing work and exposure to some of the worst climates in the Far East told upon a constitution never robust, and from 1900 to 1902 he was away from China on leave with his health seriously shattered. He recovered sufficiently to return and be Commissioner in Canton in 1903 and in 1904 was sent to Shanghai as Statistical Secretary.

In that department of the Inspectorate-General where the trade statistics of China are laboriously collated and published in great volumes full of valuable information little regarded even in China and hardly known at all outside of it, Morse found his appropriate place. Here was got together all that was to be known of the trade, with much matter bearing on the political and economic condition of the Chinese people and their commercial dealings with foreign countries. The study of these vast subjects offered a field entirely congenial to Morse's genius, and shaken in health as he was, he threw himself into the work with his accustomed ardour. During the four years in which he had charge of the department he not only reformed the whole system of the arrangement and presentation of the statistics of trade, but began a whole series of special studies which resulted ultimately in the production of those great books which form almost an encyclopædia upon Chinese trade and government.

These enormous labours might well have broken a strong man, and with his frail physique and constant ill-health it is amazing that they were accomplished. In 1908, quite broken down, he went on leave. By Imperial Decree in 1909 he was given Civil rank of the Second Class (red button), and on the expiration of his leave in that year he retired and settled in England, only to be driven to Switzerland and Germany in search of the relief which the doctors here were unable to give him. In 1910 he was given up, but in spite of this verdict of his physicians he gradually recovered; not only

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recovered, indeed, but lived for another twenty-four years to do much more important work.

In 1913 he returned to England and settled at Camberley, where he remained until his death. In 1917, profoundly affected by the war, he took out British naturalization papers and resumed the British status in which he had been born. In September, 1920, he went to Brussels as expert adviser to the Chinese delegation at the Financial and Economic Conference, and in 1922 received by Presidential Mandate the Order of the Chia Ho, Second Class.

His most important works are :—

1908 (3rd edition 1921). *The Trade and Administration of China* (dedicated to his three Harvard colleagues).

1909. *The Gilds of China.*

1910. *International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* vol. i.

1918. *International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* vols. ii and iii.

1926–9. *Chronicles of the East India Company in China,* 1635–1834, 5 vols.

1927. *In the Days of the Taipings* (an historical retrospect given by him to the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., U.S.A.).

Morse also wrote many articles in magazines and papers, and some pamphlets, the most notable being "A Short-lived Republic" (already referred to); "Currency in China" (in the *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society); "Extraterritoriality in China" (*Journal* of Central Asian Society, 1923); "Concessions and Settlements in China" (*Nineteenth Century & After,* July, 1928). In June, 1913, he delivered an address before the Western Reserve University on "The Repayment by the West of its debt to the East". This brilliant paper reveals him at his best—in the depth and scope of his knowledge and his power of literary expression.

At one time and another he served in various extra-official

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capacities of which two are worthy of note. He was several times Secretary, and from 1904–7 he was Vice-President of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Just before his final departure from Shanghai he was President of the American Association of China. After his retirement he took an active part as a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and was also on the committee of the China Association.

He had many Chinese honours. He was given the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1913; and in 1924 his own university, Harvard, conferred on him the same honour.

At the end of 1933 his health failed rapidly and he died of heart exhaustion on 13th February, 1934. A man of kindly disposition and winning personality, he left behind him many who held him in great affection. Modest and retiring he did nothing to advertise his achievements. But his remarkable series of works, the triumph of character, genius, and industry over difficulties, will live and speak for him; and we may well believe that Canada, the country of his birth, together with America, China, and England, the countries of his adoption, will all hold his memory in honour.

6. C. A. V. Bowra.

Guy le Strange

Born at Hunstanton in 1854, Guy le Strange was one of our most distinguished members, and also one of the oldest, his connexion with the Society having been unbroken since 1880, when he was elected during the second presidency of Sir Henry Rawlinson, till his death last year, on 24th December, at Cambridge. Between 1880 and 1912, he contributed to the *Journal* many valuable articles, chiefly on Muslim geography, and his Description of the province of Fárs, translated from the *Fársnáma* of Ibn al-Balkhí, was published in 1912, in the Asiatic Society Series of Monographs.

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Le Strange passed a good deal of his life abroad, first at Paris, where he lived for a time with his mother after leaving school, and then at Florence. In Paris he came under the influence of Julius Mohl, well-known as editor and translator of the *Sháhnáma*, who inspired him with enthusiasm for Persia and Persian literature; and attended the lectures of Stanislas Guyard on Arabic. His initiation in Orientalism was followed by a visit to Persia. He spent three years (1877–80) in making himself familiar with the country and its people, and mastering the language. The immediate result was an inviting little book, in which W. H. D. Haggard collaborated—the text, with translation, vocabulary, and notes, of a modern Persian play, the *Vazír of Lankurán*. As always, he writes with natural ease and force, and the notes are not without characteristic touches of racy humour, e.g. on the word *farrásh*: "there is no name in English for a servant who is at the same time 'housemaid' and 'executioner'." After this excursion into the lighter side of Persian life, Le Strange settled down to work on his favourite subject. To his original and eminently practical mind it soon became clear that "if Moslem history is ever to be made interesting, and indeed to be rightly understood, the historical geography of the nearer East during the Middle Ages must be thoroughly worked out". The extent, value, and interest of his contribution to a complete survey of the immense field earned for him a European reputation, and are so evident that his own estimate of it as "a first attempt" must appear excessively modest.

Large gaps, of course, remain for future research, and the author does not profess to give full details of all the ground he has covered; but within these limits no one taking a broad view of his work can fail to admire either the solidity of its learning or the sagacity of its conclusions or the literary skill shown in its composition. Only three books indispensable to students of Islam need be mentioned here: *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), *Baghdad during the*

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Abbasid Caliphate (1900), and *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905).

Le Strange had long been troubled with weak sight, and from 1912 forward he was on the verge of total blindness. Nevertheless, he continued to read and write under difficulties which most men would have found insuperable. His Cambridge friends could be pretty sure of meeting him any morning in the University Library and being entertained with some pungent sally or lively conversation. He busied himself with Spanish and published translations from that language—Gonsález de Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane* and the *Relaciones* of Don Juan of Persia; also a selection of ballads. With his old friend and colleague, E. G. Browne, who was the main cause of his settling in Cambridge, he took an active part in the affairs of the Gibb Memorial Trust, and its publications include several volumes edited by him. If, in editing and translating, he sometimes paid more attention to matter than to form and committed faults which an exact philologist might have escaped, these were only the small defects of great qualities. All who knew him will endorse the tribute in *The Times* obituary notice from one of those who knew him best: "He was the kindest and most generous of men; he loved young folk as well as his peers, and he was never without a gratuitous pupil, old or young, in Persian, Arabic, or Spanish." It may be added that when his sight failed, he offered many rare books in his library to friends, at absurdly low prices fixed by himself. The present writer acquired a sumptuously bound copy of Turner-Macan's *Sháhnáma*, which bears the inscription, "G. le Strange. Jan. 1875. Paris." That date marks the beginning of sixty years' work carried on with tireless energy and indomitable courage.

2.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Sir Anthony Sherley

On 12th October, 1933, Sir Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies of the University of London, gave a lecture at the rooms of the Society on " Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure ".

It was at Wiston, in Sussex, that the three Sherley brothers, Thomas, Anthony, and Robert, were born and grew up. They were the sons of old Sir Thomas Sherley, who spent most of his life in trouble and some of it in jail. I am mainly concerned with the second son, Anthony, who was born in 1565, and who had many adventures in the low countries before his journey to Persia.

It was, in the first instance, a matter of pure accident. Anthony had been sent by the Earl of Essex, who was his cousin by marriage, to help Don Cesare d'Este, of Ferrara, against the Pope, who laid claim to the Principality. He travelled overland with a party of men and Robert, but on reaching Venice they learned that the Duke had submitted to the Pope and that consequently their services would not be required. Anthony thereupon reported to the Earl of Essex what had happened, but the latter was not willing that he should come back to England " and turn such voice as was raised at his going to nothing, and proposed to him (after a small relation which Anthony made to him from Venice) to voyage to Persia, grounding it up on two points : first, to endeavour to prevail upon the King of Persia to unite with the Christian Princes against the Turks ; second to establish a commercial intercourse between England and the East ". One object was, as it were, pious, and the other mercenary. Anthony's interest in Persia had no doubt been aroused by intercourse with Persians he met in Venice.

Before following the party to Persia I would like to explain as briefly as possible the political situation in that country.

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The rise of the Safavi dynasty had led to the revival of the glories of Persia, such as she had not known since pre-Islamic days, and, under the Great Shāh Ismā'īl, she again became a nation and her borders became co-extensive with those of the great Sasanians. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, the Turks began to invade Northern Persia and by the time Shāh 'Abbās came to the throne in 1587 she had been deprived of most of Armenia and Georgia and of many important towns like Ardebil and Tabriz. It was, no doubt, the urgent desire of Shāh 'Abbās, on his accession to the throne, to recover this lost territory, but, as Persia had just emerged from a period of anarchy, he had felt he could not yet cope with the Turks, whilst the Turks on their side were very anxious to make peace because, at this juncture, the Emperor Rudolph II was attacking them in Hungary, and the Turks were never able to wage war successfully in both quarters at once. In 1590, therefore, peace had been concluded with the Turks, by which each side retained what it held, that is to say, the Turks held a good deal of what was naturally Persian territory.

From 1590 to 1598 'Abbās, relieved from the pressure of the Ottomans, devoted his attention to the consolidation of what remained of his kingdom, and to warding off the invasions of the Uzbegs into Khurasan. Not until April, 1598, was he able to crush his elusive enemy. It was on his return from this victorious campaign in December, 1598, that he met in Qazvīn Anthony and Robert Sherley, whom we left in Venice. The Sherleys and their party had travelled by sea to Antioch, by way of Aleppo down the Euphrates to Baghdad, and from Baghdad into Persia via Qaṣr-i-Shīrīn and Kirmānshāh.

George Manwaring, one of the party, makes an interesting allusion to coffee, which was then unknown in England. He says: "they have a certain kind of drink which they call coffee, it is made of an Italian seed: they drink it extreme hot; it is nothing toothsome, nor hath any good smell, but is very wholesome."

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On the night following the Shāh's arrival the Sherleys were invited by His Majesty to a banquet. Shāh 'Abbās was evidently much pleased with his new visitors on purely personal grounds; for they had no credentials of any kind. We are told incidentally that the party included a cannon founder, and that Anthony showed the Shāh a book on Fortification in which he was much interested. We are also told that the Sherleys gave great impetus to warlike affairs in Persia and instructed the Persians in the use of artillery and of infantry. The statement is interesting but I have not been able to trace any genuine account of their having introduced artillery. Pietro della Valle, in a letter from Persia dated May, 1619, tells us that there were four divisions of soldiery in Persia: "the Fuzileers, the King's slaves, the Kizilbashis, and the Curchis. The Fuzileers are a modern institution at the recommendation of Sir Anthony Sherley, an Englishman." During the stay of the party in Qazvīn Anthony had been created a Mīrzā of the Persian kingdom, and Shāh 'Abbās always spoke to him as Mīrzā Antonio.

They accompanied the Shāh to Ispahān, which they reached in January, 1599. Here the Shāh talked with Anthony almost daily, and a very full account is given by Anthony himself of the arguments he employed in persuading 'Abbās to send an embassy to the Christian princes, of the willing ear 'Abbās lent to his words, and of the viziers who agreed with him, and of those who were bitterly opposed. This commission Anthony, no doubt, designed for himself, but he made no allusion to the fact. The unfriendly viziers, however, saw through this scheme, and said that the proposal was the artful device of a needy adventurer—a charge which was extraordinarily near the truth.

The account written by Anthony himself of his stay in Persia and known as his *Relation* was published in 1613, and has never since been republished, although it was summarized by Purchas. According to this account Anthony derived all his historical information from Shāh 'Abbās

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himself, and though it is quite likely that a man so deeply interested in politics as Anthony undoubtedly was would have sought information on all hands, we may presume that his historical matter was derived in the main from the Grand Sophi himself, and that it represents the history of the period as the chief protagonist felt it should be told. In many cases his names and facts are in great disorder.

After much discussion the Shāh finally arranged to send Sherley in the Embassy to Christendom.

As soon as this had been decided, a feast was held in a great garden of more than two miles' compass, which lasted thirty days continuously. It was during this feast that the Augustinian Friar Nicholas, who was returning from India to Rome, begged to be one of the party proceeding overland to Europe. Time will not permit me to tell the story of the disagreements which arose between this Portuguese friar and Anthony. Anthony himself suggested that he should be accompanied by a Persian colleague with almost equal status to himself, and an officer of the Shāh's bodyguard named Ḥusayn 'Alī Beg was chosen, who turned out to be a second thorn in the flesh to Anthony on his mission.

The party left Ispahān at the end of April, 1599, Robert Sherley being left behind as a hostage. I can only give a brief outline of Anthony's subsequent adventures, the full account is given in my book.[1] They travelled by Russia in order to avoid passing through the Ottoman Empire, via Gīlān, the Caspian, Astrakhan, the Volga, and Nijni-Novgorod, arriving at Moscow six months after their departure from Ispahān. Anthony had great trouble with Friar Nicholas and according to one writer attempted, on one occasion, to drown him in the Volga! Anthony himself was badly treated and, while in Moscow, was apparently kept more or less a prisoner by Boris Gudonov. However, a formal inquiry (in the course of which Anthony boxed the Friar's ears) resulted in Anthony

[1] *Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure*, Routledge, 1933.

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being better treated, while the Friar was imprisoned and eventually put to death.

The party then proceeded to Archangel, and after a stormy voyage in the North Sea put into Stade in the estuary of the Elbe, whence they proceeded to Emden on the Weser, which they reached some time in August and where they were lavishly entertained by the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel. The embassy then passed on and arrived at Prague on 11th October, where they had a great welcome and were granted an audience by the Emperor Rudolph II. They eventually left Prague on 5th February, 1601, on their way to Rome. Throughout the journey from Ispahān Anthony and the Persian Ambassador had disputed as to their precedence, and at Siena a fresh quarrel arose, as a result of which they were granted separate audiences by the Pope, Clement VIII.

Anthony, however, abandoned the embassy and for reasons which are somewhat obscure, fled to Venice at the end of July. In Venice he became involved in intrigues against his Sovereign and was ultimately arrested and imprisoned on 24th March, 1603, to be released on 11th May, after the accession of James I. Anthony was now without employment. He stayed in Venice for several months, during which time he did his best to restore himself to favour in England by reporting Jesuit plots against the English throne, but he never returned to his own country. At the end of the year, for reasons unknown, he was ordered to leave the Venetian State on pain of death.

In 1604 Anthony was in Ferrara, and later in Messina, living as a pensioner of the King of Spain. In June, 1605, he was invited by Rudolph II to go to Prague, and in the autumn of that year was employed by the Emperor on a mission to Morocco, with the object of upholding the Sa'dian Sharīf against his brothers and of driving the Turks out of Algiers and Tunis. He was obliged, on account of a terrific storm, to disembark at Alicante and travelled through Spain via Madrid to Cadiz, whence he sailed. But he then met with

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an even greater storm, and eventually arrived in Saffi on 2nd October. He apparently spent nine months in Morocco, during which time he accomplished very little beyond gaining a somewhat doubtful reputation on account of his luxurious way of living and lavish hospitality. Anthony next proceeded to Lisbon, which he reached in September, 1606, in order to collect the repayment of two Portuguese prisoners whom he had ransomed in Marrakesh. These ungrateful gentlemen, however, not only refused to pay, but, as Anthony wrote: "persecute me as much as they dare and can, with all the vile usage that can be devised." Anthony thereupon crossed into Spain to lay his complaint before Philip III, and apparently so ingratiated himself with the King that in March, 1607, he was made General of the Mediterranean Seas, and left for Naples to take up his duties in May of that year, leaving behind, as was his custom, innumerable debts.

Needless to say, Anthony was no more successful as an Admiral than as an Ambassador, and in 1610 he was deprived of his commission. From this date till his death, in or about 1636, he remained a pensioner of the King of Spain, and was continually involved in one wild scheme after the other. In 1611 his brother Robert visited Spain in the role of Persian Ambassador and Anthony, disliking his brother's negotiations with England, was party to a shameful plot to prevent his leaving Spain. The plot failed, however, and Robert left in June, taking with him, incidentally, the manuscript of Anthony's *Relation*. In 1617 Robert again came to Spain as Persian Ambassador, and stayed for five years. Anthony at this time was very poor, since most of his small pension was appropriated in order to go towards the paying of his debts, but he had apparently not given up hope of one day being employed in one or other of his schemes. He was on bad terms with his brother, to whom he must have been a great embarrassment. There are two political treatises in Spanish written by him, one in 1622 and the other in 1625, which go to show that he must have taken great pains in order to

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ingratiate himself with the State. The last reference to him we know of states briefly that in 1636 he was living in Spain in the seclusion of private life: he was at this time 71, and it is probable that the career of this remarkable man was brought to a close soon after that date.

1.

The Houston Flights over Mount Everest

On 8th March, 1934, Colonel Stewart Blacker gave a lecture before the Society on the Flights over Mount Everest and the surrounding massifs carried out by the Houston-Everest Expedition.

The technical difficulties, which had to be overcome to enable a pilot and an observer with cameras to function efficiently at 33,000 feet above mean sea-level, were vast and various: the observer must be entirely enclosed and both must be suitably warmed to protect them against the terrible cold and provided with heated oxygen sets to counteract the rarified atmosphere, while the whole photographic outfit had also to be warmed specially in order to keep the parts from being sealed up with ice. For celluloid film, if frozen, becomes brittle and flies to pieces when bent. Even the spare magazines for the cameras had to be electrically heated. Unless the oxygen sets were warmed, the gas would freeze solid in the tiny supply orifices and the crew would lose consciousness in a few seconds. To produce these heating arrangements a dynamo was necessary and it had to be driven by a gearing from the engine as the usual windmill method was impossible at those altitudes. Battery accumulators, too, have a way of giving no current in great cold, so special arrangements had to be made to warm them also. To heat the thick clothes of the crews, the current had to go through two heated suits, two pairs of boots and gloves, and even through both pairs of goggles.

At first sight this height of 33,000 feet would seem to afford a fair margin above the summit. Closer investigation indicated that, to combat certain likely conditions of the atmosphere

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round the peaks, it would be imperative to allow another 2,000 feet. These adverse conditions might prevail owing to temporarily thin and tenuous air and the powerful overfall or downdraft of wind on the leeward side of the summit.

After the careful packing up, the journey, and subsequent unpacking and assembling of the multitudinous machines and parts, the first misfortune was sustained at Allahabad. A sudden storm arose during the night and wind travelling at 80 m.p.h. tore down trees and buildings and plunged the city in darkness. We found that the graceful aeroplane had been lifted bodily high into the air, despite its thick mooring ropes and huge concrete mooring blocks, and returned to the earth a crumpled wreck. All the difficulties of preparation, however, were overcome thanks to the generosity of Lady Houston.

At the first trial flight at 33,000 feet the heating in some of the suits was found to be too great. This was due to the fact that the upper air at Karachi is some 20 degrees centigrade warmer than in England during the previous month, which was contrary to expectation. A meteorological bureau was arranged to give us two reports daily, the information from Purnea and Darjeeling was collated at Calcutta and the results were efficient and accurate. It was noticed with a certain amount of alarm that the wind velocities at a height of about 25,000 feet were of the nature of some 70 m.p.h.

When all was ready even to an advance landing ground in case of accidents, we had to wait on the weather. If the wind speed seemed promising, the mountains would be covered with cloud—a circumstance naturally fatal to photography. We could not even afford to have the valleys in the southern slopes of the mountain cloud-filled, because this would cause a gap in the continuity of the all-important strip of air-survey photographs, which were the essence of the expedition's work. As the cloud caps melt away and the tops begin to stand out clearly, the wind speed invariably seems to rise. Every morning one of the "Moths" went up to a few thousand feet.

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At this height the three great mountains, Kinchinjunga, Everest, and Mākalū were always clearly visible and it could be seen to what extent they were free of cloud.

One memorable Friday and Saturday it was noticed that, though the wind reports still gave high figures, the velocities were diminishing. On Sunday the speeds had lessened considerably. We could scarcely sleep for anxiety The evening telegram foretold a still further drop. Would it be borne out in the morning? Would the clouds have gathered or would the winds begin to increase again? We decided that we must take the risk of flying in a much higher wind than we had originally contemplated and just watch the fuel consumption very carefully.

Then came Monday and the astrologers declared it to be an auspicious day. The "Moth" reported the mountain to be crystal clear. The wind was only 57 m.p.h. at our flying height. So the long waited for moment had come and we were up. I found myself in an ecstacy: it was like going "over the top". When I came to myself I busied myself with the voltmeter, the heating arrangements, and all the other necessary gadgets for enabling us to carry out our objective.

Now there was leisure to look about. In front was the Māhabhārat Range, flanking the frontier of Nepāl. Behind was our supporting aeroplane, seemingly motionless against the blue. Suddenly, 80 miles to the east we saw a tiny, snowy crest above the purple horizon: Kinchinjunga with her cloud veil flowing from her crest. A moment later Everest herself, flanked by the snowy pyramid of Mākalū. I worked hard with slide, shutter, and exposure lever to record their beauties. Meanwhile the big vertical camera was working steadily by itself. Soon other more distant peaks peeped over the shoulder of Everest. By some trick of vision they seemed even higher than the great mountain itself.

Then we were flying above and along the crest of the Chamlang Ridge, which runs almost up to the mountain

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from the south, and the altimeter registered 32,000 feet. But as we passed over the end of the ridge I felt the aeroplane sink rapidly beneath my feet. We had lost a good many hundred feet in a few seconds. Happily our good engine made up for the loss. Towering before us were Lhōtse and unconquered Everest, so immense in front of us that it seemed that we could scarcely clear the summit. Up and on we went and then the amazing, immaculate crest flashed past below us. I looked through the open floor and saw what no man had seen since time began. I was spellbound till another great overfall of winds seized the machine, which swooped down 1,500 or 2,000 feet in a second or two. The pilot turned her at once into the wind and for some time we battled against the icy blast and the downfall combined till we gradually made height again and returned to our course.

As we came over the topmost peak we passed through the famous plume, that awesome, miles-long white streamer which men see and marvel at 200 miles away. Huge flakes of ice rattled round the cockpit with such force as to break one of its windows. The pilot turned our machine in big curves so that I could take a rapid succession of oblique pictures of those stupendous ice-cliffs. Then we came over the white pyramid of Mākalū, which is joined to Everest by that grim knife-edge.

One or two more turns and we were forced to turn back, since we dared not burn too much fuel on the outward journey. Our minds were still amazed by the vision we had looked on when we landed at Lalbalu, where our joy at our wonderful good fortune was marred by a piece of bad luck. It was found that dust and haze had obscured the lower hills and that, instead of the complete and perfect overlapping strips which our vertical camera should have produced, the results were scrappy and disjointed. However, thirty-five of the oblique pictures had turned out admirably. One showed the very crest itself a few hundred feet away as we swooped down over it. But we felt that it was imperative at all risks to make

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another attempt to secure that which was waited for by the scientific world.

This second attempt, albeit in the face of a 110 m.p.h. wind, found the fates propitious, as the wind stream, though terrific, was steady. The machine circled serenely and I photographed incessantly, striving to remember the gaps of the first flight and make them good.

When we returned the second time we spent an anxious hour while the films and photographs were developed and then we found that the cameras were victorious and Mount Everest had capitulated to the assaults of science and ingenuity.

Notices

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

We have to record, with regret, that the well-known journal of Oriental research, the *Indian Antiquary*, has ceased publication with effect from December last.

The *Indian Antiquary* was started in January, 1872, as a monthly journal of Oriental research of comprehensive scope by the late Dr. J. Burgess at his own risk. Under his able editorship and helped by contributions from a brilliant band of Oriental scholars, among whom may be mentioned G. Bühler, J. F. Fleet, E. Hultzsch, F. Kielhorn, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagavanlal Indraji, Sir G. A. Grierson, Sir A. Cunningham, J. Muir, A. F. R. Hoernle, Sir H. Yule, and J. W. McCrindle, it rapidly became the premier research journal in India. Owing to failing eyesight, Dr. Burgess had to give up the work, and in 1885 it was taken over by Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir R. C. (then Captain R. C.) Temple, Bt. On the retirement of Dr. Fleet in 1892, Sir R. C. Temple carried on the journal as sole proprietor and editor until 1924, when he formed a company (the *Indian Antiquary*, Ltd.) and entered into an agreement with the Royal Anthropological Institute, by which the latter assumed responsibility for the journal on certain terms.

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From 1911 onwards Sir R. Temple was assisted by joint editors, namely, Professor D. R. Bhandarkar (1911–1922 and 1928–1933), Mr. S. M. Edwardes (1923–6), Professor S. K. Aiyangar (1923–1933), and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham (1927–1933), who took the place of Sir R. Temple when the latter died in March, 1931.

Sir R. C. Temple had been associated with the journal for fifty-two years, for forty-six of which, as proprietor and chief editor, he devoted himself (and his purse) wholeheartedly and untiringly to its interests.

The sixty-two volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* are a storehouse of important research work in all branches of Oriental study, more especially in the subjects of epigraphy, archæology, numismatics, history and historical geography, folklore, and comparative religion, the papers having been contributed by many of the most eminent authorities in these subjects. Particular mention should be made of the invaluable epigraphical material published by it for many years, from the pens of the greatest Oriental epigraphists (among those named above), which may be said to have laid a solid foundation for the systematic and scientific reproduction of these precious records on stone and copper.

For several years it was almost the sole medium in India for the publication of these epigraphs, till in 1888 the Government of India resolved to reproduce the inscriptions under their own official agency.

In 1892 an agreement was made under which the Government journal, *Epigraphia Indica*, was published on the basis established by the *Indian Antiquary* as an official quarterly supplement to that journal. This arrangement lasted until 1920, since when the *Epigraphia Indica* has been published separately under the editorship of the Government Epigraphist, subordinate to the Imperial Archæological Department. The withdrawal of this epigraphical matter was a serious blow to the journal.

In addition to this loss, the changed conditions in India,

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combined with the foundation of other journals devoted to the same or similar subjects, a large number of which have been started in different Provinces and States during the last two decades, had been steadily weakening the financial position of the journal.

The economic depression and the necessity for retrenchment imposed upon institutions and individuals involved further falling off in subscriptions, and the outlook became so unfavourable that in 1932 the R.A. Institute decided to terminate the agreement under which it had financial responsibility. In order to work off all matter accepted for print, this responsibility was undertaken by Mr. Oldham for one year longer (1933), when the Company was regretfully compelled to close down publication of the journal.

A leaflet regarding the volumes still available is inserted in this issue.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for the purposes other than review : "In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer period must return them to the Librarian for examination at the expiration of that time with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will be returned to the holder.

The annual List of Members will be published in the JOURNAL for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully-corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the JOURNAL are forwarded to subscribers about 11th January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should

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be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced free of charge.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repairs throughout the month of August.

Authors of articles in the JOURNAL who desire more than the twenty off-prints which are supplied gratis, are requested to apply to the Secretary before publication. The cost of the extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and in the number of plates.

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National Appeal for the Purchase of the Sinai Manuscript of the Bible for the British Museum

THE support of all who are interested in the establishment of the correct text of the Bible is invoked by the Trustees of the British Museum, who have the opportunity of purchasing for the National Collection, the famous manuscript known as the *Codex Sinaiticus*.

Written in the fourth century after Christ this is one of two oldest MSS. of the text of the old and New Testaments, the other being in the Vatican. Apart from its historic interest, it is one of the most wonderful monuments of the art of writing that have come down to us.

In the eyes of all competent judges, the genuineness of this MS. is beyond suspicion, and the doubt which has been suggested as to the title of the vendors is also without foundation. The price agreed upon is less than half what was originally asked and less than that paid for a single Renaissance picture.

It is unnecessary to point out the desirability of acquiring this MS. which is now on view at the British Museum. Pictorial Cards (2d. each), full size facsimiles of an opening (1s. each), and a descriptive pamphlet with three illustrations (6d. each) can be obtained from the Museum.

The Trustees appeal to the generosity of the Public and will welcome and duly acknowledge any contributions, however small, which should be sent as soon as possible to The Director, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

A convenient form to accompany any donation is printed below.

.....1934.

To the Director, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.

To the Westminster Bank, Ltd., 214 High Holborn, London, W.C. 1.

(Cross out whichever of these addresses is not used.)

I enclose the sum of.....*towards the purchase for the British Museum of the Sinai Bible Manuscript.*

.....*Signature and title.*

(in block letters)

.....*Address.*

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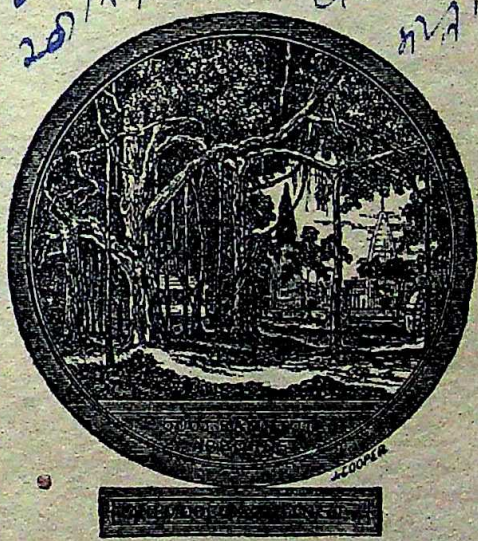

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(*Continued from p. 282.*)

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[A 1] [꠰] | : | Śa . cu . pho . ña . gcu . . . . [A 2] khal . boṅ . bu . rgyab . cha . sga . daṅ . cha[s] . . . [B 1] gcig | myi . gsum . gyi . zla . ba . gci . . . [B 2] do . ḫtshal . baḫi . thaṅ . du . brtsis . te . phye . khal . phye . . . [B 3] ñi . śu . gñis . la | pho . ñar . mchi . ba | b . . . .

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[A] ꡁ | : | nas . khal : bdun . [bcu] . rtsa : lṅa . daṅ . dar : yug : stoṅ . rṅul : sraṅ : dgu : brgya . daṅ . gser : sraṅ : drug : brgya : ma[r] . . .

[C] [daṅ ?] : | g[ñand ?] gyi . [men] [tog ?] . daṅ . pyiṅ . daṅ . [*smaller hand*] ꡁ | : | las : kyi . [thab]s | na : rtse : rje : h̲og : dpon : du : lastsald : de : yi | ge . zaṅs [1] : h̲stsald | to : Rlaṅ . Khyi : tsa : ṅan : rje : pho : Stagu : gaṅssa : gran : mkhan : naṅ . [d]u | . . .

[B] . . . [Khrom ?] bẓer . . n . ma : [brid ?] . [rus . ni] : Schu : mye [2] Schu : sa [3] mkhan . ni . Brgyal : bzigs . myi . ni . [Ña . sle]bs : rus . ni : H̲gra : h̲ad (har ?) . rad . mkhan . ni . Laṅ . skyes [4] . myiṅ . ni : Mad . don . rtse | rus . ni . H̲bre [5] . mkhan : ni : . . . [*above* h̲ad . rad . mkhan] gran : dar : [dod]

[D] . . . [sum ??] : glan . ['A ?] . —o . [ltsa ??] . do : mñen . Sregs : Rhu : lu : staṅ | Dar : Legs : la : h̲paṅ | tha : bẓi : [gyab ?] . [Gsah̲i ?] . glan . ba : mal : [h̲pan . Ph]o . rma | sa : rig | Rma : [lod :] 'Aṅ : Lnag : lnag : r (rma ?) . . . [*Above line*] ꡁ | : | khy[i] . h̲[i] . l[o] . la | Bzaṅ . [H̲o]r . gyi : sde : Dbyen . Legs . [kheṅ [6]] . Śiṅ . śan . [la] . man : du : stsald : pa : h̲i : tshe : gsaṅ . rnaṅ (daṅ ? rmaṅ ?) . dgor . daṅ . rtshe (??) . dgor [7]

[A] Barley, loads seventy-five; and silk, rolls one thousand; silver, ounces nine hundred; gold, ounces six hundred; oil . . .

[C] . . . and . . . and medicinal flowers (?) and felt. As regards arrangement of work: being sent to the chief, as *h̲og-dpon*, copper letters were sent; Rlaṅ Byi-tsa, among the accountants of the Interior Minister at the residence of Sta-gu-gaṅs . . .

[B] . . . [Khrom ?] bẓer . . . ma-brid . . . Race, Schu; name Schu (?); guide, Brgyal-bzigs; man (*or read : myiṅ*

[1] *zaṅse ?*
[2] Or *myi*.
[3] Below line.
[4] *ṅ* below line.
[5] *H̲bro ?*
[6] *khoṅ ?*
[7] *dgor* below line, under the previous *dgor*.

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"name" ?) Ña-slebs ; race, H̲gra-har. Caravan-leader Laṅ-skyes ; name Mad Don-rtse ; race, H̲bre ; master . . .

[D] . . . sum ; *glan* . . . Do-mñen, Sregs Khu-lu-staṅ ; banner-bearer (*dar* ?), Legs-la-h̲pan ; quartermaster (*tha-bżi* ?) . . . ; bedding-man, Pho-rma ; guide, Rma-lod, 'An Lnag-lnag. . . .

Dog year : on the occasion of Dbyen Legs-khoṅ(?) sending in quantity to Śiṅ-śan, secret private property and . . . property . . ."

The account of the large caravan, conveying barley, silk, silver, gold, oil, flowers, felt, etc., is unfortunately in part imperfect or illegible : the order of the sides A, C, B, D is, however, evident. The caravan officials include a leader (*rad-mkhan*), a banner-bearer (*dar*), a quartermaster (? *tha-bżi*, recurs in M.T. a. iii, 008), a bedding-man (*mal-h̲phan*), a guide (*sa-rig* and *sa-mkhan*), and others. The *gran-mkhan* (= *graṅ-mkhan* "accountant" ?) may not have been of the company. On *h̲og-dpon* and *naṅ-rje-po* see *supra*. *Schu*, *H̲gra-had* (?), and *H̲bre* seem to be unknown. On *Ṣta-gu gaṅs*, *Śiṅ-śan*, and the "Good H̲or" regiment see *supra*. The district Sreg(s) is mentioned in M.I. xxi, 8 and in a *Bkah̲-h̲gyur* colophon (Beckh, p. 84).

51. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0065 (wood, c. 18·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete, a rather rough piece, with a knot hole, not planed ; hole for string at l. and r. ; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꣡ || śol . bor . bah̲i . pho . tshes . brgyad . gyi . ñi . ma . spaṃ[1] na . h̲phar . ma . mcis [2] [B] Stag . ri . [khra] . bor . mchis . ma . thag . du . bsgyald . pa . lags [2]

"Missive arrived on the eighth of the male (*pho*) intercalary month, a fine day. On arriving at Stag-ri Khra-bo have immediately escorted it."

On *h̲phar-ma*, "missive" (1928, p. 581), see *supra*. *Bsgyald* seems to be intended for *bskyald* (1930, p. 83). The sense of *pho* "male" is obscure (error for *ṅo* ?).

[1] *phyam ? phyo ?* [2] *s* below line.

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52. M. Tāgh. c. iii, 0012 (wood, c. 9·5 × 2–2·5 cm. complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ | : | ltaṅ : sog[s] [2] gyi : rgyags . loṅ |

"Baleman's provisions arrived (*loṅ* = *lon ?*)." How the "baleman" (1930, p. 90) or "bale-attendant" (*ltaṅ-rogs*) differed from the *sgyeḫu-ga* "bagman"' (1928, p. 569) is not apparent : perhaps the *ltaṅ-sogs* was *only* a porter.

53. M. Tāgh. 0177 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at l. ; 4 lines of notches *recto* ; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and abraded).

[A] Ḫjag . ma . ḫgur | [B 1] ri . [zu]g . brgyags | [B 2] ltaṅ . rogs . pos . nos

"In Ḫjag-ma-gu : mountain-sickness provisions received by baleman."

On "mountain-sickness provisions" see 1930, p. 94 ; on Ḫjag-ma-gu, ibid., pp. 72, 270.

54. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0055 (wood, c. 17 × 1 cm. ; lower part cut away (before inscribing ?) ; ll. ·1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꡲ | : | cu : rgyad : gyi : ma : pha : [*bu*] . ḫphon : g-yog : la : ñe : so (*sic*) : pa : ḫi [*gap ?*] [B] mcis : de : las : [*gum* (*gus ?*)] : la : dgol : phar : gsol ||

"A party of eighteen, mother, father, children, master and servants, have arrived sick ; if they die therefrom, they beg [people] to keep away (?) (*or* people are respectfully (*gus-la*) requested to keep away from them)."

What request is expressed in *dgol*, for which *bgos* is a possible alternative reading, is not certain. The form *dgol* should come from *ḫgol*, "separate", "stray", and is given in S. C. Das' dictionary with the meaning "disperse", or keep away ; *bgos* might be connected with *ḫgo*, "infect", or *ḫgos*, "anoint".

55. M. Tāgh. 0582 (wood, c. 10·5 × 2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[1] ꡲ 'Im . kag . rkaṅ . mgyogs [2] sol[d] . [db]

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"Petition of 'Im-kag, the swift-foot (courier)."

Rkaṅ-mgyogs is given in the dictionaries. The more or less synonymous *baṅ-chen* (1927, p. 825; 1928, p. 569), *riṅ-lugs* (1927, p. 66, etc.), and *h̲drul-ba*, "runner" (1933, p. 391 n.), have already been noted.

56. M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0043 (wood, c. 20–20·5 × ·75 × ·75 cm., cut away on one side; some incised lines and notches on one side; ll. 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] . . . : nas || Stag : h̲dus : su : gtad : pah̲i | r[i] . sky[e]l : khraṃ [B] khram : bu : yaṅ : Stag : h̲dus : pa : tsugs : pon : la | gtad | do ||

"Mountain convoy tally of . . . from . . . to be delivered at Stag-h̲dus. A small tally has also been consigned to the corporal (station-commander) of Stag-h̲dus."

On Stag-h̲dus (1930, p. 263) and *tshugs-[d]pon* (ibid., p. 53) see *supra*.

57. Khad. 032 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.: l. 1 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

𑀲 || r[i] . sky[e]l . pha . tsa : | rtiṅ . non . [tshu*n*] . [ch]ad . bcu . bdun . tsam . mchis :

"Mountain convoy parcels : down to (sc. including) the rearguard (*or* supplementary) as many as seven are come."

On *ri-skyel* (1930, p. 83), *pha-tsa* and *rtiṅ-non* (1933, p. 386) see *supra*. It is possible that each man carried one *pha-tsa*.

(*b*) *Animals*

58. M.I. iii, 5 (paper, fol. No. 15 in vol., c. 32·5 × 4 cm., text complete; ll. 4 of cursive *dbu-can* script, small and in part rubbed and faint).

[1] 𑀲 || żaṅ . po . . . . . la | | Klu . H̲brug . brtsan . gi . mchi[d] . gsol . bā | | Lha . dpal . thugs . rtag . tu . bde . bar . smon . te . mchid . yige . las . gsol [1] . żiṅ [2] mchis || thugs . pags . mdzad . de . boṅ . bu . gyaṅ . gnaṅ . ba . glo . ba . dgah̲ . nas | żal . mthoṅ . nas . gtaṅ . rag . h̲tshal || boṅ .

[1] *l* below line.

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bu . ni . bdag . kum . bar . luṅ . ba . chan . du . bgyis . nas . skal . d[1]rmyigs . ci . [3] yaṅ . ma . mchis . bar . stag . Stoṅ . stsan . la | ston . zla . h̲briṅ . po . tshes . bcu . bži . la . brdzaṅs . śiṅ . mchis . || spyi . žal . mthoṅ . nas . gtaṅ . rag . kyaṅ . h̲tshal . gla . lastsogs . pa . yaṅ | der . h̲bul . [4] žiṅ . mchisna || deh̲i . bar . du . thugs . rtag . bspriṅ . bar . chi . gnaṅ . ||

Verso: Klu . H̲brug . [b]rtsan . gi . gslo [2]

"To Uncle . . . : letter petition of Klu H̲brug-brtsan. I am writing to send my prayers for your lordship's perpetual happiness. For having given attention and granted also an ass I gladly after seeing you personally beg to send thanks. The ass indeed acted as if he had orders to kill me (?); and, as he had no lucky appearance (?), I sent him on the fourteenth of the middle autumn month to Tiger Stoṅ-rtsan. Thanking you generally again for the personal interview, I am paying the hire, etc., there. In the meanwhile please always send me your ideas."

"Petition of Klu H̲brug-brtsan."

The sense of the expressions *luṅ* (also = "strap")-*ba-chan* (= *can ?*)-*du-bgyis-nas* and *skal-rmyigs* is not clear; possibly the latter means "lucky hoof" (*bskal-rmig*) and not "lucky fancy, appearance" (*bskal-dmigs*). The curtness of the last sentence seems nonchalant.

59. M.I. viii, 92 (wood, c. 16 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ || stoṅ . boṅ . sbrum . gcig . la . sraṅ . bži | pho . boṅ . gcig . la | [A 2] sraṅ . gsuṃ | dgyeh̲u : thor . gcig . la . sraṅ . gñis | gla . ni . h̲phral . žag [B 1] du . th[o]gspa . las | ñin . re . bre . reh̲i . thaṅ . du . dud . kral . las . bkral [B 2] te . stsal . to [3] | Rgyaṅ . rtser . ba . boṅ . mchi . ba . stoṅ . goṅ . ma . daṅ . h̲dra | gla . ni . khla [4] . ph[yed]

"For one empty (*stoṅ*, unloaded) ass, pregnant, four *sraṅ*; for one male ass, three *sraṅ*; for one *dgyeh̲u-thor*

[1] *d* crossed out ?
[2] = *gsol.*
[3] *stsald . to ?*
[4] = *khal.*

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two *srań*; wages, beginning from the present day, at the rate of one *bre per diem*, sent to be levied from the smoke tax. Ox and ass going to Rgyań-rtse, empty, payment equal to the above. Wages, half a load."

Dgyeḫu-thor = *sgyeḫu*°, "bag twist" or = °*tho-re-cig*, "a few small bags"? *Dud-kral* is perhaps = "house-tax"; cf. *dud-grańs*, "number of smokes (= chimneys)". Possibly the intention is to levy the contribution from the houses *en route*. *Rgyań-rtse* seems to be a place-name not elsewhere mentioned.

60. M.I. iv, 40 (wood, c. 21 × 2 cm., practically complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, mostly faint).

[A 1] ॐ || boṅ . bu [1] . rgyab . skyin . gyi . [gl]aṅ . daṅ . gsum . | mkha[r]-is . nas . myi . ḫgaḫ . żig] . . . [A 2] g-yon . bs[k]or . te . m[yur] . du . skyel . du . g[t]aṅ . bar . sñan . sñuṅs . śiṅ . mchis . [t]e . bdag . [kyaṅ ?] . [A 3] [gr]on (gyon) . gcug(gtsug ?) . bżaṅ . dag . daṅ . ḫgrogs . te . mchi | sug . rjed . n [2] ṅan . pa . dag . ran [3] . rṅos (rdos ?) . śig . par . [B] bkaḫ . stsal . bar . ci . gnaṅ . ||

"Asses with ox substitute in rear (*rgyab*), three, to be sent quickly as convoy, some men from the city boundary (*mkhar-ris*) having proved recalcitrant,—this is what I am sending greetings for. As I am going in company with very expensive (?) people, please send orders for some slight commissions to (*reach me?*) in good time."

G-yon-skor-ba (also in lviii, 005, and M. Tāgh. a. ii, 00101) "turn left" has the sense of "avoid", here "desert"; cf. *g-yon-len*, *supra*, p. 272. In ll. A. 3–4 some readings are obscure, e.g. *gron* (*gyon* "dress"?) and *rṅos* (*rdos?*). Perhaps the *sug-rjed-ṅan-pa-dag*, "poor hand-notes", are money-orders; but the phrase might mean "minor [holders of] commissions (= officials)", on which sense of *sug-rjed*, see *supra*, 1933, p. 390. *Ran* may mean "in good time".

[1] *bu* below line. [2] *n* crossed out. [3] *dgarna ? dag . dan ?*

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61. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0018 (wood, c. 16·5 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . ṅ . bżer . gyis | | Khyeḫu . cuṅ . la | [A 2] spriṅo | [B 1] . . . —o . . | theṅs . ste | gum . la . thug . pa | Gu . [mo] . [naḫ][1] ḫdi ? . rṅa . mo | [B 2] . . . rjed . byaṅ[2] . zuṅ . ba | . rṅa . mo . sgul[3] . la | nos . ste | gñis.

"By . . . ṅ-bżer sent to Khyeḫu-cuṅ. *Camel*, being lamed, ended by dying. In Gu-[mo] this (?) female camel . . . memorandum obtained. Camel for load (?) received; two."

On [Ḫo-toṅ] Gyu-mo, see 1930, pp. 90 sqq.

62. M. Tāgh. c. ii, 0047 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., broken away at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of rather neat, cursive *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

[A 1] ꣾ | : | cibs . rta . rlaṅs . na . mchi . baḫi . rṅo . yaṅ . myi . tho[g] . . . [A 2] cab . bzaṅ . po . daṅ . s[byard . t]e . bżag . pa . las . diḫi . . . [B 1] bżos[4] . na . glo . rgyas . sñiṅ . khrag . rlaṅ . gis . gaṅ . żiṅ . . . [B 2] bgyis . ste . so . Sluṅs . la . bthaṅ . żi[ṅ] . . .

"The riding-horse having fallen (?) and being unable to go . . . left, supplying a lot of water . . . when he has been treated . . . these, his lungs expanded and his heart made full of moist blood . . . he is to be delivered to the soldier Sluṅs . . ."

Rlaṅs seems to be an error for *ltuṅ(s)*: *bżos* (or *bśos*) may be for *bsos* "fed" or "cured". On *Sluṅs-la-bthaṅ* see 1933, pp. 385, 544.

For another case of a riding horse (*mchibs*, with attendant *rmaṅ-rogs*) see 1930, p. 290.

63. M.I. xxi, 1 A (paper, fol. No. 62 in vol., similar to xxi, 2, c. 27 × 8 cm., imperfect at r.; ll. 7 of scrawled, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꣾ || (*blank*) Btsan . sum . la . spriṅ . ṅo || da . ltar . . . [2] myi . ba . myed . ces . thos . te | rab . tu . dgā || . ḫdi . lan . la .

[1] *na . ño ?*
[2] *gyaṅ ?*
[3] *sgal ? sgral ?*
[4] *bśos ? bżus ? bśus ? bsus ? bthus ?*

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Dpal . bżre [1] . Rbeg . chuṅ . la . lug . drug . daṅ . ra . lṅa | . . . [3] gcig | gi [2] . rgyab . lug . sgye . bcu . cig . || phyiṅ . rgyu . bal . pho . re . gaṅ . | thud . lu . gu . grod | bu . gcig . lha [3] . myu . . . [4] h̲dir . dblaṅs . zin (*sic*) . || Maṅ . zigs . las . h̲bru . kugs . kyaṅ . zer . ma . ku[g . . ky]aṅ . zer . na . lug . cig . żes . h̲am [4] . pa . h̲di . ma . thos [5] [5] zer . ba . yaṅ . deh̲i . lan . la . m[a]rdzoṅs || deh̲i . res . la . ra . lug . h̲di . rnams . rgyab . bc— [6] . tu . myi . ruṅ . | slad . na . h̲bru [7] . [lu] . . [6] pa . rnams . rtsis . te . bżag . | h̲dir . phyin . log . tu . blaṅ . | żib . tu . ni . Dpal . bżer . chuṅ . las . spriṅ . deh̲i . res . thogs . . . [7] na . ma . p(h)an ||

"Sent to Btsan-sum. Having heard that at present [you] are free from . . ., I am very glad. On this occasion are to be (have been ?) received promptly (*myur-du*) here for Dpal-bżer Rbeg-chuṅ sheep six, goats five, on back of (*or* after, *rgyab*) one . . . sheep bags eleven, felt-material (*phyiṅ-rgyu*) wool a full *pho-re*, coagulated milk (*thud*) one small lamb-paunch (*grod*). Although said to have got grain from Maṅ-zigs, [I] am saying [I] have not got it; as to 'one sheep' it is said 'I have not heard of this . . .; to that no reply has been (*or* should be ?) sent. On this occasion (*or* In reply thereto, *deh̲i-res-la*) it is not right to . . . back these goats and sheep; later, after reckoning grain and sheep, they shall be delivered (*bżag*). Here it is taken as error (*phyin-log-tu-blaṅ*). Delay in replying to that definite communication from Dpal-bżer Chuṅ is not good."

On preservation of coagulated milk in a sheep's paunch see S. C. Das' dictionary, s.v. *grod*.

64. M.I. viii, 3 (wood, c. 20 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script blurred).

[A 1] ꠰ | : | bcos . nas | khyi . gstsan . gaṅ . mjiṅ [8] | rkaṅ . phyi . bsko | khri . go [A 2] daṅ . khri . rtse | tshogs . cher .

[1] *bżer.* [2] *gri ?* [3] For *la.* [4] Below line.
[5] *h̲os ?* *h̲o(a)-l ?* [6] *bts-g ?* [7] *h̲bu ?* [8] *gdab* . *h̲jiṅ* (= *żiṅ ?*).

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bgyi | [ph]yug . zan [1] . gyi . rnams | rdziṅ . du . chab . h̲tshal . [B 1] du . myi . gnaṅ . bar | phyug . rdzi . la . yaṅ . mjal . par | bsgo . žiṅ | rdziṅ . pa [B 2] la . yaṅ . g-yon . bskor || bar . žig . nas | baṅ . phrugs . daṅ | phyug . zan |

" . . . having been arranged, setting a dog-house (*khyi-gstsan* = *khyi-tshaṅ ?*), put the bundle outside. Bed-door (*khri-[s]go ?*) and bed-head are to be made with great care (*? tshogs-cher*). Carnivora of the different kinds (*rnams*) not being allowed to drink water in the ponds and the herdsmen being ordered to join, there should also be avoidance (*g-yon-bskor*) of the people at the ponds. After an interval the young racers (*baṅ-phrugs ? ?*) and the carnivora . . ."

The passage relates apparently to preparations for hunting wild animals with young hounds.

On *g-yon-bskor*, "turn left", sc. "avoid", see p. 272; on the dog as an object of fancy see ap. Stein, *Serindia*, p. 1087.

The passages relating to travel cover the cases of official messages, private journeyings, the large organized caravan, details of payments and hiring of animals and service in connection with convoy or escort, the courier and runner, the baleman or load-porter, accidents and sickness *en route*, arrangements in regard to provisions, forwarding of correspondence. The general term for travel is *rad* (1927, pp. 819–20 = *skrad ?*), whence *rad-mkhan*, "caravan-leader", *rad-gos*, "travelling-clothes", *rad-pa*, "traveller" or "caravan". In addition to the phrases (*sa-mkhan*, "guide", *ri-skyel*, etc.) noted above we may mention *lam-h̲tshal* (1927, p. 71, and *Two Medieval Documents*, p. 124, l. 3, *lam-gsol*; also in M. Tāgh. a. i, 0021, c. i, 0062), the real meaning of which seems to be "to take leave". We have found also *sa-rig*, "guide" (*ṅo-mkhan* 1927, p. 819), [*m*]*tha*[*h̲*]-*bži*, "four ends," "quartermaster," *mal-h̲phan*, "bed-man," as well as the *ltaṅ-sogs*, "porter," *sgyeh̲u-ga*, "baleman," *rkaṅ-mgyogs*, *baṅ-chen*, *h̲drul-ba*, "courier" previously recorded.

[1] Corrected from *zun*.

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The animals named are ass, camel, horse, sheep, goat, dog: the camel appears far less frequently than in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, perhaps because he is not liked by the Tibetans, who substitute the yak. On the sheep as a transport animal see 1927, p. 80: on *rta-rogs*, *rmaṅ-rogs*, "horse-attendant," see *supra*.

5. Objects and Presents

65. Ch. 73, xiii, 8 (paper, No. 523, fol. No. 53 in vol. xv, c. 26·5 × 6·5 cm.).

[1] || Me . dza . ne . ḫi . lag . na | dra . baḫ . gñis . | drgyal . pa . che . cuṅ . bcu | Hel . ke . . . [2] drṅa . bal . ki . pha . tsa . gcig | ra . bal . pha . tsa . gcig . khe . te . re . gcig | | thag . pa . bži . | | me . . . [3] char . | [*symbol*] | | o | | | | | | | | | o

"In (On ?) the hand of Me-dza-ne nets (*draba*, handcuffs ? cf. p. 492), two; sacks (*rkyal-pa*), great and small, ten . . . parcel (*pha-tsa*) of camel-hair, one; parcel of goat hair, one; each of one *khe-te*; ropes, four . . ."

The spellings *drgyal* (= *rkyal*) and *drṅa* (*rṅa*) are unexampled; but cf. *dblaṅs*, etc., *supra*, p. 465, *dphrogs*, 1927, p. 813. The sense of *khe-te* (probably a measure) is unknown.

66. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0056 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, blurred and somewhat faint).

[1] ꡲ || Khro . la . rton . la . men . thri . yug . [2] gchig ||

"To Khro-la-rton, silk, one roll."

Men-tri (°*dri*, °*ḫdri*) is frequently mentioned, e.g. 1930, p. 71.

67. M.I. xv, 0010 (wood, c. 7 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

ꡲ || Buṅ . lod . la . gdan . gcig

"To Buṅ-lod, one carpet."

Similar despatch of *gdan* in xiv, 47 and 137.

68. M.I. xxiii, 001 (wood, c. 8 × 1·5–2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of neat, cursive *dbu-can* script).

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[1] | : | Po (So ?) . gseṅ . | [2] gdan . sa |
" Po-gseṅ : *dīvān* ".

69. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 0025 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡁ | : | Lha . goṅ . gyi . śiṅ . sug . ma [1] [2] mchi[s] || |
" Lha-goṅ's wood [not] come to hand ".

70. M.I. i, 54 (wood, c. 17·5 × 2·5 cm., complete ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡁ | : | rkyaṅ . lvo (wo ?) . gñaḥ . ba . can . lṅa | rkyaṅ . phugi [2] . ko . ba . gcig || [B] rkyaṅ . lvo (wo ?) . gṅaḥ . ba . ma . mchis . pa . dgu ||

" Pitchers (*rkyaṅ*) with pouring-neck, five ; pitcher-cavity leather, one. Pitchers without pouring-neck, nine."

71. M.I. xiv, 31 (wood, c. 6·5 × 2–2·5 cm., cut away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; l. 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

caṅ |
This is perhaps for *chaṅ* " barley beer ".

72. M. Tāgh. 0507 (paper, fragmentary at left, c. 13 × 6 cm. ; ll. 4 of rather clumsy *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . legs . tshan . gyi . mchid | gsol . ba | jo . bo . l(h)a . dpal . [2] . . . n . gs[o]l . żiṅ . mchis . | żib . du . ni . mkhan(r ?) . las (?) . gsol [3] . . . leb . lṅa [3] . che . pra . lṅa . ż[i]g . Tshes . lod . la . skur . żiṅ . mchis . [4] . . . du . bde . żiṅ . żal . bzaṅ . po . myur . du . mtoṅ . bar . smon.

Verso : [1] Legs . tshan . gi . mchid . gs[o]l . baḥ |
[2] jo . bo . Stag . [Sts]al . bżer . gi . ża . sṅar . |

[1–2] " Letter-petition of Legs-tshan. I am submitting an inquiry as to my lord the chief's [*health*]. In detail [*I shall*] submit from the city.

[3] " I am sending some five ribbons (*leb*), large and small, for Tshes-lod. I pray soon to see your auspicious countenance in entire happiness.

Verso : " Letter-petition of Legs-tshan : to the presence of my lord the Tiger (Stag) Stsal-bżer."

[1] *ma* crossed out. [2] *phrugi ?* [3] Crossed out.

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Tshes-lod is probably the wife of Stag Stsal-bżer.

73. M.I. xxviii, 3 (wood, c. 17 × 2·5 cm., somewhat broken away at r.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | sku . bla . spyan . dbye . baḫi . rkyen . so . sor . bab . ste | sbyor . ba . la || blon . Khri . rma . . . [A 2] la . ka : śaḫi . rin . nas . bre . bżi : | blon . Mtsho . bżre [1] . mu . tig . ḫbru . bre [2] . gchig : | [bl]o . . . [A 3] Stag . bzaṅ . sman . sna . tshogs . zaṅs . ltags [3] . || Mdo . bżre [1] . da . du . . . [B 1] chig . | Rgyal . zigs . la . byu . ru . gchig : | Lha . bżre [1] . la . g-yu . sar [4] . chig [5] . . . [B 2] [Mgar] . [G-] . bu . sto . la . gse[r] . [gyi] . daṅ . kh[aṅ] [6] . mchis . paḫaṅ . blar [Bde ? ?] [B 3] Ḫtshug . snaṅ (staṅ ?) . la . dar |

"Grandees-eye-opening" property (*rkyen*) delivered severally: To councillor Khri-rma, from price of a ring (*ka-śa*), barley four *bre*; councillor Mtsho-bżer seed pearl, one *bre*; coun[cillor] Stag-bzaṅ various medicines, copper —; Mdo(*for* Mtsho ?)-bżer furthermore one . . .; to Rgyal-zigs (the King's Eye) one coral (*byu-ru*); to Lha-bżer one turquoise —; to Mgar G — -bu-sto, though a *daṅ-khaṅ* (?) of gold has gone, previously to Bde (?) Ḫtshug-snaṅ (staṅ ?) silk (*dar*) . . ."

Of the doubtful terms in the above, *zaṅs-ltags* perhaps means a "copper-container", *sar-chig* (*sor-tshob ?*) should possibly be read *sor-gdub* "finger-ring", and *daṅ-kh*[*aṅ*] might be a *ṭaṅka*.

An "eye-opening" gift would have the object of securing general attention or regard; cf. *spyan-gzigs* "offering" or "present".

On *sku-bla* = "grandee", "magnate", see *supra*, pp. 260, 268.

74. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0096 (paper, fol. No. 37 in vol., c. 28 × 9 cm., nearly complete, discoloured; ll. 6 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] = *bżer*. [2] *ḫbrum . bu ?* [3] *lcags ?*
[4] *sor ?* [5] *tshob(g) ?* [6] *khab ?*

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[A 1] ꡲ || Dpal . h̲das . kyis | Rgyal . bżer . Legs . tsan . la . spriṅ . ṅo | [A 2] sṅa . phyir . so . pa . dag . la . rmas . na || ñe . żo . dag . myede . th[u]gs . bde . [że]s . thos . te || glo . ba . dga | [A 3] slan . cad . gyaṅ . ñe . żo . dag . myed . par . smon . to || sṅa . slad . kyi . yi . ge . spriṅ . ba . daṅ || [A 4] śog . śo[g] . daṅ . mye . rdo . bsar . ba . sug . par . mcis . te | gtaṅ . rag . [h̲]tshal | khro[m . nas] | [A 5] h̲drul . ba . dag . h̲oṅs . na | stoṅ . sde . la . ñe . żo . slad . ma . ni . myed | sṅa . ma . dag . ni . sṅar . thos . [*pa*] [A 6] tsam . du . bas || [B] Dpal . h̲das Legs . tsan . la . [spri]ṅo.

"[A 1–3] By Dpal-h̲das sent to Rgyal-bżer Legs-tsan. I rejoice to have heard, upon inquiry of the soldiers, previously and later, that you are free from illnesses and happy. For your further freedom from illnesses I have prayed. [A 3–4] The former and later letters sent and the paper and the flint-stone apparatus (*me-rdo-bsar-ba*) have come: grateful thanks. [A 5–6] From the city post-missives have come. The Thousand-district(-governor) has no later illness; of the former ones you have heard previously—enough on that head. [B] Dpal-h̲das. Sent to Legs-tsan."

On paper as a present see pp. 470–1. *Me-rdo-bsar-ba* "firestone fitting" will denote the flint and steel purses characteristic of Central Asia and Tibet and represented in the museums. On *stoṅ-sde* "Thousand-district[-governor]", see *supra*, pp. 93–4.

75. M. Tāgh. a. iii, 0064 (paper, fol. No. 13 in vol., c. 27·5 × 3·5 cm., complete; ll. 5 of clear *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꡲ | : | jo . cho . blon . Lig . bzaṅ . gi . ża . sṅar | | Legs . tshan . gi . mchid . gsol . ba . | Lha . dpla [1] [2] gi . ża . sṅa . nas . sñun . bżes . saṃ . ma . bżes . | mcid . yi . ge . las . sñun . gsol . żiṅ . mchis | skyes . rgyi . mtshan . ma [2] . śog [3] śog . yug . lṅa . żig . | Gliṅ . bżer . la . | bskur . żiṅ . mchis . na . bżes . par . chi . gnaṅ . |

[1] Compendious for *dpal*. [2] For *gyi* . . . *mar*.

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"[1–2] To the presence of my lord Councillor Lig-bzaṅ, letter-petition of Legs-tshan. In this letter I am making inquiry as to health, whether your Lordship has recovered your health or not. As a present I have sent for Gliṅ-bżer some five rolls of paper; please accept them."

l. 2, *bżes*: This may be an error for the more usual *bżeṅs*, "health recovered." *Skyes-kyi-mtshan-ma*: For the phrase see also *infra*: *skyes* = "present" occurred 1930, p. 291.

ll. 2–3, *śog-śog-yug*: Cf. 1927, pp. 841 n., 843. *Gliṅ-bżer*: This is perhaps a son of the addressee.

76. M. Tāgh. a. iv, 00160 (paper, fol. No. 26 in vol., c. 23·5 × 6·5 cm., discoloured; ll. 6 *recto* + 5 (very obscure) *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . Lha . la . rton | . kyi . gsol . baḫ | so . paḫ . ḫdrul . baḫ . la . rmas . na . thugs . [2] . . . | ca . gaṅ [1] . lags . la . skyes . kyi . ḫtshan : mar . śog . śog . skur . żiṅ . mchis . na [3] . . . m . | Stag . bżer . Klu . la . gzis [2] : la . mye : rdo : ṅan . paḫ . | skur . baḫ . tshes : mchis [3] . saṃ | daḫ [4] ñe . śoḫ [4] : la . me . rdo . bzaṅ . po : deṅ . bu . rdzi . bzaṅ . po . ḫgum . baḫi . rdzi . ḫdi . rnams : maḫ . skur . naḫ . [5] . . . maḫ : mchis | de . las . naḫ . thugs . la . gdags . par . gsol | slad . kyis . skyes . slaḫ (?) [6] ḫgaḫ . daṅ [5] . phabs | ḫdr-l : brtan . la . skur . żiṅ . mchiḫo ||

". . . petition of Lha-la-rton. Having inquired of the soldier runner, I *find that you are in good health.* As a present, I am sending paper. To Stag-bżer Klu-la-gzi(g)s I am sending a poor fire-stone; has it come up to date (*tshes ?*)? (I) being at present [ill], that these nurses,—a good children's nurse is dying to-day,—should not have sent a good fire-stone is not . . .; so I beg you to be serene (undisturbed, *gdags-pa*) in mind. Afterwards, if I fall in with any suitable for a present, I will send by a reliable runner."

[1] *gtse-geṅ ?* [2] For *gzigs ?* [3] *m* here crossed out.
[4] *żoḫ ? La* here crossed out. [5] *ph* here crossed out.

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Skyes-kyi-ḫtshan-ma = °*mtshan-ma*. With *thugs-la-gdags-pa* cf. *glo-baḫ-rab-tu-gdags-pa* in 1930, p. 66. *Skyes-slaḫ* = "suitable for a present".

77. M. Tāgh. a. i, 0011 (wood, c. 23 × 1·5 cm., lower part cut away; ll. 2 (evidence of a third) *recto* + 2 (one partly cut away) *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script, and an addition in a different hand below l. 2).

[1] ꡲ | : | Dgye . sde . po . Cuṅ . bzaṅ . daṅ . | Stag . rtsan . la | Skyes . legs . gyi . mchid . gsol . ba . | bdagyis . drul . [2] ba . las . rmas . na . thugs . myi . bde . żes . thoste . rab . du . myi . dgaḫ . żiṅ . mchis . | bdagi . Li . brgyags . len [1] . . . . . [B 1] . . [*slar* . [*la*]*g* . *-u* . . . *rgyagsu* . [*s*]*kur* . *żig* | *de* . *ḫi* . *slad* . *na* . *nasu* . *myi* . *thob* . *na* . myi . sman . [pas . legs] [B 2] par . żal . ta . mdzad . gtaṅ . par . gsol . [rgyags . snod . ni . Liḫi [2] . pha . tsa . gżag . pa . lags . pas . [B 3] der . [*ma* [3]-*l*tad] [4] . cig |

"To Cuṅ-bzaṅ and Stag-rtsan of the Dgye[s] regiment: letter-petition of Skyes-legs. (*After regrets concerning illness*) [to] get my Khotan provisions . . . [B 1] *In return send . . . provisions. Hereafter*, as it is not good, *if I do not get barley*, I beg you kindly to lend your assistance (*żal-ta-mdzad*). As regards a container for the provisions, a Khotan bag (*Liḫi-pha-tsa*) has been left; pray send in that."

The phrase *Li-brgyags* "Khotan provisions", noted 1930, p. 73 (also in M.T. 068), may denote the "long Hu cakes" several times mentioned in the Chinese documents from Mazār-Tāgh (Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, pp. 210, 214). The "Khotan bag" also recurs. *Żal-ta* "service" is found in 1930, p. 277, and also *infra*, pp. 479, 482–3.

78. M. Tāgh. 0516 (paper, c. 28 × 9 cm., complete except for holes; ll. 7 of cursive *dbu-can* script, in places rubbed).

[1] ꡲ || żaṅ . lon . lha . daṅ . ḫdra . baḫ . || baṅ . cen . daṅ . ḫdrul . ba . [la] . rmasna . thugs . bde . sñun . gyis .

[1] *n* below line.
[2] Substituted for *Li* erased ?
[3] *rtsa* ?
[4] *bthad* ?

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ma . bzerd . ces . tho[s] . nas [2] glo . ba . *rab* . [t]u . dgaḫ . żiṅ . mchis . || [g ?]oṅ . *par* . gyaṅ . [sñ]an . sñuṅs . ḫbaḫ . śig . gso[l] . te . bkaḫ . ḫbab . bam . myi . ḫbab . [3] tshal . ma . ḫ[ts]a[*l* ?] . [ba]ḫi . s[n]od . cig . gi[s] . rab . tu . bre[ld ?] . te . dgog . zag . pa . spyod . ciṅ . [m]chis . na . | żaṅ . lon . Lha . *sby*in [4] zaṅs . ba . dgog . ḫdi . gsuṃ . las . [żab]s . daṅ [1] . b[zed ?] . po . stsaṅ . bre . phyed . tsam . śoṅ . ba . żig . zaṅs . mgar . [b]gaḫ [2] . [5] ḫog . na . ni . mchis . sna (na ?) . sdu . gu . żig . thu[g]s . *pags* . [cir] . gzígs . | l—spyan . ras . kyis . b[ts]a[s] . te . lag[s] . nam . ḫu [3] [6] sṅa . ba . gcig . la . phyag . [rgy]as . mnan . te . s[k]ur . [bar . ci ?] . gnaṅ . || żal [4] . myur . du . [m]thoṅ . ba . daṅ . ya[b] . sras . staṅ . sbyal . thugs . [t ?] . . [7] bar . sm[o]nd . chiṅ . mchis ||

"Having heard, upon inquiry of the courier and runner that the godlike Uncle-Councillor is happy and in health unimpaired, I am very glad. As I have previously sometimes proffered inquiry as to your health, your commands may or may not have issued. Being altogether without a vessel for taking meals, I am having disturbed meditations (*dgog-zag-pa*). The godlike Uncle-Councillor, Lha-sbyin, the copper-man—of these three meditations, could you, if under your orders (*bkaḫ-ḫog-na*) there is a coppersmith, trouble about (*thugs-pags-cir-gzigs*) a basin, with a foot, one holding about half a *bre* of corn, a pretty one ? When you have given a glance at it (*spyan-ras-btsas-te*), please send it in a . . . impressed with a seal. I am praying for an early meeting face to face and for the perpetual (*read: rtag-tu-bde bar*) happiness of the eminent father and son."

Bzerd seems to come from *gzer-ba* "suffer". *Bkaḫ-ḫbab-bam-myi-ḫbab*, a common phrase, = "perhaps you may reply or have replied." On *thugs-pags-cir-gzigs* (*mdzad*) see *supra* (1927, p. 826) and on *spyan-ras-btsas*, 1930, p. 278, etc.; on *staṅ-sbyal*, ibid., p. 70; *ḫu-sṅa-ba* is obscure in reading and in sense (= "quickly" ?); it might conceivably be connected with *ḫu-lag* "pressed service".

[1] *ṅ* below line. [2] *bkaḫ ?* [3] *żuṅ*. [4] *l* below line.

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79. M.I. xxxiii, 2 (wood, c. 22 × 2–2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, *verso* much rubbed and faint).

[A 1] ꠰ || tshal . brgyags | zla . ba . gcig . la | dkar . [bre] . drug . gnag . bre . bži [A 2] dguṅ . sla . phye . daṅ . druggi . tshal . ma . brtsis . na . dkar . khal . gcig . daṅ . bre . [bcu] [B 1] [bdun ??] nag . bre . bco . brgyad | de . ḫu . ṅan[1] . gi . b[rgya]gs . [bre ? ?] . do | sku . bla . gsol . baḫi [B 2] khar[2] . bre . dgu[ḫo ?] . gnag . [br]e . gsum | lug . rin . [gro . khal . ?] [bre ?] . gsu[ṃ ?] | ḫ[b]ras . lu[3] . rg[u] . [bre] . g[s ?]

[B 3 *a different hand*] | baṅ[4] . chaṅ . be[5] . la |

[Between B 1 (*nag-bre*) and B 3 (bre-dgu)] [sus[6] . sgyu ? ?]

"Food provisions for one month: white, six *bre*; black, four *bre*. Reckoning rations for five and a half months, [we have] white, one load (*khal*) and [seventeen ?] *bre*; black, eighteen *bre*; provisions for *de-ḫu-ṅan* (?), [two *bre*]. On occasion of entertaining the grandees, (white), nine *bre*; black, three *bre*. Price of sheep, [wheat, one load (*khal*)], three [*bre*]. Fruit (?), lamb (?), [three *bre*] . . .

"To courier (*baṅ-chen*) (?) Be."

On "white" and "black" see *supra*, pp. 103–4. The phrase "entertaining the grandees" has occurred in 1927, pp. 60–2, 66. Is *de-ḫu-ṅan*, a "small mule" (*dreḫu*)?

80. M. Tāgh. a. vi, 0018 (wood, c. 14·5–15 × 2·5 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . l . bā | de . bar . thugs . bde . ḫaṃ . myi . bde . mchid . yi . ge . las | [A 2] . . . bkaḫ . stsald . par . chi . gnaṅ || naṅ . po . ḫi . snam . mdaḫ || bdagi [B 1] . . . bgyis . par . bgyis . te . lags . śiṅ . mchis . naḫ || ḫdrul . brtan [B 2] . . . [sk]ur . bar . ḫtsal . žiṅ . mchis || de . las . žal . mjald . gyi . bar . du . || [B 3] . . . žiṅ || chos . gyi . chab . srid . mtho .

[1] *re . sla (su ?) . ṅan ?*
[2] *r* below line ?
[3] *ḫtsasu ? ḫtshald ?*
[4] || *da ?*
[5] *bo ? bre ? bro ?*
[6] *gus ?*

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bar . yi . ge . las [1] . smon . lam . gus . par . h̲tshal . żiṅ [2] . mchis |

" . . . petition. Meanwhile I am favoured by your having sent your . . . commands in a letter [inquiring after] my happiness. The Home Minister's rug which I have had made . . . being done, I am proposing to send [by] a reliable runner. . . . For the rest, until we meet face to face, I am . . . I desire respectfully to offer in writing my prayers for your exalted religious authority."

Snam-mdah̲ = "a felt rug" (Kharoṣṭhī *namata*; see Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 367); cf. *snam*, "a woollen blanket".

81. M.I. ix, 4 (wood, c. 13 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ꡁ | : | spreh̲u . lo . la | sku . bla . gsol . ba . h̲i | lha . phug . rin . daṅ | sta [3] . dkah̲ . gla . [la . stso]gs . pa ||

[B] bkral . pah̲i . gżi [||]

" Ape-year; price of radishes (*la-phug*) for entertaining the grandees, *sta-dkah* (perhaps = *star-ka*, Sk. *tinduka*, Diospyros Embryopteris [fruit]), wages, and so forth."

" Land to be taxed (for the purpose ?)."

On *sku-bla-gsol-ba*, see *supra*, pp. 268, 474.

Little significance attaches to the articles of value, rings, turquoise, ruby, coral, etc., mentioned in the above, since they are such as would occur everywhere. Characteristic of Chinese Turkestan are the frequently mentioned rolls (*yug*) of silk (*men-tri*) (*lo-gro* "satin", 1930, p. 290 ?), with which we may associate the ribbons (*leb*) and the carpets (*gdan*), including the once-mentioned *snam-mdah̲*, or felt rug, which is the Kharoṣṭhī *namata* and the modern *numdah*; also the fruit, including apricots and dried grapes (*kham-rgun*, M.I. iv, 110, viii, 39, xiv, 58*a*). The gifts of paper are significant of its increasing employment; and the flint and steel fitting [4]

[1] *s* below line.
[2] *ṅ* below line.
[3] *stra ?*
[4] *me-rdo-bsar*.

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remained until modern times a common object in Chinese Turkestan. The several references to copper and the one mention of the coppersmith (*supra*, p. 473) remind us of the copper-mining in the Kuen-lun valleys. Cotton, wool (*bal*), hair (*skra*), and ropes (of hair or wool, no doubt, pp. 503–4) occur, though more rarely than might be expected; raw oil (*rgyu-mar*) and the same refined for lamps (*żugs-mar*) are more frequent. In transactions of all kinds the cereals play the greatest part. Wood (*śiṅ*) is mentioned as material (*sgyu*) supplied for arrows (*mdaḫ-śiṅ*) and also for wooden tablets (*khram-śiṅ*): a bundle of firewood is probably *śiṅ-ris*.

Very limited possessions on the part of poor persons are indicated by such an agreement as is given in 1927, pp. 813–14, where four cups, three baskets, and some woven cotton are borrowed and among the forfeits due to default are included barley, copper utensils, cotton, and the key and iron of the door-bolt.

The reference to overcoats (*stod-gos*) and winter things (*dgun-cha*) recalls the experience of the Forsyth mission, that European winter clothes are not suitable for the climate of Chinese Turkestan. *Rad-gos*, or "travelling clothes", seem to have been regarded as of the last necessity (1930, pp. 86, 284). The only other particularizations (except the military puttees, *rkaṅ-bkris*, 1933, p. 387) are of the cloak (*slag-pa*, feminine? 1928, p. 565), waistcoat (*stod-khor*), wrap or blanket (*la-ba*, M.T. a. iv, 00159), and the shoe (*lham*, M.T. b. ii, 0066).

The utensils named are the cup (*phor-pa* or *rdzeḫu*), bowl or basin (*bzed-po*), pitcher (*rkyaṅ*), basket (*deb-tse*), bag (*pha-tsa*), sometimes a "Khotan bag" (*Liḫi-pha-tsa*), ladle or spoon (*yams*), wine (or water)-skin (*thul*), sack (*rkyal*), net (*dra-ba*), pipkin (*tse-gu*), couch or chair (*khri*). *Snod* denotes any "container". The general word for furniture or other objects is *byad* (1931, p. 812), from which comes *yo-byad* "appurtenance", "furniture" (1927, p. 835).

In respect of food we can cite, in addition to the flour (of wheat, barley, etc.), and the "Khotan cakes" noted above,

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only casual references to clotted cream (*thud*, preserved in a sheep's stomach), fruit (including the *tinduka* fruit), radishes and mustard; perhaps also barley beer (*chaṅ*).

6. Burial, Mourning and Other Ceremonial

82. M.I., xix, 002 (wood, c. 9 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.: ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [n ?] . ñin . ji . h̲chi . gthol . ma . mchis . pas . slar [A 2] . . . dag [dgra ?] . daṅ . Nob . che . chuṅ . nas . sto [1] . pon . gyi[s ?] [A 3] . . . ste . ston . [h̲b— ?] . sla . h̲briṅ . po . tshes . ñi . [śu] [B 1] . . . g . daṅ . Nob . che . chuṅ . gi . [rts]e . rgod . [daṅ] . mkhar . [B 2] . . . [s ?] . rtse . rje . la . [h̲aṅ] . spriṅ . na . de . las . ston . sla [B 3] . . . [gta ?]b . par . gsold | . | [h̲bi ? ?]

"Those who died . . . day not having been buried, . . . back . . . and the Thousand-governors from Great and Little Nob having . . ., on the twenty . . . day of the middle autumn month sent tidings to the chief of police of Great and Little Nob and to the chief in command of the . . . town. Accordingly (*or* Thence) requested to . . . autumn month . . ."

The document relates perhaps to men killed in fight. On *rtse-rgod*, "chief wild man (*caṇḍāla* ?)", see *supra*; with *mkhar* we should perhaps supply, in the gap, *bži* (*bžih̲i*) "the four towns", or *gsum* "the three towns". In the passage quoted 1933, p. 550, also *h̲thol* may mean "burying".

83. M.I. vii, 3 (wood, c. 14·5 × 2·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, rather faint and dirt-encrusted).

[1] ꠰ | . | dro (dre ?) . tshos . phan . cad | btol . gyi . myi . h̲d[u]s . gi . lcam . skyo . la [2] [thu]g [2] . pa . tshun . chad . chus . pa . dpon . g-yog . gis . h̲dren . pah̲i | : |

"Brought (drunk ?) by the water-drawers (?), master and servants, from when the heat (disease ?) ripened until the wives of all the men to be buried commenced their mourning."

[1] For *stoṅ*. [2] *sñug ? rñug ?*

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If *h̲das* could be read in l. 1, it might mean "deceased"; but see the next document.

That the reference is to some ceremony of water(or beer)-drinking during mourning appears from the next following documents. If the first word should be read *dre*, that would be for *h̲dre* "devil", and the case would be one of disease ascribed to possession. *Chus-pa* (from *h̲chu*) is not elsewhere found with a technical sense. *H̲dren* in the sense of "drink" is exemplified below (p. 479).

84. M.I. vii, 20 (wood, c. 6 × 1 cm., a small fragment, cut (?) away at bottom, broken away at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, rather faint).

[A] ꡲ || btol . gyi . myi . h̲du . . . [B] daṅ . rdzeh̲u . baṅ |

". . . all men to be buried . . . and cup store."

85. M.I. vii, 55 (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part faint).

[A 1] ꡲ | . | [th]ugs . gral . rnaṃ . gñis . la . bon . po . bdun . dan | bon . rje . gñis [A 2] daṅ . dgu . thaṅ . bñaṃ . ste || lcam . skyo . la . thug . gi . bar . du . | gdug . gchig [B 1] la . myi . chig . kyaṅ . drug . [thul] . gyi . rab . las . skyogs . yams . bcu . [B 2] bcu . stsald . pah̲i . sdom | sky[e]m[s]. thul . gsuṃ ||

"Second care: Seven Bon-pos and two Bon leaders, making nine, with equal measure, from the time when the wife commenced mourning, every day, each man being required to drink ten spoonfuls of drink from the largest of six skins: drink, skins three."

A Bon-po mourning ceremony is indicated. On *thugs-gral* (°*khral*) "care" or "preoccupation", *rnam-gñis* "a second matter" (1927, p. 838), *thaṅ-bñaṃ* "equal measure" (1927, p. 819), see *supra*. *Thul* is probably a wine-skin, and *skyogs-(sk)yams* "a spoonful". The last three words give the total quantity drunk, and the document is an account.

86. M.I. vii, 2 (wood, c. 20 × 2·5 cm., somewhat broken

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away at l. top ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . śu . rtsa . bdun || thaṅ . bñam . ste | myi . chig . kyaṅ . skyogs . yams . l[ṅ]a | [A 2] lṅa . żim (ñim ?) . baḫ | drug . thul . gyi . ḫbriṅ . thul . phye . daṅ . daṅ [1] . lṅa | las . myi . brgyaḫ . rtsa . g[ñis] [B 1] chal . nan . ya [2] . skyogs . yams . gsum . gsuṃ . stsald . paḫ | spyir . bsdoms . [B 2] . . . gyi . kha . chab . las . thul . bcu . daṅ . [phy]e[d] do . ḫdren ||

". . . twenty-seven, with equal measure, each man quaffing [*żim-ba ?*] five spoonfuls ; of the six skins, middle skins four and a half. Servants one hundred and two . . . drank each three spoonfuls. Altogether required . . . of mouth-water for . . . skins eleven and a half drunk."

As appears from the next document, the "twenty-seven" are *dge-ḫdun*, clergy, not necessarily Buddhist. *Chal-nan* ("belly-strong" men ? cf. *Harṣa-carita*, trans., p. 138) and *kha-chab* ("mouth-water") are obscure.

87. M.I. vi, 12 (wood, c. 15·5 × 2 cm., cut and broken away at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint).

[A 1] ꤀ | : | dge . ḫdun . ñi . śu . rtsa . gcig . thaṅ . bñam . ste . myi . [ci]g . kyaṅ . . . . [A 2] bsdoms . na | skyems . thul . phyed . daṅ . bżi | phaṅs [3] . dbu . [gtus ?] . la . [skyems] . . . [B 1] [c]ad . żal . ta . pa . stod . rims . ñi . śu . rtsa . bżiḫ | thaṅ . bñaṃ . ste | myi . cig . kyaṅ . [dru] . . . [B 2] yams . bcu . bcu . gsol . [ba*r*] | bsdoms . na | thu [4] . sky[e]ms . thul . brgya . . .

"Clergy twenty-one, with equal measure, each man required . . . ; drink, skins three and one half. [*Adding together the above* (? ?)] drink . . . Administrants, upper row, twenty-four, with equal measure, each man being required to drink ten spoonfuls of . . . six ; drink, [eight] skins . . ."

Phaṅs-dbu-gtus-la = "summing up the expense ?" *Żal-ta-pa* recurs in the sense of "administrant", *supra*, p. 472, and also *infra*.

The readings in the above three passages are in some points

[1] *Sic* for *phyed . daṅ ?*
[2] Crossed out.
[3] *phraṅs ?*
[4] *thu* crossed out.

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confirmed by other fragmentary documents, viz. M.I. vii, 59 and 70, viii, 23. The fact that most of the documents of this kind came from chamber vii points to an occupant specially concerned with such matters.

88. M.I. vi, 2*a* (wood, c. 17 × 2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | nas || thugs . klu[d] . kyi . bśos . cha . gcig . gis . srod . [A 2] g [1] . thugs . dbab || de . nas . thugs . phebs . kyi . yams . btsal [B 1] te | gdugs . tshod . nar . ma . daṅ | nas | stsaṅ . nan . [y]ams . gsuṃ . gs—l | [B 2] ñam . pag . yams . gchig [2] . btsugs . nas | gor . bu (ba ?) . yal . sar . [B 3] draṅs . te . g-yal . spyi . nas || do . maẖi . cho . smos . te . ẖjol |

" . . . In the dusk (*srod*) with one portion of victuals the soul of the soul substitute is to be inserted. Then after arranging (*or* giving ? *btsal*) the soul-inserting spoonful, at the next following (*nar-ma*) noon three spoonfuls mixed with barley meal are to be drunk. Having with mind intent (*ñam-pag* = *ñams-bag ?*) inserted one spoonful, proceed to the place of the courtyard brushwood and suspend it (the *klud*) from the mass of brushwood, *rapidly pronouncing scolding words* (??)."

For the rite of filling a *klud*, scapegoat figure or φάρμακος of straw, with grass, victuals, precious objects, etc., and casting it away in a direction whence an evil spirit may be thought to have come, see S. C. Das' dictionary, s.v. *glud-tshab*.

Several expressions are here obscure. We have taken *yal* as = *yal-ga* " branch ", sc. brushwood heap ; in *ñam-pag*, the second monosyllable might mean " dough " ; or we might translate " one spoonful [to draw] attention ". The quite conjectural rendering of the last phrase presupposes that *do-ma* = *do-mod* and that *cho* in *cho-smos* has the sense of *co* in *co-ẖdri-ba* " revile ", " scoff ", etc.

89. M.I. xxiv, 003 (wood, c. 19 × 2 cm., burned away at l. ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *g* crossed out. [2] *gchog ?*

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[1] . . . -i . st[od] . rims . daṅ . [gr]al . ñi . śu | thaṅ . mñ[a]m . ste . gchigi . thaṅ . la | bśos . [2] . . . [bżi] | khur . skya . ho . peṅ | s[d]o [1] . tsal | skyu . rum . żal . bu |

"Upper line and row, twenty, with equal measure, victuals (meals) . . . four; *khur-skya, ho-peṅ, sdo-tsal* (?), condiment, a small phial."

Here *khur-skya* and *ho-peṅ* are not separated by "and". *Bśos-* is, no doubt, *bśos-cha* "a meal".

90. M.I. xxiv, 0017 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5 cm., broken away at top and r.; ll. 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꤀ | : | gt—r . m— . ch— [2] . [g]sum . | thaṅ . mñ[a]m . st[e] . gch[i] . . . [2] khur . skya . ho . peṅ | bog (cog ?) . ran | [g]laṅ . rna | paṅ . ki | [gro (gyo ?)] . . .

"Scattered oblation" (*gtor-ma*), three parts (*or* distributions, *chad ? or* rains, *char ?*), with equal measure, each . . . *Khur-skya, ho-peṅ, bog(cog ?)-ran, glaṅ-rna* ("ox-ear" ?), *paṅ-ki, gro (gyo ?)* . . ."

The terms are unknown.

91. M.I. viii, 39 (wood, c. 14 × 2 cm., complete; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꤀ || tshos . khur [3] . sna . gpum [4] . las . sna . bco . lṅa . bco . lṅa | [A 2] khur . sk[y]a . daṅ . ho . peṅ . sna . gcig . ky—ṅ [5] . ñi . śu . rtsa . lṅa . lṅa | khaṃ . sgun [B1] phul . gsùṃ . gsuṃ | phye . mar . sraṅ . gsuṃ . gsuṃ | ża . phul . re . re | [B 2] stsaṅ . phye . bre . phye . daṅ . drug ||

"Of the three first *tshos-khur* each (receives) fifteen; the first *khur-skya* and *ho-peṅ* each twenty-five; peaches and grapes (*khaṃ-sgun*, dried grapes (*rgun*, p. 473)), three handfuls each; flour and oil, each three ounces (*sraṅ*); *ża* (flesh ?), each one handful; corn-flour, five and one half *bre*."

This [6] and the two following documents evidently relate to some ceremonial distribution of food, as of tea in the ordinary Buddhist morning service. But several of the terms

[1] *sto ? stsho ?*
[2] *ch—l ?*
[3] *khuṅ ?*
[4] Read *gsum ?*
[5] *ky—r ?*
[6] M.I. vii, 90 is almost identical with this.

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are obscure. Can *tshos-khur* = *tshos-mkhan* "painter", a painter being mentioned in connection with a Buddhist monastery in Khotan (Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 214)? The *khur-skya* is here distinguished from the *ho-peṅ*, who, if identical with the *hva-pan* of the Chinese documents (Chavannes, *Documents Chinois*, p. 211, n. 7), would be properly some taxing official of a quarter of a town. *Ża* may be = *śa* "flesh" (used with *phul*, 1933, p. 400).

92. M.I. iv, 60 (wood, c. 18 × 1 × 1 cm., edges cut away, pointed at both ends, complete; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 2 of cursive *dbu-can* script, blurred and in part faint).

[A] ꡲ || rtse . bla . [rtse] . sman . daṅ . g-yaṅ . gsol . baḫi . żal . ta . pa . dpon . g-yog . du . [B] bskos . pa | Gy[a]b . Stag . rtan[1] . żal . ta . pa | Ya . stoṅ . ḫdren[2] . lha . bon . po | [C] Phy[i] . mth[o]ṅ . mṅon . pa | Gsas . là . b[rtsa]n . rtshu (mu ? gyu ?) . ḫdzud (ḫrṅu ?) | Myes . koṅ . phyag . tshaṅ [D 1] Dro . brtsan . sug . zuṅs | rtse . bla . rtse . sman . daṅ . g-yaṅ . g[u ?] . daṅ [doṅ ?] . sn[a] . tsho . .[3] [D 2] [Sta]g . b[z]aṅ . [spy(?)]o . [raṅ ?] | Stag . [Khr]i . gdas . daṅ . [tso . lha . Dpal (Tse . sna . Pal ?)] . b[ż]er . . .

"Appointed ministrants, master and servant, in supplicating (*or* feasting, *gsol ?*) the high chief, the chief physician and *g-yaṅ*. Ministrant, Gyab Stag-rtan; Divine-Bon man, Ya-stoṅ-ḫdren; *mṅon-pa*, Phyi-mthoṅ; *rtshu(?)-ḫdzud*, Gsas-la-brtsan; cook, Myes-koṅ; hand-taker, Dro-brtsan. The high chief, the chief physician and *g-yaṅ* . . .; . . . various purposes, Stag-bzaṅ; *spyo-raṅ (?)*, Stag Khri-gdas and Tso-lha Dpal-bżer . . ."

A Bon-po (Shamanist) ceremony is here in question, but several of the designations are unknown; *lha-bon-po* and *sug-zuṅs* recur in the next document; *g-yaṅ* "blessing", "luck", here associated with the *sman* "physician", has Bon-po connections. In regard to the first it will be noted that there exist both *lha* (god) Bons and human Bons; the second may mean "right-hand man", or chief assistant. *Ya-stoṅ-*

[1] *rtaḫd ?* [2] *stod . rtsan ?* [3] For *don-sna-tshogs ?*

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(*stod*)-*h̲dren* does not look like a proper name and may mean "upward drawing" (*lha*); cf. *yar-h̲dren*, an epithet of Ge-sar, ap. Francke, *Antiquities of W. Tibet*, ii, pp. 272 n. The phrase *rtse-bla* . . . in D. 1 perhaps means "performer of *gu* (*gus* 'respect' ?) and various offices (*don-sna-tshogs*) for the high chief . . ." *Tso-la-dpal* recurs in the phrase *H̲on-do-tsho*° in M. Tāgh. a. ii, 0011. On *żal-ta-pa* see *supra*, p. 472.

93. M.I. iv, 121 (wood, c. 18·5 × 1 × 1 cm., complete, pointed at ends, edges pared; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, blurred and rubbed).

[A] [𑖌 ||] yul . lha . yul . bdag . daṅ | sman . [gsol] . baḫi . żal . ta . pa | sku . gś[en] [B] las . myis . bsgrom . pa | gy—d . [sad ? ?] . żal [. ta] . pa | Gsas . chuṅ . lha . bon . po | blo . [co . tshel . ṅo ? ?] [C] [ces ?] [1] . Spe . rtsaṅ . sug . zuṅs | La . [ta]ṅ . rtsol . sug . zuṅs ||

"Ministrants in supplicating (*or* feasting, *gsol*) the local deity, local master and physician; the *gśen* in person (attended ?) by servants. Gy—d-[sad ?], ministrant; Gsas-chuṅ, divine-Bon man; . . . Spe-rtsaṅ, hand-taker; L[h]a-[ta]ṅ-rtsol, hand-taker."

Connection with the preceding document is obvious. *Gśen* is a Bon-po term, which in mundane usage means "executioner". *Las-myi* = "workman", "servant", as *supra*.

94. M.I. xxvii, 15 (wood, c. 10·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 (partly an addition in a second hand) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] 𑖌 : | : | yul . lha . yul . bdag . daṅ . [sma]n . [A 2] gsol . baḫi . żal . ta . pa | daṅ . sku . gśen [B 1] dpon . yog |

| . | (*A fresh hand*) blon . Maṅ . g(z)igs [B 2] lod . Mdo . bzaṅ . ||

"(*Beginning as in the preceding; then*) the *gśen* in person, master and servants.

"Councillor Maṅ-gzigs-lod Mdo-bzaṅ."

Of the four Tibetan methods of disposing of the dead only

[1] *tse-sṅa ?*

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one, namely burial, is indicated in the documents; it may have been favoured by scarcity of fuel. None of the citations belong, it is true, to the Khotan area, in regard to which cremation is attested by the Chinese (Abel-Rémusat, op. cit., p. 22).

The water(?)-drinking rites in connection with mourning are probably, despite the term *dge-ḫdun* in M.I. vi, 12, not Buddhist; and the same may be said of the other ceremonies indicated. Their Bon-po character is authenticated in some cases by the occurrence of the actual term. On Bon religion in pre-Tibetan Central Asia see *supra*, p. 100. In its early forms it was hardly distinguished from Shamanism; the term *Bon* probably meant "lord", and would in Sanskrit be represented by *nātha*, as in the case of the Burmese *nats*. The *nāgas* (of streams, etc.) and *yakṣas*, also characteristic of Chinese Turkestan, are very possibly of a different origin. The technical terms *khur-skya*, etc., await explanation. The *glud*, or scapegoat effigy, is, of course, world-wide.

7. Medicine and Divination

(a) *Medicine*

95. M.I. i, 13 (wood, c. 20 × 2·5 cm., burnt at l. and r.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] | : | Lha . dpal . gyi . ża . sna . nas | | thugs . rtag . tu . bdeḫ . ba . daṅ . żal . myur . du . mthoṅ . bar . smon [2] [la ?] . gsol . żiṅ . mchis || phyag . na . smyan . tu . ci . mṅaḫ . | phyag . na . myi . mṅaḫ . na . yaṅ . Rgya . skugs : [3] [tshun ?] . chad . btsal . te . dpyid . sla . ra . ba . la . bdag . Nob . chu . ṅur . mchis . pa . tsam . na . brñes . pa . . .

"Petition, with prayer for his lordship's perpetual happiness and soon to see his face. Have you medicine at hand? If none at hand, it should be sought on this side of (= as far as) Rgya-skugs; on arriving in the first spring month at Little Nob I *shall receive what you shall have* obtained . . ."

On Rgya-skugs see *supra*. *Smyan*, for *sman*, is irregular, the

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y being usually inserted only before *i* and *e*: *brñes-pa* should be past tense, not future (*brñad*).

96. M.I. i, 23 (paper, fol. No. 1 in vol., c. 31·5 × 8 cm., incomplete at lower r., but without loss of text; discoloured, but mostly legible; ll. 7 *recto* + 9 (a different document) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ || blon . Skyes . bzaṅ . la | | Stag . legs . gyi . mchid . gsol . ba || mchid . gyis . rmas . na . | thugs . myi . bde . baḫi . sñun . rñiṅ . slar . ma . [2] ḫbred . ces . thos . te | glo . ba . dgaḫ | slan . cad . kyaṅ . yab . sras . staṅs . byal . thugs . rtag . tu . bde . baḫi . ẓal . ñe . bar . mthoṅ . bar . smon . chiṅ . mchis || do . cig . bsku . baḫi [3] sman . ẓig . bskur . bar . bgyis . pa . las . ḫdrul . ba . bcugs . pa . ma . m[chi]s . te | sṅa . ma . sṅar . ma . brdzaṅs | pa . bkaḫ . myi . ḫbab . par . ci . gnaṅ || sman [4] sug . rgyas . btab . ste | Mdo . rma . las . brdzaṅs . pa . lags . na | sman . ḫdi . las . lug . ril . phyed . tsam | chu . ñuṅ . śas . tsam . gi . naṅ . du . | tshe . gu . śig . gi . naṅ . du . [smye[1]] [5] la . bẓus . bskol : ste . ẓu . ba . daṅ . | mar . | . bam . tseg . tsam . ẓig . bsnan . te . ẓu . ba . daṅ . nas . ḫdres . pa . daṅ . | dron . poḫi . śa . bzod . ts[h ?]am . ḫbras . b[u ?] . daṅ . gar . myi . bde . bar[2] . bsku . ẓi[ṅ] . [6] ñi . ma [ḫi ?] . dron . ḫog[3] . ma[r ?] | mye . mar . [l]—g[s ?] . bsro . ẓiṅ . khoṅ . [du ?] . so[r] . po . [che] . m[c(th ?)]umste | ḫdi . ltar . lan . bẓi . lṅa . tsam . yul . dro . baḫi tshe . [bgyis] . na | [sma ?]n . [blar . mchi] . [7] de . las[4] . ci . ltar . gyur . ba . las | ḫdrul . ba . la . [yige] . ḫga[5] . spriṅ . du . [g]sol.

"To Councillor Skyes-bzaṅ: letter petition of Stag-legs. Having inquired by word of mouth (*or* by letter) and having heard that your unhappy former illness is not returned, I am glad. Hereafter also I pray that the distinguished father and son may ever be happy and that I may soon see them face to face. Just now I had had sent an ointment medicine; but the runner appointed not having come, the first was not sent

[1] *rmye- ? sgye- ?* [2] *can ?* [3] *bẓi ? cig ?*
[4] *s* below line. [5] *bug ? cig ? ḫug ?*

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at once ; for which please do not reprove me. The medicine has been sent with hand-seal attached from Mdo-rma. Of this medicine [taking] as much as half a sheep's dung, in just a little water, in a small tube (*tse-gur*), boil it over the fire (*read: mye-la ?*) until it dissolves (*bżus-bskol*). When it melts, add oil little by little, mixing it with the melted substance, and, as far as the heated flesh can bear, smear the tumour (*h̲bras-bu*) and where the pain is ; wrap up the great finger warmed in oil under the afternoon sun (?). If you do so some four or five times at the time when the place is hot (inflamed), the medicine gets the upper hand (?). Afterwards how it shall have befallen I beg you to send me a note in writing by the post."

There are here some uncertainties due to difficulties of reading. On *bkah̲-h̲bab* "reprimand" see *supra*, p. 254. *Tshe-gu* is, no doubt, = *tse-gur* "a small tube", and *h̲bras-bu* = Sanskrit *phala* "tumour".

97. M.I. 0018 (wood, c. 17·5 × 2·5 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ | . | yu(l) . sman . gyi . stan̓ . thin̓ . [sn̓ar] . ltun̓ . bżin . gcig . | phye . [dan̓] . mar [A 2] sra(n̓) . phyed . | gcheṅs (gtsheṅ . ma ?) . rdzuh̲u [1] . gan̓ | sug . rgod . dar . sni [2] . chan . gci[g] [B 1] gża . nas . khy[o]r . gan̓ | cog (tsog) . skyem(s) . rdzuh̲u [3] . gan̓ . h̲briṅ . sky[o]gs

"One fallen, as it were, before the spread dīvān of the local physician (*presents*) flour [and] oil, half an ounce (*sran̓*) ; *gcheṅs* (?), a cupful ; wild juniper with silken tie, one ; *gża* (flesh ?), barley, a full *khyor* ; *cog* drink, a cupful, medium ladle."

The measure *khyor* ("handful", 1928, p. 90), [*g*]*ża*, *cog*, and also the expression *h̲briṅ-skyogs* "medium ladle", have occurred *supra*. *Gcheṅs* (?) is obscure. On (*g*)*ża* see p. 482.

The *yul-sman* recurs below. In 1928, p. 585, we have mention of a "chief physician" (*rtse-sman*) of Little Nob.

[1] *rdz*[*e*]*h̲u ?*

[2] *i* crossed out ? The form *dar-sni*(*sna*) has occurred 1933, p. 538.

[3] *rdz*[*e*]*h̲u ?*

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(*b*) *Divination*

98. M.I. xv, 0016 (wood, c. 11–11·5 × 1·5–2 cm., complete ; hole for string at r. ; ll. 3 *recto* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in part erased + 2 *verso*, a different hand).

[A 1] ๆ || yul . sman . la . ma . sñiṅ . bżin . (b)zaṅs . gchig . [A 2] gis . gsol . ste . lag . dgra . la . żal . bże[n] . taṃ . m[yi] [A 3] bżen . sogs . . . . . [yo]s . bu [B 1] lo . h̲i . ston | dkar . gnag . gi . [gro ?] . srul [B 2] h̲coṅs . sam . myi . . .

" To the local physician, petition by one kind as a mother's heart : Having *lag-dgra* (rheumatism ?), (shall I) lift my face or not ? Shoulder . . . Hare year autumn, *crop* of white and black (grain), (will it) suffer from rot or not ? "

Lag-dgra has been noted in 1928, p. 585, and it recurs in M.I. i, 14 ; iii, 7 ; and iv, 3 ; *żal-bżen* (°*ṅs*) recurs similarly. On " white " and " black " grain see *supra*. The expression " kind . . . heart " is found also in a similar connection in M.I. i, 14. On *sogs* . . . see *infra*, p. 488.

99. M.I. iii, 7 (wood, c. 11·5 × 2 cm., broken away at l. upper corner and at r. ; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] . . . [daṅ . rtse] . sman . daṅ . g-yaṅ . la | lu . . . [A 2] . . . h̲(l ?) . dgra . la . żal . bżen . taṃ . ma . bżen | . . . [A 3] mkhar . Nob . chu . ṅu . yul . risu | slad . naṅ . . . [B 1] myi . mchi | lo . g-yaṅ [1] . h̲babs . saṃ . myi . . . [B 2] . . . chi . h̲aṃ . myi . mchi |||

" To the *local divinity* and head physician and *g-yaṅ* (*petition by one mild as a sheep*) : Having *lag-dgra*, (shall I) lift my face or not ? . . . (Shall I) come back or not to the bounds of the city of Little Nob ? (Shall I) arrive back or not ? (Shall I) go or not ? "

The syllable *lu* in A 1 began, no doubt, the expression *lug-lug-bśan-bżin-bzaṅ-gis-gsol* " petition by one mild as a slaughtered sheep ", which occurs (*bśan-lug*°) in M.I. iv, 3. *Lo-g-yaṅ*, which has been rendered as if it were *log-yaṅ*,

[1] = *log . yaṅ*, as in M.I. i, 14.

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might mean "year (sc. harvest)-blessing". With *yul-ris* "country boundary", cf. *mkhar-ris* "city-boundary".

100. M.I. iv, 79 (wood, c. 12 × 1·5 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faint and rubbed).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | sogs . pa . g-yas . la |

[A 2] n[a][1] . chu . srid . yod . dam . mye[d] . śa . nad[2] . h̲oṅ . [ṅ]am[3] . myi . [h̲oṅ] [B 1] mchin . pa . la . srid . pya (rtsa ?) || srid . m[n ? o]s . bzaṅ | so (po ? lo ?) . phyogs [B 2] nas . rmaṅ . sri . daṅ | — ur[4] (ṅ ?) . srin . gi . ṅo . che |

"On the right shoulder.

"Is there — water or not? Is disease of the flesh coming or not? In the liver a lucky (*pya ?*) state? State considered good; on the part of the teeth (? ? *so, p[h]o, lo ?*) indications (*ṅo-che ?*) of *rmaṅ-sri* (?) and — worm."

This is an example of prognostication by means of sheep's shoulder-blades (scapulimancy), whereof a full account is given in William of Rubruck's *Journey* (Hakluyt Society's publication, pp. 187–8). See the next following documents.

101. M.I. iv, 35 (wood, c. 15 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ || sogs . pa . g-yas . la . | gśin . dra . ma . brtsan [A 2] gchags . daṅ . bral . lam . ma . bral || gdon . gchags[u ?] [B 1] tsha . che . |

"On the right shoulder.

"Of the noose of death (*gśin[-rjeh̲i]-dra-[ba]* "net"; *or read gśin-h̲dre* "a ghost") not (*ma ?*) firmly attached [shall I] be rid or not? Of demon (*gdon*) possession (*gchags*) great apprehension."

I have taken *tsha-che* "great heat", as equivalent to *tsha-sna* "anxiety".

102. M.I. iv, 3 (wood, c. 9·5 × 2 cm., broken away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 3 *recto* + 2 (much blurred) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] *nu* (*mu ?*) perhaps preferable.
[2] *cad ? h̲ñam ?*
[3] Corrected from *h̲am ?*
[4] *sñuṅ ? snar ? ltar ?*

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[A 1] . . . sman . la . | bśan . lug . bžin [A 2] . . . [gi]s . gsol . te | lag . dgra . la . žal [A 3] . . . n | sogs . g-yon . daṅ | [B 1] . . . No[b . chu . ṅu . na] . phyi . dgra . mchi . ḫa[m] [B 2] . . . —e . le . myi . [chiṅ] . . .

[*Between B* 1 *and B* 2 *at r.*] . . n . dgra . . .

"[*Beginning similar to M.I. iii*, 7, supra; *then*] Left shoulder . . . Is a foreign enemy coming into Little Nob ? . . ."

As will have been seen, the justification for treating the physician and the diviner together is the identity of the persons, the *yul-sman* "local physician", being also *g-yaṅ* "luck", and often *yul-lha* "local divinity". To him application is made both for normal medicines and directions and for prognostications by means of the sheep shoulder-blades. Ordinary medicines and prescriptions are mentioned, as gifts or otherwise, in many letters; and in the literary MSS. from the Tun-huang library are a few, in some cases not inextensive, fragments of common-sense treatises (mainly, no doubt, of Indian inspiration) or collections of prescriptions relating to ordinary medicine and to horse doctoring. There are also pieces exemplifying the *mo* divination (by means of groups of circles), concerning which we may here be content to refer to the article by A. H. Francke in the Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1924, pp. 5 sqq., 1928, pp. 110 sqq.

8. Law

103. M.I. vi, 1 (wood, c. 18 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of smallish, cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A 1] ꡲ | . | ces . dgaḫ . ba . || ḫdi . ltar . mad . naḫ || khyi . mo . rtseḫi . [sk]o . yus . sdams . la . ma . chad . par || naṅ . po . [A 2] cag . gis . mchid . nan . cher . stsol . te | ḫphral . du . gñer . ḫgums . su . sol . cig || ma . lags . [B 1] [yi ?] sñad . ṅag . ḫdogs . naḫ || ḫ [1] thoṅ . myig . daṅ . byor . baḫi .

[1] *kthoṅ ?*

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myi . khrims . bžin . gñ[e]r . s[ts]ol [B 2] . la . dpaṅ . po . gaṅ . naḫ . mchis . paḫi . sar . thus . žig ||

"Thereat [I was] glad. This being true, I beg for immediate disposal of the matter by the Inner-Ministers sending strict orders not to make a decision ratifying the plaint put forward from Khyi-mo-rtse. If not, as a malicious accusation attaches [to me], send persons equipped with a seeing eye to dispose [of the matter] according to law and let them assemble at the place where the witnesses are."

The phrase *sko-yus-sdams-la* (cf. 1928, pp. 834, 837, where *sgo*, "private," is read) is not quite clear. *Khyi-mo-rtse* ("Bitch's Peak") looks like a place name; but there might be a reference to some test with a bitch's head. *Bsñad-ḫdogs-pa* = "make malicious accusation". On *gñer-ḫgums* and *sar* see *supra*, 1927, pp. 810, 558.

104. M.I. 0010 (wood, c. 22 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, blurred and rubbed).

[A 1] ꡲ | . | paḫ . sdu . las . slad . nas . [gso]l . paḫi . bžin . du . jo . b[o] . Zla . bžre [1] . daṅ . Ḫphan . ñen . gyis . [A 2] thu(g)spags . mdzad . de . kha . bzuṅ . [g [2]]ži[ṅ] . nas . bžag . pa . ni . bdag . ṅan . pa . yaṅ . [gl]o . ba . | [B 1] dgaḫ . žiṅ . mchis[aṃ ?] . smyin . zigs . snaṅ . ḫga . tsham . bs—ṅ (bsgyur ?) . [b ?]aḫ . d—s . lha . la . s[ñ]iṅ . rten [B 2] po . ma . mchis . ste . slad . kyi . [bži ?] . gso[l] . [ḫ]di . las . bkaḫ . [spy]i . bab (thab ? jab ? (ḫ)dzab ?) . par . gsol.

"In accordance with a subsequent petition from my father also, the chief Zla-bžer and Ḫphan-ñen paying attention, the guarantor was put out of the farm (?): your humble servant rejoiced. That having become a mere illusory appearance (*smyin-zigs ? spyin-zigs ?*), and having none to rely upon but my lord (*read lha-las ?*), by this last, fourth (?) petition, I beg for a general decision."

Sdu (A 1) may mean "also"; *kha-bzuṅ* might mean "accepted" (the petition); but the technical sense of

[1] = *bžer*. [2] [*m ?*]

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"guarantor" seems more frequent with *kha-ḫdzin-pa*. *Smyin-zigs* "eyebrow-look" (the most probable reading) is perhaps a synonym of *smig-rgyu*; at least that sense fits in with *snaṅ-ḫgaḫ-tsham*.

105. M.I. x, 6 (wood, c. 13·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 1 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[A] ꕥ || sgo . gsol | . spyan . ched . pos . mchid . kyis . bcad . de | [B 1] [N]ob . ched . poḫi . rtse . rje . daṅ | . ża(ṅ) . lo (n) [B 2] la . gthadpa |

"Private request, verbally (*or* by letter) granted by the Great Eye, consigned to the chief ruler and Uncle-Councillor of Great Nob."

Spyan-ched-po: This (cf. p. 499, *infra*) probably means "by the great man in person"; or it may be "the king's eye" (*rāja-cakṣus*), on which see pp. 100, 255.

106. M.I. xiv, 002 (wood, c. 16·5 × 2–2·5 cm., burnt away at l.; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, very black).

[A 1] *bdag* . ṅan . pa . yaṅ . ṅo . skyon . daṅ . glo . baḫi . myi . dgaḫ . baḫi . bag [A 2] [tsha ?]s . paḫ . las . | sñiṅ . du . ḫdre . żugs . ste . | yul . Ḫdru (nu ?) . [B 1] . . . [ḫb]ros . par . bgyis . paḫ . las . ḫphral . du . | rtse . rje . ḫog . pon . gyi . [B 2] . . . bzaṅ . ste . bkri . bar . bgyis . pa . las . śor . pas . | bya . theṅs . pra [1].

"Your humble servant, dejected (*or* ashamed, *ṅo-skyon*) and grievously alarmed, a devil being in his heart, took flight [into the Dru-gu ?] country; now that the chief ruler, the corporal . . . in kindness has caused a search to be made, a bird attracted back from flight (*or* by the hunter, *gśor-pas*) . . ."

107. Ch. 82, xii, 3 (paper, fol. 58 in vol. lvi, torn away at r. and bottom, c. 29·5 × 32 cm.; ll. 6 of cursive *dbu-can* script, rather scrawled).

[1] ꕥ || rta . ḫi . lo . ḫi . dpyid . sla . ra . ba . nas . Dge .

[1] = *par*.

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brtsan . kyi . rkya . la . rje . blas . bgyis . pha . . . [2] bgyis . pa . la . żag . lṅa . [San . h̲o] [1] . btson . sruṅs . bgyis [2] | 'Iṅ . tse . yaṅ . sña . bran . la . btson . sruṅs . żag . l[ṅ] . . . [3] bzaṅ . gi . bser . Sa . Ti . puṅ . żag . lṅa . bgyis || sgo . g-yog . żag . lṅa . 'Iṅ . tse . bgyis || gteh̲u . . . [4] gcig . daṅ . sña . gcig . bsruṅ . ba . żag . lṅa . Sa . Ti . puṅ . bgyis || Jaṅ . lag . du . dra . ma . draṅ . ba[h̲i] . . . [5] sraṅ . brgyad . h̲tshla [3] | nas . phul . phyed . daṅ . bżi : h̲tshla [3] | śa . ka . pa . btson . sruṅs . Kvaṅ . śeṅ . gis . yaṅ . . . żag . bcu . bgyis |

"Work caused by His Excellency to be done in regard to the trial (*rkya = brgya ?*) of Dge-brtsan from the first spring month of the Horse year: During five days San-h̲o kept prison guard; 'Iṅ-tse also kept prison guard during five days over witnesses' (*sña*) servants; observation of . . . bzaṅ was made during five days by Sa Ti-puṅ; 'Iṅ-tse acted during five days as private servant; guarding of one . . . guarantor (*gteh̲u*) and one witness was performed during five days by Sa Ti-puṅ. For a net (handcuff ?) conveyed to the hand of Jaṅ (?) eight *sraṅ* are asked; of barley four less one-half *phul* (handfuls) are asked. Prison-guarding of (at ?) Śa-ka-pa was performed also by Kvaṅ-śeṅ . . . during ten days."

It seems possible that *rkya-la = brgya-la* (*brgyal-la*) "dispute" or "fine", on which see 1930, p. 70. *Sña* is clearly = *gñah̲* "witness"; *Śa-ka-pa* might be either a place (the prison) or a person. "Observation" is *bser*. On *dra-ma* with *lag* see p. 467.

108. Ch. lxxiii, xiii, 18 (paper, No. 762 (?), fol. 19 in vol. liii, c. 30 × 28·5 cm.; ll. 5 of cursive *dbu-can* script + 2 columns of signatures, r. 3 (4 more having been cut out), l. 3 (1 more having been cut out)).

[1] gyur . na | Rgya . lcags . bco . lṅa . rtabs [4] . par . bgyis || chad . lhag . byuṅ . ba . daṅ . | byasu . byuṅ [2] phoṅ . rnags . pa . nas | ma . ñe . bar . yod . na | chad . pa . cher . bcar ||

[1] Added below line.
[2] *bgyis* crossed out.
[3] For *h̲tshal*.
[4] *s* added below line.

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bkā . luṅ . h̲di [3] ma . ñan . nas | ża . la . byuṅ . ba . yod . na . | chad . pa . gser . sraṅ . gsum . daṅ | [4] sṅon . mo . khal . gsum . daṅ | myi . re . re . Rgya . lcag . bcu . lṅa . rtab . par . bgyis | [5] ża . la . żugs . pa . yod . na . bśan . lug . gcig . gyi . ston . mo . sbyar . bar . bgyis |

. . . (*mark*)	| ża . myi . Tan . tse . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)
. . . (*mark*)	| ża . myi . 'An . sin . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)
| ża . co . Dzeh̲i . śi . 'ab . dzi (*mark*)	| ża . myi . Dzeh̲u . sam . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)
. . .	| . . .
| ża . myi . Li . Lha . sto . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)	| 'Yim . dzih̲i . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)
. . .	| Ha . Śib . tig . 'a(*b*) . dzi | (*mark*)
| Dbyuṅ . Ju . tse . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)	H̲o . Khrom . pa . 'ab . dzi | (*mark*)

"... fifteen lashes with a Chinese whip were ordered."

There being a remainder of punishment and the work done *not being nearly equal to what would have been possible* the penalty was heavily augmented. The order not having been obeyed, it was decided that, where the plastering (*zà-la* ?) had been done, the penalty should be three ounces (*sraṅ*) of gold and three loads (*khal*) of vegetables (*sṅon-mo*) and that each man should receive fifteen lashes with a Chinese whip; where the plastering was in progress, it was decided that a feast of one slaughtered sheep should be supplied.

. . . (*mark*)	| plasterer (*ża-myi*), Taṅ-tse, finger-mark (*mark*)
. . . . .	| plasterer (*ża-myi*), 'An-sin, finger-mark (*mark*)
Plaster-master (*ża-co* ?) Dzeh̲i-śi, finger-mark (*mark*)	| plasterer (*ża-myi*), Dzeh̲u-sam, finger-mark (*mark*)

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Plasterer Li Lha-sto, finger-mark (*mark*)	'Yim-dziḫi, finger-mark (*mark*)
. . .	Ha Śib-tig, finger-mark (*mark*)
Dbyuṅ Ju-tse, finger-mark (*mark*)	Ḫo Khrom-pa, finger-mark (*mark*)

That *ża-la* (*żal-la*) here means "plasterer" and *ża-co* "plaster-master" is far from certain: also the phrase *byasu-byuṅ-phoṅ-rnags-pa* is obscure. *'Ab-dzi* is perhaps Chinese *hao-chih*, (or, as Dr. L. Giles suggests, *hao-tzŭ*), 'mark.' The clan-names *'Yim* (*'Im*), *Li*, *Ha*, and also the personal names are characteristic of the Śa-cu region: see *supra*, 1928, pp. 91 sqq. On the *Bkaḫ-luṅ* see *supra*, p. 250.

109. M.I. xiv, 61*c* (paper, fol. No. 43 in vol., c. 13·5 × 3 cm., a fragment; ll. 2 of square *dbu-can* script).

[1] . . . dpaṅ . la . rts[i]g . Lha . rtsa . sky[e]s . daṅ . rgyal . zigs . Legs[1] . . . [2] . . . rgya . daṅ . Ldoṅ . koṅ . s . . .

". . . in witness the [signatures] of *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes and the King's Eye Legs . . . and Ldoṅ-koṅ . . ."

The *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes was mentioned in 1928, p. 576, in connection with the King's Eye; and, as he appears elsewhere (e.g. in M.I. xiv, 24) also in legal concerns, his designation *rtsig* probably means "lawyer". In M.T. b. i, 0095 (p. 498), he has become himself "King's Eye".

110. M.I. xiv, 18 (wood, c. 10 × 2 cm., cut and broken away at r.; ll. 3 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꣡ | : | gsol . ba | khyed . kyis . riṅ . lugs [2] gcod[2] . du . gdaḫi . [na] . [rtse] . rjes . chod . cig | rg . . [3] khye(o ?)-śig . ||

"Petition: if it is possible for the old usage to be decided (*gcod ?*) by you (plural) let the chief ruler decide . . ."

Riṅ-lugs "old usage", occurred 1928, pp. 572, 593.

The above citations relate to disputes, offences, and appeals. Previously we have had instances of prosecution for assault

[1] *g* below line. [2] *gtsed ?*

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(1928, pp. 560, 583), misdemeanour (pp. 570–1), and damage (pp. 574–5, 577 ; 1930, p. 290), and also a number of attested agreements (1927, p. 814 ; 1928, pp. 593–4 ; 1930, p. 60, etc) in regard to debt, loan, and sale. In two cases (1928, pp. 567, 584) there is indication of reference to a court (*grwa-tus* = *pariṣad*). The officials concerned with dispensation of justice (*khrims-dpon*, *rgyal-gzigs*, *żal-ce-pa*, *bkaẖ-luṅ*, etc.) have been noted *supra*.

The "ancient usage" and "old town law" (1928, pp. 572–3) sometimes mentioned were not necessarily written, and the same applies to the *dharma*, which the Kharoṣṭhī royal rescripts so frequently direct to be followed ; even perhaps to the *khyim-phugs-gyi-khrims* "law of house-burglary", named in a document from Mazār-Tāgh (0522). But in the case of an administration of Indian origin even in the earlier period some written law is probable ; and the Tibetans themselves were certainly in possession of a code compiled by order of Sroṅ-btsan Sgam-po, now understood to be the basis of the present-day procedure. From the hidden library of Tun-huang we shall report a fragment in Tibetan, embodying a part of a law of theft.

9. Writing and Letters

111. M.I. i, 25*a* (paper, fol. No. 3 in vol., c. 14·5 × 7 cm., a fragment ; parts of ll. 6 of cursive *dbu-can* script).

[1] ꤀ | : | Ska . ba | Bog . yul | na . mchis | pa : l[|] s[—]h̲ (h̲i ?) [|] h̲phral [1] | stag | y[i] . ge . . . [2] gser . gyi | yi . ge | ched . po : daṅ | stag | gi | stod | blon | Btsan | sum | gser . . . [3] . . . —i . —i . . . . . blon | Dge | bżre [2] | dṅul . gyi : yi . [g]e . . . [4] . . . gaṅ [3] . gi | sram [4] . . . [5] . . . —e . su | skyab[s] . . . [6] . . . [ha h̲i].[5]

"After being in Bog-yul of Ska-ba, now (?) [for] Stag, script . . . large gold script, and for Stag the Upper Councillor Btsan-sum gold . . . Councillor Dge-bżer silver script . . ."

The document refers to writings (testimonials or com-

[1] *h̲phul ?* [2] = *bżer.* [3] Corrected from *gum.* [4] *sum ?* [5] *kaẖi ?*

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missions ?) executed for certain persons in gold or silver ink, such as may be seen in calligraphic MSS. obtained from Tibet.

Silver script and turquoise script (evidently on monuments) were mentioned 1927, p. 62, and elsewhere we have had reference to copper script and turquoise script distinguishing the records of different army brigades. M.I. i, 26, mentions silver, copper (*zaṅs*), brass (*ra-gan*), large and small, and blue (*sṅon* ?) writing. For sealings, and sometimes for headings and beginnings of paragraphs (e.g. *supra*, pp. 275 sqq.), red ink, now in most cases faded, was in use. "Large writing" (*yi-ge-ched-po*, mentioned again in M.I. i, 26*a*) seems also, from the mention of "lands of small letter" (*supra*, p. 264), to have been distinctively employed. Among the (later) fragments from the Etsingol sites (Mongol period) the interlinear comments in literary MSS. are often in very minute, but excellent, hands.

Bog-yul was, as we have seen (1927, p. 817) in the region of Lem-cu (Liang-chow), to which accordingly Ska-ba (1931, p. 834) also belonged.

112. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0051 (wood, c. 23 × 2·5 cm., somewhat broken away at bottom l.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, in places rubbed away).

[A 1] ꡲ | : | glaṅ . gyi . loḫi . st(?)on . sla . ra . [baḫ]i . [tshes] . ñi . śu . gsum . gyi . naṅ . par . [s(?)o . —e . ba] [1] [A 2] pas . yi . ge . gsar . bsk[u]lde . rñi[ṅ] . [daṅ] . —e . Li . S[o]r . dad . gyi . . . . . [B 1] bgyis . pa . ḫi . dpaṅ . la . Preg . po . Khrom . le[gs] . gy*i* . rg[y]a . daṅ . Sor . dad . *gyi* . *sug* [B 2] gyis . btab . | pa . |

"Ox year, first autumn month, day twenty-three, in the morning a new letter, required (*bskuld*) by a soldier relay arrived (*so-res-bab-pa*), was made *in agreement* with the old by the Khotanī Sor-dad: in witness whereof are impressed the seal of Preg-po Khrom-*legs* and the hand[-signature] of Sor-dad."

[1] Read *so-res-bab*.

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This seems to be a case of a letter damaged in transmission and replaced by an attested copy.

113. M. Tāgh. c. i, 005 (wood, c. 16 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of square *dbu-can* script, the *verso* partly erased).

[A 1] ꡲ | . | dru . bu . h̲di . Khri . gdas . gi . mdun . du . gcal [1] . na . sraṅ . bco . lṅa . kha . bz[u] [A 2]ṅ . mchis . de . bdag . gi . sug . rgyas . btab . ste . Khri . gdas . la . gtad [2] [B 1] pa . h̲i . dbaṅ . po . la . Śaṅ . sde . h̲i . d . . . . . —e . . s . las b[sts]ogs [B 2] pah̲i . dbaṅ . rgya . daṅ . Khri . gdas . gi . su[g . yig [3]] . g— . h̲chad . gis . btab . bā . |

"In witness that this wrapping, for delivery (payment ?) in the presence of Khri-gdas and containing fifteen *sraṅ*, has been consigned to Khri-gdas with his own seal attached the witness signatures of . . . and others of the Śaṅ regiment and the hand-written mark of Khri-gdas are affixed."

The situation seems to be that the package was despatched by Khri-gdas to be delivered to himself elsewhere; but other interpretations are possible. *De-bdag* can hardly be any other person than Khri-gdas; otherwise we might understand that some one had accepted (*kha-bzuṅ*) 15 *sraṅ* for conveying the parcel. *Gcal* seems to come from *h̲jal* (*gtsal* might be from *h̲tshol* or *stsol ?*); *dbaṅ-rgya* is probably = *dpaṅ-rgya* "witness signature"; *sug-yig-gi-h̲chad* seems to be identical with the *sug-yig-tshad* of 1927, p. 813. On the Śaṅ regiment see *supra*, 1933, pp. 565–6.

114. M. Tāgh. 0264 (wood, c. 12 × 1 × 1 cm., four sides; handle with hole at l.; ll. 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 of cursive *dbu-can* script, clear).

[1] ꡲ | . | jo . cho . Mdo . rma . la . | Legs . tshan . [gyi] [2] gsol . bah̲ . | jo . cho . brgya . la . bżud . na . | snam . [3] bu . la . yi . ge . h̲di . bthagste | slad . na . su . la . gtad . [4] . pa . la . | Lho . bragi . sde . Sluṅ . Legs . tshan . la . stsal |

"To the Lord Mdo-rma: petition of Legs-tshan. In case my lord has departed in connection with a dispute (*brgya-la ?*),

[1] *gtsal ?* [2] Corrected from *gta-dad*. [3] *lag ?*

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this writing, having been tied in a woollen cloth, is to be sent by anyone to whom it is afterwards delivered to Sluṅ(s) Legs-tshan of the Lho-brag regiment.

On the Sluṅs (1927, p. 820 n., etc.) and the Lho-brag regiment (1933, p. 561) see *supra*. On *brgya-la* see *supra*, p. 492 (°*btsoṅs-par-gyur*, "imprisoned through a dispute").

115. M. Tāgh. b. i, 0095 (paper, fol. No. 36 in vol., 28·5 × 8 cm., originally folded in the form of a modern Tibetan letter; ll. 5 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* script + 1 in a different hand, inverted).

[1] ꠰ | : | jo . cho . Rgyal . bżer : gyi . ża . sṅar | | Lha . ri . skyes . kyi . mchid . gsol . ba | | bar . du . thugs . bdeḫ . [2] ḫaṃ . myi . bdeḫ . mchid . yige : las : sñund . gsol . żiṅ . mchis | | khrom . na . yaṅ . Cuṅ . tsan . daṅ . Snaṅ . bżer . daṅ . Lha . bzaṅ . las [3] stsogs . pa . la . noṅ . żo . ni . ma . mchis || Rgyal . zigs . Lha . rtsa . skyes . kyaṅ . sos . kyis . yul . du . mchi . żes . mchi . na | bkaḫ . yi [4] ge : la [1] dag . spriṅ . ba . mchis . na . bdag . gi . steṅ . du . yaṅ . sk[u]r . bar . gsol | | mchid . yi . ge . ḫdi . gsold . slan . chad . kyaṅ . noṅ . [żo ?] [5] ma . mchis : thugs . bdeḫ . bar : smond . ciṅ . mchis || . [6] jo . cho . Rgyal . bżre [2] . [sa ?] | la

"To the presence of the chief, Rgyal-bżer: letter-petition of Lha-ri-skyes. I am writing to inquire as to your health, whether meanwhile you are happy or not. In the town Cuṅ-tsan and Snaṅ-bżer and Lha-bzaṅ and the rest are free from illness. The King's Eye, Lha-rtsa-skyes, also is recovered and is coming into the country, so they say. If any orders (letters) have come for me, please send them up to me. After submitting this letter, I am praying for your happiness with freedom from illness.

"To the residence of the chief, Rgyal-bżer."

116. M. Tāgh. 0512 (paper document, complete, originally folded in long strips like a modern Tibetan letter; c. 28 ×

[1] *la* crossed out. Was *bdag-la* "to me" intended? [2] = *bżer*.

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20 cm.; ll. 12 *recto* + scattered addresses, etc., *verso* in large, ordinary *dbu-can* writing, in places faint).

[1] ꡲ | : | jo . bo . blon . Maṅ . bżre [1] . kyi . ża . sṅar . | Phyi . mtho . gi . [mchi]d . gso[l . b]ā || [2] h̲drul . ba . la . mchid . kyis . rma[s] . na || rtag . tu . thugs . bde . dbu . rmog . brtsan . żes . [th]os . ste | [3] glo . ba . rab . tu . dgah̲ . żiṅ . mchis || slan . cad . kyaṅ . thugs . bde . żiṅ . żal . bzaṅ . po . myur . du . m[tho]ṅ . [4] bar . smon . lam . gsol | | mar . sbal . nod . pa . yaṅ || spya[n . ch]e[d ?] . po . khrom . du . ma . thal . ba . daṅ | [5] lo . sar . daṅ . bgyis . ste . żaṅ . lon . dag . ma . tus . nas . dah̲ . ruṅ . ma . thob . ciṅ . mchis || rṅo [6] thog . pa . ma . mch[i]s . par . rtag . tu . sñan . sñuṅs . gsol . ba . żes . bkah̲ . bap . du . yaṅ . ruṅ . na || bdag [7] ṅan . pa . yaṅ . tshal . ma . dkon . ba . daṅ . bgr[es] . ste || phyugs . khal . gcig . gi . stsaṅ . nas . Li . Na . [8] mo . bud . las . tsh[ald . na] || phyugs . khal . gcig . gi . bul . stsald . par . thugs . pag . cir . mdzad [9] żaṅ . lon . gdan . h̲[d]ir . gś[e]gs . na || żabs . dren . myi . tshal . bar . phyag . du . bul . żi[ṅ] . m[ch]i [10] lan . ma . rma . h̲aṅ . dah̲ . ruṅ . khrom . du . ma . mchis || khor . żag . pa . rnams . kyaṅ . dah̲ . ltar [11] skul . ma . tshal . żiṅ . mchis || bkah̲ . mchid . gsar . du . bdag . cag . gis . thos . pa . ma [12] mchis || Phu . tsab . la . bkas . rma . bar . gsol ||

Verso (*top*) [1] ꡲ | . | Stag . [bzaṅ] . gi . [ża . sna]*r* | Stag . . .

[2] (*bottom, inverted*) ꡲ | . | glo (blon ?) . . . . . bul . bah̲ ||

[3] (*vertically*) *Maṅ* . bżre . [la ?]

"To the presence of the chief, Councillor Maṅ-bżer: letter petition of Phyi-mthoṅ. Having inquired by word of mouth of the runner and having heard that you are continuously happy and with helm high, I am very glad. I make prayer that for the future also you may be happy and that I may soon see your good countenance.

"The oil and wool have come; but, as the Great Eye has not reached the town and the Uncle-Councillors, occupied with

[1] = *bżer*.

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the new year, have not met, I have still not got them. 'If one is not able, always offer inquiry as to health'—so it would be well to send a word. Your humble servant, with rations scarce and being old, has requested from the Khotanī Na-mo-bud barley grain [to the amount] of one animal-load; so please take care to send a receipt for one animal-load. As the Uncle-Councillor's *dīvān* comes here, not wishing to disgrace him, I am handing over a receipt. Though he (Na-mo-bud ?) does (*or* I do) not ask for return (*or* reply), he has still not come to town. The men on leave also now need a reminder. Fresh gossip we have not heard. I suggest that you inquire of Phu-tsab.

Verso [1] "To the presence of Stag-bzaṅ: Stag—

[2] ". . . receipt.

[3] "To — [*Ma*]ṅ-bżer."

On the "Great Eye" see *supra*, p. 491. The phrases *gdan-gśegs* (M.I. iii, 6), *khor-żag* "leave", *bkaḫ-mchid* "gossip", and *bkas-rma* "question authoritatively", have also occurred before. *Żabs-ḫdren* = "bring shame upon".

The first endorsement (*verso*) of the letter was perhaps made by the recipient when passing it on "for action". The Khotanī Na-mo-bud has a characteristic name; see *supra*.

117. M. Tāgh. a, iv. 0068 (wood, c. 19·5 × 2 cm., complete; hole for string at r.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of squarish *dbu-can* script, rather faint and l. 2 of *verso* partly erased).

[A 1] ꣡ || [rje] . b[lo]n . | chab . srid . gyi | (d)baṅ . bdag . la | myi . gsol . na | su . la . [gsol] [A 2] na . | bdag . ṅan . paḫi[1] . pu . bo[2] . rñin (*sic*) . chen | yul . du . mchi . na | bdag . cag . ṅan [B 1] ma . spun . gson . gśin | ḫbral . baḫ . | daṅ . ḫdra . żiṅ . mchis . na . | g—y— . . [B 2] [lha . rje ?] . . . —o ge (the ?) . tseg . cig | mchi . ḫtshal . na . | rje . blon . bla . ri[ṅ] . la . smo[nd ?]

"If not to my lord, the councillor, ruling authority in the government, petition is made, to whom should petition be made? Your humble servants' elder brother, greatly their

[1] *myi* (?) here crossed out. [2] *so* ?

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senior, going into the country, we humble uterine brothers are as it were severed from dear life. Since . . . some trouble (*tseg ?*) must come, we implore the very exalted (*bla-riṅ(s)*) lord councillor."

The petition relates apparently to military service, which would be explicit, if the reading in A 2 were *pu* (*phu*) . *so*. On *tseg* see *supra*; on the phrase "if petition is not made, etc.," see 1933, p. 400.

118. M.I. xliv, 6 (paper, fol. 87 in vol., torn and partly fragmentary l. and r., c. 27·5 × 19 cm.; ll. 16 of cursive *dbu-can* script, somewhat scrawled).

[1] ꡲ | : | Naṅ . rje . po . chen . po . blon . Rma . bżer . la | Bcom . ldan . h̲das . dan | Sde [1] . [2] [Ña . legs . daṅ] . . . . . brtan . daṅ | Tshe . yaṅs . kyi . mchid . gsol . bah̲ || mchi[d . kyi]s . [rmas] [3] . . . . . [sri]d . gcig . pah̲i . dam . pa . rga [2] h̲i [?] khar . sgor . ci . yaṅ . legs . . . [4] . . . . . mthu . chuṅs . ste || thugs . ṅan . zab . mos . mchir (mtshar) . ltar . . [5] . . . . . bdu . gcags . te | | g-yra . ṅan (*sic*) . cher . h̲tshal . żiṅ . mchis | . . [6] [*se*] [ms] . can . raṅ . bżin . gyis . myi . rtag . la . daṅ | chos . ñid . la . dgoṅs . śiṅ . | thugs . ṅan [pa ? [3]] [7] tsam . żig . mdab . kyis . bskyuṅ . ba . tsam . du . ci . gnaṅ | | slan . cad . thugs . rtag . du . bde . ci . yaṅ [8] legs . pah̲i . żal . sṅar . mthoṅ . bar . smon . te || sñun . gsol . żiṅ . mchis . na || bkā . stsalpa [9] tsam . du . ci . gnaṅ || rṅo . thogs . ma . mchis . par . bkā . luṅ . sñan . pas . bro . rmaspha || [10] glo . ba . dgā | . | da . ltar . bro . ma . h̲tshal . żiṅ . mchis || Nob . chu . ṅuh̲i . sna . ma . gzuṅ . bah̲i . slad . nas [11] do . cig . snams . sbyor . mtsudpa [4] . yaṅ . malegs || da . slan . cad . chis . h̲dir . gzuṅ . bar . mchi[bā] [5] [12] gros . chad . ciṅ . mchis || phyag . rjed . rnams . pa . myi . gcag . par . | gtso . bo . gżi . la . mchis [13] pah̲i . g-yra . du . stsal . ciṅ . mchis || Bcom . ldan . h̲das . kyi . sgo . gsol . żo . śa . daṅ . ma . [14] sbyar . bar . sñan . sñuṅs . par . gsol . żes . bkā . h̲bab . bam .

[1] Or *ye* crossed out ? [2] *rga* crossed out. [3] *l ?* crossed out ?
[4] *ma-tsud-pa ?* [5] *bā* below line.

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myi . h̲bab || dgun . gyi . tshal . brgyags [15] kyi . mthud . ma . stsaṅ . yuṅs . śas . tsam . žig . bsgral . bar . gsol . žiṅ . mchis na || thug[s] [16] pags . ci . mdzad

"To the great Inner-Minister, Councillor Rma-bžer: letter-petition of Bcom-ldan-h̲das and Sde-ña-legs . . . brtan and Tshe-yaṅs. [You] having inquired by letter . . . *there follows a mutilated passage containing expressions of dejection, etc.* . . . reflecting upon the natural impermanence of living beings and upon phenomenal existence (*chos-ñid* = *dharmatā*), [our] dejection has been in part diminished; thank you. For the rest (*or* For the future), with prayer that you may be perpetually happy and that perhaps we may soon see your good countenance, we are asking after your health. To send your commands would be a favour. When, [you] not being able, the kind *bkah̲-luṅ* made inquiry after [our] health, we were glad. At present we are free from illness.

"Since we first took charge (*sna-ma-gžuṅ*) of Little Nob, the surpluses delivered are not . . . good so far. So we are deliberating who is to take charge here hereafter. As the holders of the different appointments do not comprehend, we are sending up to my lord on his estate (in his place ?).

"Private petition of Bcom-ldan-h̲das: 'If not furnished with presents (*or* "Without adding a present"), send a letter of inquiry as to health'—did orders come to this effect or not? I am asking you to transmit, as a supplement to the winter provisions rations, some little harvest mustard. Can you attend to this?"

The communication is from some Buddhist clerics, who have been in authority, perhaps as a committee of inquiry, in Little Nob. They report that there is no surplus (*snams*) (in the revenues? 1928, p. 569), and they are considering who should be put in charge (*gzuṅ*). Not trusting the wisdom of the holders of different commissions or appointments (*phyag-rjed-rnams-pa*), they refer to the minister.

Mdab-kyis (l. 6), doubtless = *h̲dab-kyis*; on *snams* (l. 10) and *žo-śa* (l. 13) see *supra*. *Phyag-rjed* (l. 12) = *sug-rjed*

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(*supra*) "a commission", and *mthud-ma* (l. 15) is for *h̲thud* "supplement" or "addendum"; *bsgral* (l. 15) is from *sgrol*, in the sense of "transport". *Gcag(s)* (l. 12) = "comprehend". The *bkah̲-luṅ* has been mentioned *supra*.

119. M. Tāgh a. iv, 00122 (paper, fol. no. 16 in vol., c. 24 × 6 cm.; ll. 5 *recto* + 5 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* script, faded and obscure).

[1] ॐ|| jo.cho.Kri.bżer.daṅ.Rgyal.bż[e]r.daṅ.H̲brig.bżer.la[s].bs[tsogs.pah̲]i.ża.sṅa[r] | . . . [2] s[gra].gi.gsol.ba | h̲drul.ba.la.rmas.na.thugs.bde.żes.thos.te.[glo.ba].d[ga.żiṅ.mchis] [3] tshes.bcu.gchig.la.śul.du.żugs.te.mchi.na.|khrom.na.[sku.bla.gsol.ba].ba.ba[*gru.sto?*] [4] bla.btshon.[blaṅ ?].so—.rdo.ha.daṅ[1].mchi[s].skyams.kal.h̲ga.tsham.bskal.bar.gsol [5] [kh]rom.na.phrin.phuṅ [n ?].mchi.[*st*]e[2].gżir.kyaṅ.[bzaṅ(?).du].skr—gs.mdzad.bdag.[kyaṅ ?] [B 1] sna.Bżer[3].gyi.bsñel.[kh]yab.du.tsh..|||| chibs.pon.gyi.h̲baṅs.Pu.rig.[Gu]ṅ.legs.Li.dṅul.[sraṅ] [B 2] bol.ña.sa.toṅ.la.bal(?).chi.bskur.ba.blaṅ. | thag.bar.H̲pan.khri.la.bal.di.gchig.[bla]ṅ.[ste].żiṅ.*bzuṅ* [B 3] Bżer.gyis.ba.[boṅ.bkum.skra.nas ?].phyugs.kal.gñis.mchisgis.sraṅ.chig.gis.ba [.do.chu.srun ?] kyi.gla [B 4] Bżer.gis.phyugs.hga.skra.[sraṅ ? ?] phyed.gyis.| ra.po.mo.chi.skra.[thob ?] | mar.sraṅ.drug.tsham.chad | [sla.nas ?] [5] chad.chi.sñed.btshal | phyis.kyaṅ.nas.phyugs.kal.gchig.sbyar. || mkhar.pa.Guṃpin.du.ru.laṅ[4].[*byed ? ?*].po.sto.chi.tah̲ (?) [6] mdzad.par.chi.gnaṅ.h̲on.

[A ll. 1–2] "To the presence of the chief K[h]ri-bżer and Rgyal-bżer and H̲brig-bżer and the rest: petition of —sgra. Having learned upon inquiry of the runner that you are happy, I am glad. [A ll. 3–4] Having taken to the road on the eleventh, I am on my way. [Feasting the magnates] in the town . . . I beg you to send some loads of drink. [A l. 5–B l. 1] There being troubled news (*phrin-phuṅ ?*) in the town, considerable alarm (*skrags*) is caused in the country

[1] *rad ?* [2] *me* (?) here erased ? [3] *bżir ?* [4] *pu-ra-loṅ ?*

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also: I have previously sent a reminder to Bżer (*or* I have sent a reminder to the four leaders, *sna-bżir*). [B ll. 1–2] The wool sent to . . . by the pony-master's man, Pu-rig Guṅ-legs . . . Khotan silver *sraṅ* . . . has been received : some of this wool, having been received for mid-rope (*thag-bar*) Ḫp[h]an-k[h]ri, has been . . . [B ll. 3–4] Bżer having made two animal-loads of hair from oxen and asses killed (?), with one *sraṅ* wages of . . . Bżer has made half a *sraṅ* of hair of some animals. [B ll. 4–5] What hair of goats, male and female, has been obtained, cost (*chad*) about six *sraṅ* of oil: afterwards how much it cost will be reported. Subsequently also one animal-load of barley has been supplied. [B ll. 5–6] Please have made what rope (*sto ?*) is possible by the city-man Gumpin, as far as he has leisure (*laṅ ?*)."

In this letter the imperfection of the text leaves many obscurities; but the general tenor, a report to officials by an agent collecting hair for rope-making, seems evident. The phrases *sku-bla-gsol* (A 3, p. 474) *chibs-[d]pon* (B 1, 1933, p. 388), *thag-bar* ("mid-rope", B 2, 1933, p. 385) *phyugs-k[h]al* (B 3, 5, p. 500), *śul-du-żugs* (A 3, 1928, p. 588) have occurred *supra*. *Skyams-bskal* (A 4) = *skyems-bsgal ; chad* ("paid" or "cost"; *du-ru-laṅ-byed-po* = "as far as he has leisure" ?

The surname *Pu-rig* (B 1) may refer to the so-named W. Himalayan district. The rope mentioned in the last sentence would be of hair or wool (*supra*, p. 476).

198.

(*Concluded.*)

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Iranica (II)[1]

By H. W. BAILEY

1. *srat*

THE Latin *strāta* is one of the words of culture which passed to the East. Greek has *στρᾶτα*. Aramaic has *srṭy'* Levy, *Chaldäisches Wb.*, Dalman, *Aram. nhebr. Wb.*, with plural *srṭyn*, as also the form *'ṣtrṭy'* in the same sense. For Syriac is quoted (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*) *'ṣtrṭ*. Arabic has *ṣirāṭ* صراط in the eschatological *al-ṣirāṭu 'l-mustaqīmu* of the Qur'ān. A similar narrow bridge is well known in the Zoroastrian *činvatō pərətuš* of the Avesta.

It has not been so far noted that the word *srt* (that is *srat* or *srāt*), written [illegible], is used in an eschatological text in Pahlavi. In the *GrBd.*, 203, 12–14, we have the word twice :—

api-š ān kanīk pat rās-nimāyīh av srat-ē [illegible] *barēt kē-š* 3 *pāδak patiš ut pat ān srat* [illegible] *av garōδmān šavēt pat* 3 *gām hast i humat hūxt huvaršt.*

"And that maiden with guidance on the way brings him to the street wherein there are three stations, and by that street he goes to Garōδmān, by three steps which are Humat, Hūxt, and Huvaršt."

2. *aδvan*

In several passages occurs a word written either [illegible], [illegible], or [illegible]. It presents a problem which has been overlooked.

GrBd., 20, 11 fol. :—

api-š dāt av aδiyārīh < *i* > *urvar āp ut ātaxš čē har* **aδvan-ē* [illegible] < *i* > *urvarān āp ē srišk pat sar ātaxš* 4 *angust* < *hač* > *pēš pat ān zōr ham-ē rust.*

[1] "Iranica" (I) in *JRAS.*, 1930, p. 11 fol.

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"He created to assist the plants water and fire, since every stalk of the plants has one drop of water at its top and fire four fingers' length in front. By that power they grew."

The meaning "stalk, trunk" of plant or tree is confirmed by the parallel passages.

This same passage is quoted as Dēn in the list of liquids in *GrBd.*, 90, 8: 15-*om ān i hačaδar aδvan i* (TD 2, [illegible]; DH, P.,[1] [illegible]; *Ind. Bd.*, [illegible]) *urvarān čēgōn guft ku har aδvan-ē* (TD 2, [illegible]; P., [illegible]; *Ind. Bd.*, [illegible]) *āp ē srišk pat tēγ.*

Also in *GrBd.*, 119, 15 fol.:—

urvarān rāδ gōβēt ku har aδvan-ē (TD 2, P., [illegible], *Ind. Bd.*, [illegible]) *āp ē srišk pat tēγ* (*Ind. Bd.*, *pat sar dārēnd*).

This passage excludes the reading *axv* in 20, 12, which Nyberg adopted, *JA.*, 1929, avril-juin, 224: *aχᵘ i urvarān* "toute la force vitale des plantes" (with other differences in the translation, which these passages exclude).

In this reading of *axv* he was anticipated by Bartholomae in another passage. The gloss to *Yasna*, 38, 5 (the *yasna* of the waters) explains *vīspō.paitīš* by *vīspōpit.*[2] *ān guft ān i pat urvar *aδvan i* [illegible] *urvar patiš vaxšīhēt* "*vīspōpit* is named the water in the plants. The stalk of plants grows thereby."

In view of the above passages this is the only acceptable rendering. But the Skt. version has: *āpo yāḥ vanaspatiṣu jātayo vanaspatīnāṃ tābhiḥ vikāsyante* "the waters which are in the plants. The kinds of plants grow thereby." Hence *jātayo* implies a reading *aδvēn* "kind", just as in *Ind. Bd.*, 66, 22, [illegible] (*āēn*) represents the [illegible] *aδvēnak* of *GrBd.*,

[1] P. is the Paris MS. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds supplément persan 2043).

[2] Avestan letters.

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119, 15. Bartholomae, *AIW.*, s.v., *vīspō.pitay-* read *axv i urvar* " das Wesen der Pflanze ".

GrBd., 151, 3, in the description of the *van i vas-tōxmak* :—

*andar *aδvan i* (TD 2, [illegible]; P., [illegible]; *Ind. Bd.*, [illegible]) *avē* 9 *gar brēhēnīt ēstēt.*

DkM. 839, 6 fol. :—

āp-ič i garān [illegible] *tačišn ut avēšān-ič tan i namīk i* 10 *avēšān aδvan* [illegible] *i čihrakōmand i hazārakānak ku* 1,000 *pat ē* [illegible] *bār bē āyēnd.*

The word *aδvan* once interpreted is further interesting in that it gives the meaning of Avestan *varəša-ǰi-*.

Yasna, 71, 9. *vīspå urvarå uruθmīšča paiti varšaǰīšča yazamaide* is glossed by *harvisp urvar pat rēšak ut aδvan* [illegible] *apar ārōδišn yazēm.* In *AIW.*, s.v., *varəša-gay-*, *rēšak* is wrongly given as gloss to *varəša-ǰīš.*

Nīrangastān, fol. 179, 10 :—

yō urvarąm barəsma frastərənti hamō.varəšəǰim paōuru. fravāxšəm.

Pahl. Comm. *kē urvar frāč vistarēt ham-bun pur-tāk kē-š bun ēvak api-š sar ē čand hast.*

Here *varəšaǰi-* is Pahl. *bun* " stalk, trunk ", hence equivalent to *aδvan.*

In *Yasna*, 10, 5, *varəšaǰi-* is translated **aδvan* [illegible], and this in turn by Skt. *skandha-* " trunk of tree ".

Avestan	Pahl. Comm.
vīspəsča paiti varšaǰīš	*pat harvisp aδvan*
vīspəsča paiti frasparəγə	*apar pat harvisp spēγ*
vīspəsča paiti fravāxšə	*apar pat harvisp tāk*

To this *AIW.* has " undeutlich ".

The Skt. version reads : *viśveṣu ca upari skandheṣu*
viśveṣu ca upari śākhāsu
viśveṣu ca upari pallaveṣu

The context, the rendering of *varšaǰi-* by both *bun* and

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aδvan, and the Skt. translation of *aδvan* ١٣٣ by *skandha-* agree in assuring the meaning "stalk, trunk". The meaning "stalk", but not "root", fits also *Nīrang.*, fol. 179, 10.

It remains to justify the reading *aδvan*. This is intended as the Mid. Iran. of an older **adi-vană-* "the upper part of a tree". Hence a determinative compound, of prenomen and noun, as in Av. *frabdəm* "front part of the foot". Skt. examples abound, cf. Wackernagel, *Aind. Gr.*, ii, 1, 258: *adhidanta-* "upper tooth", *adhi-dyauḥ* "highest heaven", *pra-nakha-* "front part of a nail".

The Pāzand reading of the *Ind. Bd. aē.van*, *ayvan* was therefore correct, since *aēvan* would represent an older **aδvan*.

3. **nivēt*, **āvēt*

A word **u̯eit-* "to speak" is attested by the Balto-Slavonic :—

Old Slav.	*otŭ-větŭ* "answer"
	sŭvětŭ "council"
	věštati "to talk"
	vě "he said"
Old Pruss.	*wait-iatun* "to speak".

Cf. Walde-Pokorny s.v. *u̯ei-*.

The same word is probably to be recognized in two Iranian words.

(1) Turfan Mid. Iran.	*nvydg* "tidings".
NPers.	*nuvēd*, *navēd* "tidings".

Bartholomae, quoted by Tedesco, *MO.*, 15, 194, note 6, suggested this connection,[1] whereas Markwart, *Ādīna*, § 36, considered *nvydg* to have preserved *-d-*.

(2) Armenian *auetik'*, gen. plur. *aueteaç* ἀγγελία, εὐαγγελία, *auetaran* εὐαγγέλιον would represent **ā-vēt* without difficulty. The suggestion of Nyberg, *Glossar*, s.v.

[1] The Pahl. word, however, quoted as *nvyt* from *DkM.*, 579, 20, "und öfter" is to be otherwise explained.

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aβyāt to explain Arm. *auetik'* as from **abi-yāta*, and that of Markwart, *Ādīna*, § 36, as **ā-vaiđjā-*, with dissimulation of *-t-* for *-r-* in *auetaran* and *auetik'* as a later form, are both unsatisfactory.

4. *dawra-*, *harəta-*

In treating of the rainbow the *Pahl. Riv. Dd.*, p. 111 fol., has the following passage :—

ut ēn stūn i hast < i > spēt hast < i > zart hast i daβr دیل *čē.*

har čē spēt hač dahišn < i > ohrmazd
ut ān i ditīkar hač dahišn i ahraman
*ān < i > spēt pat aδiyārīh i vārān ut ān i ditīkar pat *ham-ēstārīh i vārān.*

" What is this pillar which is partly white, partly yellow, and partly dark ?
Whatever is white is of the creation of Ohrmazd.
The other is of the creation of Ahraman.
The white assists the rains and the others contend with the rains."

With this *GrBd.*, 140, 6 fol., is to be compared :—

*ēn stūnak pat asmān paiδāk bavēt kē martōm sanvar xvānēnd har čē daβr ut xšēn ut zart ut saβz ut suxr ut *ālgōnakān vaxš dēv hand kē pat hamēstārīh < i > tištr vārītan *rāδ sōr būtan rāδ av aβr kōxšēnd hast kē-šān dēvān-ič i sahmkēn xvānēnd ut har čē spēt vaxš hast i yazd kē aδiyārīh i tištr rāδ apāk ān dēvān kōxšēnd.*[1]

From these two passages *daβr* is certainly a colour which is the opposite of " white ".

This result is confirmed by a third passage, *GrBd.*, 120, 8 : *mēš i daβr i spēt-ērvārak mēšān rat* " the ram dark with white jaw is chief of sheep ". The *Ind. Bd.* reads : *mēš i syāk i daβr.* Here *syāk* is a gloss to *daβr.*

[1] Both extant texts, TD 2 and P, are in disorder in this passage.

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This rendering of *daβr* is of considerable interest. The name *GrBd.*, 229, 6, *Daβr-gāv* will mean "having dark cows", and Av. *dawrāmaēšī-* "having dark sheep". The meaning adopted by Bthl. (*AIW.* s.v.) "fat" on the basis of earlier translations of the Bundahišn passage must be abandoned.

A further problem can also be solved. Avestan *harəta-* occurs in *Vid.*, 22, 4 :—

hazaŋrəm anumayanąm harətō.vīspō.gaonanąm.

The Pahl. Com. has :—

1000 *anumay daβr hamāk mōδ ku hač ēvak mōδ.*[1]

Relying upon the translation of *dawra-* by "fat", Bthl., *AIW.* rendered *harəta-* by "well-nourished". It is, however, now clear that the Commentator intended a dark colour by *daβr*. Hence the Av. *harəta-* is best explained by comparing Lith. *sãrtas* "red (of horses)" and Lettish *sârts* "red in face".

A third possibility is also suggested. An Iranian **daβra-*, Av. *dawra-*, would supply a better explanation of Gr. τεφρός "ash-coloured", τέφρα "ashes", as from **dhebhro-* than the usual connection of these Greek words with **dhegᵘh-* "to burn" (Walde-Pokorny, 849).

5. *čišt*

Arm. *čišd* (*čišt* is said to be a later spelling), ἀκριβής, is attested in P'austos Bouzandaçi. It is well explained by Mid. Iran. *čišt*, which is common in the Pahl. compound *nām-čišt*, *nām-čištīk* "known by name, particular, famous", Pāzand *nąmčišt*, translated by Skt. *nāmānkita-*. Hence Old Iran. **čišta-*. Av. has *kaēš-* (Pres. *činasti*, Pret. *čōišəm* and other forms) "to make known, teach". The participle is not found in Av. or Old Pers.

Saka *haṃkhäṣṭa* "reckoned", that is **ham-kišta-*, seems to belong here. The relation of the *k-* to *č-* forms is like that of Yāzgulāmī *kas-* : *kuẍt* "look" to Rōšānī *čas-* : *čuẍt*, connected with Av. *kaš-* (see Zarubin, *Iran*, i, 158).

[1] Cf. Mātiyān i Čatrang, 32 : 12000 *asp* < *i* > *tāčīk hač ham mōδ.*

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6. *varm*

1. *varm.*

Pahl. [illegible], as the contexts prove, means "learnt by heart". It is found, for example, in Husrav 9 (*Pahl. Texts*, 27, 9), Aβdīh ut Sahīkīh i Sakastān, 15 (*Pahl. Texts*, 26), ŠnŠ. 5, 2, and other passages.

Epist. Man., 1, 4, 11, *ut ka-š hamāk apastāk ut zand* [illegible] *apartom ākās mansr zartuxštō(k)tom mēnēy.*

Unvala and Tavadia (in Husrav and ŠnŠ. respectively) read *narm.* The inaccurate Pāzand of Antia, *Pāz. Texts*, 335, has [illegible], but [illegible] for *vāvar* on the same page deprives the reading of value. Herzfeld, in *AMI.*, 2, 94, has the suggestion "[illegible] ist nur ideogr. עלם". Bthl., *AIW.*, 773, *narm.*

A more satisfactory explanation is at hand. If [illegible] is read *varm*, it can be connected with *var-* "to choose". It is then a parallel derivative to [illegible] *vārom* "mind". This reading and meaning of *varm* is assured by NPers. *barm* "*ḥifẓ va az bar kardan va bi-yād nigāh dāštan*", that is learning and knowing by heart. For the development of meaning it is possible to compare Av. *vīra-*, Pahl. Pāz. *vīr* "mind", NBal. *gīr* "memory", Gazī (and other modern dialects) *vīr* "memory" translating NPers. *yād*, NPers. *bīr* "learning by heart".

2. *vārom.*[1]

The reading with long vowel[2] is assured by the spelling with *-rvm*, that is *-rom*, after a long syllable, and is to be compared with Av. *vārəma*, which it glosses. Similar in

[1] Pagliaro's discussion of *vārom* is known to me only from *Indogerm. Jahrb.*, 1932, p. 137.

[2] Hence *frāšm* "shining" has also certainly long *ā*, which I had left doubtful in *BSOS.*, vi, 596. To the passage there quoted add the *frāšm* of *Dd.*, 1, 12, and 36, 104.

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formation is the word *dārmak* " fine, thin, keen ", equivalent in meaning to *bārīk*.

Pāzand has *dāramaa*, *SGV*., 10, 79, *bārīk u dāramaa*.

SGV., 8, 137 ; 10, 3. *dāramaihā* rendered by Skt. *sūkṣmatayā*. This is also the word which glosses Av. *urvī.sarah-*, *Vid*., 13, 2, not recognized in *AIW*. s.v. The Pahl. Comm. reads *dārmak-sarak ku-š sar pōzak bārīk*.

Dd. Intro., 24. *bārīk-vēnišnān ut dārmak-dānišnān*.

It can be explained from *dar-* " to split ". Beside *dārmak* stands *darm* دلم " hole ", *Nīrang*., fol. 180, verso 10, translating Av. *sidaranąm*, as *varm* beside *vārom*.

7. *karapet*

In *BSOS*., vii, 79, an attempt was made to explain the *kāra-* of Mid. Iran. *kāravān* and *kāradāk* as indicating " moving about ". Dr. W. Henning has kindly called my attention to καρδάκες στρατευσάμενοι in Lagarde, *Ges. Abh*., 200.

This same *kāra-* is probably represented in Arm. *karapet* " πρόδρομος ". Then **kāra-pati-* was the " leader of the caravan ", whose duty it was to precede the travellers, like the modern *čāvuš*. From " leader of caravan " to " forerunner " is hardly a change.

It is also of interest that *kārvānīk* in *Nīrang*., fol. 166, verso 12, corresponds to the *kārīk* of *Pahl. Yasna*, 49, 9 (rendering Av. *yāhī*) and *DkM*., 865, 20, treated as an epithet of Zāmāsp. Probably *kārīk* and *kārvānīk* were felt to be synonymous.

8. *krogpet*

In *Bahman Yašt*, 3, 53, *karrōk* is " skilful ".

*andar ān hazārak i uršētarmāhān martōm pat biziškīh ētōn karrōk bavēnd dārūk ut darmān ētōn pat kār āβarēnd ut barēnd ku bē av markīh i dātastānīh *ēnyā*[1] *nē mīrēnd ka pat šamšēr ut kārt zanēnd ōžanēnd.*

[1] The Turfan Mid. Iran. S. *'n'y* " otherwise " indicates that the problem of this Pahl. word is not finally settled.

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In Turfan Mid. Iran., S. *qrvg'n* **karrōγān* and *qrvgyh* **karrōγīh* (Henning, *Manichaica*, i, p. 31), and with the negative *'qrvg* **akarrōγ* in M. 98, title *diβīr ī nōγ uδ akarrōγ* "the scribe new and unskilful".

It is important for the vocalization that the word is attested also in Syriac and Armenian. Nöldeke, *Ṭabarī*, p. 502, quoted Syriac ܩܪܘܒܝܬ to be read *qarrōγbeδ* (with ܝ wrongly for ܪ) "chief of the royal artisans", in the *Martyrology*, i, 34. The tale is summarized by Labourt, *Christ.* p. 67. This life of Simon was translated into Armenian under the title *Šmavon episkopos Słak k'ałak'i eu Tisponi, zor anouanēin ordi narōtanerkac*, publ. Venice in *Sop'erk' haikakank'* No. 20, 1854. On p. 47 the Arm. text reads: *air mi auag, anoun Pousak oroi aštičan iur kṙogpet koč̌er or t'argmani gloux arouestagitaç ark'ouni* "a chief man, by name Pousak, whose rank was called *kṙogpet*, which is translated 'chief of the royal artisans'". This word was quoted by Patkanean, *JA.*, 1866, i, 116, and was given by Adjarian in his *Hairerēn nor baṙer hin matenagrout'ean mēǰ*, p. 6, which Meillet reviewed, *REA.*, 7, 314, recognizing the Iranian character of *kṙogpet*. In the Arm. vocalization we have probably another case of special treatment as in *Vṙam*, and *Hreu*, where the *-a-* is also absent. The *-pet* confirms the correction of the Syriac text.

It is possible to point to an older form. OPers. *k r n^u u v k a* of the Chart 47 seems to be the same word: *karnuvaka-* "artisan", to *kar-* rather than to *kart-*. The Arm. form with *ṙ* indicates *rn*.

Beside *karrōk*, a form with *-ē-* in the first syllable is found. In *DkM.*, 757, 10, regulations for the *kērōk-kārān* "artisans" are quoted, to prevent their injuring anyone with their tools.

DkM., 645, 15, Zartušt's encyclopædic knowledge includes: *apārīk pēšak kērōkīh*.

DkM., 412, 20, are mentioned books, translated and included in the canon of the Avesta, on—

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apārīk kērōkīh ut aβzār andar hindūkān ut hrōm apārīk-ič zamīkīhā pargandak būt

under Šāhpuhr i Artaxšahrān.

Hence *kērōk* implies **karnya-*.

9. *gōsān*

The Armenian version of Ecclesiastes, ii, 8, reads :—

arari inj gousans eu ergeçiks, ars eu kanais

LXX. ἐποίησά μοι ᾄδοντες καὶ ᾀδούσας.

This *gousan* "singer" is listed by Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, 131, with the remark: "stimmt im Anlaut nicht zu np. *kūsān* oder *kōsān* Name eines Singers, *Vīs u Rāmīn*, pp. 218, 219 (*kūsān i navāgar*)". Stackelberg proposed to read *gōsān* as the minstrel's name in *ZDMG.*, 48, 495.

In *Vīs u Rāmīn* we have :—

218, 2. *nišasta gird rāmīn-aš barābar*
ba pēš ī rām کوسان *ī navāgar*

218, 5. *sarōδ-ē guft* کوسان *ī nav-ā'īn*
dar ō pōšīδa ḥāl ī vīs u rāmīn

219, 10. *ču* کوسان *īn navārā kard pāyān*
ba-yāδ ī dōstān u dil-rubāyān.

There is besides the heading to the canto :—

sarōδ guftan i کوسان *i muṭrib.*

All this was insufficient to settle the problem.

It is, however, an assumption that کوسان is a proper name. The Georgian version (O. Wardrop, *Visramiani*, Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., vol. xxiii, p. 205) has simply *mgosani* or *mutribi*, and no proper name. This is probably correct.

In the "Mujmal al-tavārīx", ed. J. Mohl, *JA.*, 1841, p. 534, tirage-à-part, p. 165, is given the tale of Bahrām Gōr and his introduction of minstrels into Persia. He sent to the King of India :—

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va az ōy کوسان *xvāstand*

va کوسان *ba zabān i pahlavī xunyāgar būδ.*

The word is well attested in Armenian with *g-*, so that there need be no hesitation in reading کوسان as *gōsān.*

Probably also this *gōsān* justifies the recognition of Arm. *gos* "drum", known in the twelfth century, as Mid. Iran. with *g-* as distinct from NPers. *kōs*, Sogd. *kws.* Čubinov (*Dict. Géorg.-Russe-Franç.*, 1840) compared Georg. *mgosani* with Arm. *gos.*

10. *kan-*

The verb *kan-* is found with many proverbs (*ā-*, *abi-*, *apa-*, *api-*, *ava-*, *us-*, *ni-*, *para-*, *parā-*, *pari-*, *vi-*, *ham-*). Two are of interest here.

(1) *ni-kan-*.

(*a*) "To dig in," "dig down."

OPers. *nikantuv* "may he destroy", B. 4, 80.

Pahl. *nikān* "burying", Pāzand *nagą.*

Oss. *nigänun*, *nigäd* "to bury", *nǫggänd* "Keller, Erdhütte, Grube".

(*b*) *ni-kan-* "to put in".

NPers. *niganda* "anything hidden".

"embroidery".

nigandan "to embroider".

nigīn, *nigīna* "precious stone set in a ring".

Pahl. *nikand* ایوند "set in".

Pahl. Riv. *Dd.*, 46, 5, which describes the creation of the earth :—

api-š gōhr < *i* > *xvarr bē nikand*

api-š kōfrīhā hač ān gōhr bē rōδēnīt.

(2) *pari-kan-*.

(*a*) "To set roundabout".

NPers. *parganda*, *parkanda* "dispersed".

pargandagī "dispersion".

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Pahl. *DkM*. 406, 5, 13, 19, *pargandakīh*.
406, 13, *pargandak būt*.
412, 8, *pargandakīhā*.
412, 13, 20, *pargandak*.

parkanēt [illegible] Zātspram (wrongly translated by Bartholomae, *ZAIW*., 179, and by myself following him in *BSOS*., vi, 599) :—

*murvān pat ristān bē dāt ut hač ān i vazurktarēn tāk ān i kūčaktar ōgōn bē vālēnīt čēgōn mart kē yortāk ham-ē *kārēt ut fratom *staβr *dāng frāč parkanēt ut pas ān i miyānak pas ān i kūč.*

The meaning is certain from the corresponding *GrBd*. passage, 97, 8, *api-š ēn* 110 *sarδak murvān pat* 8 **aδvēnak bē dāt api-š ētōn bē parkand* [illegible] *čēgōn mart-ē ka toxm parkanēt* [illegible] *ān i tōxm andar angust av zamīk hilēt mas ut miyānak* < *ut* > *kas*. Cf. *GrBd*., 222, 4, *yortāk . . . andar zamīk parkanēnd*.

In *GrBd*., 33, 5, the meaning "to set in various places", *api-š ātaxš andar harvisp dahišn ētōn bē parkand* (TD 2 [illegible] P. [illegible]) "and he so distributed fire in all creation".

Nyberg read *frakand* (*JA*., 1929, i, 230), which fails to express the distribution.

Zātspram, i, 21, describes the same act of creation :—

ātaxš andar visp būt pargandak

Gazī has *värkänte bebō* = *perākände bebō* "was scattered".

(*b*) "To put around" as a wall.

Šahrīhā i Ērān, 2 :—

pat kust i xvarāsān samarkand šahrastān kai-ōs i kavātān bun parkand [illegible] *siyāvaxš i kai-ōsān bē fražāmēnīt*

That is, Kai Us founded the city by surrounding it with walls, not *frakand*, which fails to express the fortification.

Here belongs Sogd. *kanδā-* "city", Saka *kanthā-* "city", earlier attested in *Μαρακανδα*.

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There are two nominal derivatives :—

(1) *parkān* "wall".

DkM. 755, 8, *apar patmānak i zahyāδ-ē i parkān* [illegible]
pahanāδ bālāδ i darīhā

Pahl. Riv. Dd. 46, 4 (creation of the sky)

api-š nazdist asmān hač sar bē brēhēnīt
*api-š gōhr hač *āpakēn* (ʼ[illegible] <[illegible]> [illegible])
<i>spēt
api-š pahanāδ ut bālāδ rāst
api-š zahyāδ i parkān [illegible] *i ān and*
hast čand pahanāδ i tuhīkīh.

This assures the interpretation of *GrBd.*, 18, 7, fol.

api-š dām hamāk andarōn asmān bē dāt . . . mān mānāk kē har čiš andar mānēt parkān bun i asmān čandīh pahanāδ ī-š drahnāδ čandīh drahnāδ ī-š bālāδ ut čandīh bālāδ ī-š zahyāδ.

Since we have in *Pahl. Riv. Dd. parkān* alone, and in *GrBd.*, 36, 5, *asmān bun* with *bun* alone, the reading *parkān bun* here is certain. Nyberg's *frakāvan* (see *Glossar*, s.v.) is excluded.

From this it becomes possible to understand the gloss to *Vid.*, 2, 19 (dismissed as untranslatable by Bartholomae, *MM.*, 2, 35). *hast kē ētōn gōβēt ē *parkānak* ([illegible] var. [illegible])[1] *apāč xvast*, that is, "some say he raised walls".

Similarly **-kānak* in NPers. *ăfgāna, figāna* "abortion".

(2) *pārkēn.*

Arm. *parkēn* "wall", see Hübsch, *Arm. Gr.*, 228.

NPers. *pārgīn* "sewer".

[1] For the confusion of final [illegible] and [illegible] by the scribes, cf. : *GrBd.*, 88, 6, *zihāpak* ; 85, 6, *zihāpyh* ; 28, 9 (TD 2) *hangārak*, (P.) *hangāryh* ; 38, 9 (TD 2) *hamkārīh*, (P.) *hamkār k* ; *Vid.*, 14, 15, [illegible] *pairāδak. GrBd.*, 112, 2 (TD 2) *zartyh*, (DH) *zartak. BSOS.*, vii, 83, *kapārak, kapāryh.*

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Šāhnāma (Vullers, 1397) in the description of the burial of Afrāsiyāb : —

tan i pahlavān rā k'azō xvāst kīn
kašīdand du pāra zī pārgīn

Arab. *fāriqīn* " cistern ".

Syr. *prqyn'* " fossa urbem cingens " (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*).

Turfan Mid. Iran., *M.*, 99, 15, *sih pārgēn kird* " three walls were built ".

Additional notes :—

(1) The Pāzandists transcribed دوا by *gəfr* (*Ind. Bd.*, ed. Justi, 77, 19), *gfr* (Antia, *Pâzend Texts*, p. 76, 18). This reading is also in *Ṭabarī*, i, 225, *kbr*, and is there rendered by Arabic *rm'dy* " ash-coloured ".

(2) Vardanian compared *krogpet* and *karrōk* (as I learn through the courtesy of M. Berberian) in *Handes Amsorya*, 1922, 286.

187.

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The Early History of the Baghdād Boil

An attempt to prove the existence of the disease in ancient times and to suggest the source from which it was imported into 'Irāq.

By C. ELGOOD, M.D.

THE last few years have seen a great and almost universal interest in the history of medicine. It is strange that, in spite of the researches that have been made in the epidemics and diseases of ancient times, none of the writers who have worked on the various aspects of Cutaneous Leishmaniasis, as the Baghdād Boil is called in medical language, has been able to trace the history of the disease before the nineteenth century. It is not as though it were a disease that could have escaped the notice of the ancients. Cutaneous Leishmaniasis is characterized by a superficial ulcer, sometimes as large as the top of a coffee cup, which runs a slow and protracted course. It is not as though it were a disease confined to some distant and uncivilized part of the globe. It is found in South America, North Africa, and all over the Middle and Near East. Why, then, is there no history of the disease? Where did it start? Who can claim the honour of introducing the Bouton de Biskra into Morocco, the Baghdād Boil into 'Irāq, the Delhi Boil into India, and the Tropical Sore into non-tropical Persia?

With such a wide distribution as Cutaneous Leishmaniasis now enjoys, it would require much prolonged study to attempt to answer these questions. But, to deal with the disease in a single country in which it now flourishes, is not impossible, more particularly because, as I hope to show, it has only recently appeared in that country. I refer to Persia. In Persia it is so common that Manson-Bahr quotes the native name for the disease, an honour that he gives to no other country.

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And a little further on he writes: "In Persia . . . where Oriental Sore is very common . . ." (1).

In Persia to-day the disease is known as *Sālek*—a word popularly derived from *sāl* which means "a year", and *ek* which means "one", the belief being that the ulcer will last one year and then spontaneously heal. Around Iṣpahān it is also known as *Kuppeh* or *Kuppeh-i-Armeni*, that is "Armenian Sore". Now, in spite of its very frequent occurrence to-day, a careful search through the classical poets of Persia yields no reference to anyone suffering from this disease. I cannot find even one passage that admits of this interpretation. And no scholar—European or Oriental—has yet suggested to me any reference, either in prose or verse, in the works of any of the writers of the classical period. From which I conclude that Leishmaniasis was rare in Persia in medieval times, if indeed it existed at all. I will endeavour to show, however, that it did exist along the north-eastern frontier and in the adjacent states; and, furthermore, I will try to prove that after a brief passage through the north the disease was re-introduced into the interior from the south, almost within living memory.

In searching for contemporary accounts of a disease it is more reasonable to seek for them in the scientific literature of the age than in the poets or historians. A search of the medical writers of the schools of Jundī Shāpūr and Baghdād reveals no description of any disease which can possibly be identified with Cutaneous Leishmaniasis. The author of the *Iksīr-i-A'zam*, who, in his description of each disease, is in the habit of quoting all the early authorities, can find no reference prior to that of Abū Manṣūr, who died in A.D. 991 (2).

Jundī Shāpūr ceased to train men for the medical profession about the ninth century A.D., the last reference to the activities of the Medical School being the statement that in A.D. 869 Sābūr bin Sahil published the first Pharmacopœa to be generally adopted. The School of Baghdād began to decline in the eleventh century and came to an abrupt end at the

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time of the sack of Baghdād by the Mongol hordes in 1258. I conclude, therefore, that the disease did not exist in 'Irāq or Khūzistān before the dawn of the thirteenth century.

When the writers of the Trans-Caspian regions are examined, the case is different. In these regions were such famous towns as Samarqand, Herāt, Khwārazm, and Bukhāra. All these towns produced famous doctors, dependent on Baghdād only for their language and their translations. Almost to a man they are united in describing a disease which they name *al-Balkhiya* or "The Balkh Sore". This I hold to be identical with Cutaneous Leishmaniasis. Balkh, known to the Persians as "The Mother of Cities", famous as the scene of the death of Zoroaster, is a city not far from the modern Kābul and close to the most famous river of Persia, the Jīḥōn or Oxus, as it is called to-day.

The earliest reference to this disease which I have found, is in a small work on general medicine entitled *Al-Ghannī wa Al-Mannī*. The author was one Abū Manṣūr Ḥassan bin Nūh al-Qamarī al-Bukhārī, who died in A.D. 991. He lived at Bukhāra, as his name implies, scarcely a day's journey from Balkh. He thus describes the sore :—

"*On the Balkh Sore*

"The Balkh Sore is an extensive sore in the tissues, not very deep, but containing blood vessels. It is accompanied by palpitations and, occasionally, by fainting fits. There may be fever. When the sore has reached coction, there will be much discharge, which is called acrid, corrupt blood" (3).

A few years later was written the "Canon of Avicenna", perhaps the greatest and most influential textbook of medicine that the world has ever known. Abū 'Alī ibn Sīna, as he is more correctly named, died in A.D. 1034. His Qānūn was rapidly adopted and acclaimed as the greatest treatise on medicine by all students of the Arabic-speaking world, and

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on its translation into Latin was adopted by most of the universities of the west. He thus writes :—

"On Diseases of the Skin, not connected with Pigmentation—Eczema and the Balkh Sore.

"Eczema is the name of a pustular and ulcerative disease. In many books it is customary to describe it in the Chapter on Aids to Beauty. Eczema starts as several firm, discrete pimples. These turn to ulcers with scaly surfaces. The colour is reddish. Sometimes an ichorous matter exudes. The disease is then called Weeping Eczema. This may be the early stage of a Dry Eczema. This disease occurs very frequently in winter and runs a rapid course.

"The cause of Eczema is a corrupt and rodent damp, mixed with blood and corrupt humours, whereby gross matter is imprisoned. This forms a swelling and is diffused in a thin form. The Cause of Dry Eczema is a splenic humour, great in quantity, with which is mixed a sharp damp, which expels it to the skin and corrupts and devours it. The Balkh Sore is a variety of malignant eczema.

. . . . . .

"Now the Balkh Sore is of the species of eczema. Occasionally the cause of the disease is a bite, e.g. of dirty lice" (4).

Clearly, in this case the value of the evidence turns upon the meaning of the Arabic word that I translate as "eczema". I do so with considerable misgivings. It is the word *al-Sa'fah* (السعفه). Sobhy makes the word the equivalent of Psoriasis (5). This is certainly wrong in the light of the definitions that other Arab writers give. Thus, al-Harawī says that "*Al-Sa'fah* is an ulceration occurring on the head, face, or roots of the hair" (6). Yūsuf says that "*Al-Sa'fah* is an eruption which frequently occurs on the head. Pus runs from it like honey, though occasionally it is thinner" (7). Now, the head and face are the site of election for *sālek*. The situation, the scab-formation, and the running discharge all

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demand that we translate *al-Sa'fah* as either eczema or impetigo. In either case it is not difficult to imagine that the ulcer of Leishmaniasis would be looked upon as a malignant form of the simpler affection.

Avicenna mentions the Balkh Sore in several other places in the Canon, especially in the pharmacological section ; but none elucidates the meaning any clearer. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, in his *Classes of Physicians*, quotes a poem of a few lines in length, addressed by one Abū Ṭālib al-'Alawī to Avicenna, asking him for treatment for an ulceration of the forehead. To this Avicenna's reply is added (8). The ulcer is not described in the poem as a Balkh Sore. But it is evident from the jocular manner in which Avicenna replies to the request for treatment—and indeed the patient himself does not write as one acutely worried—that the sore is a chronic one, though not of a cancerous or tuberculous nature, the only other likely chronic ulcer on the face of an adult. By chance, Manson Bahr's illustration of Cutaneous Leishmaniasis is of an adult with a sore on his forehead.

I have found another reference to this same disease in the "Zakhīra-i-Khwārazamshāhī" of Sayyid Isma'īl ibn ul-Ḥassan al-Jurjānī. His enormous system of medicine—surely one of the biggest ever written—was composed about 1130. In it I have found two references that I quote in full on account of the testimony that they bear. He wrote as follows :—

"*On Diseases with Special Names*

"Named diseases are of six categories : (1) Diseases that appear only in one organ, e.g. meningitis, pleurisy ; (2) diseases that are named from their resemblance to some special object, e.g. elephantiasis, cancer ; (3) diseases in which one symptom is predominant, e.g. epilepsy, apoplexy ; (4) diseases named after the physician who first introduced a special line of treatment for that disease, e.g. Aaron's Ulcers ; (5) diseases named after a city, because they are particularly prevalent there, e.g. the Balkh Sore ; and

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(6) diseases named after animals because they are sufferers therefrom or because the patient bears a marked resemblance to that animal, e.g. alopecia and leontiasis" (9).

And again he writes :—

"*On the Balkh Sore*

"The Balkh Sore is a deep and wide sore, occurring on the surface of the tissues. It may be accompanied by palpitations or fainting fits, and is with or without fever. This sore is found chiefly in the environs of Balkh : hence its name. It is also found in the hostelries of Dihistān. The people of Balkh name it *Pasha-gazīdagī*, that is 'Mosquito Bite'. Around Dihistān it is known as *Sākir*.

"*Treatment*

"Venesection, with the letting of sufficient blood to eliminate bile. Every morning fruit-juice, bitter syrups, camphor pills, barley ptisan, and evenly-balanced foods and such as are inclined to cold and damp. Rub over the praecordium cool ointments, such as sandal-wood and rose-water. Apply to the ulcer a salve of ceruse. A change from a hot climate to a cold one is more beneficial still" (10).

There are two towns that we know of that went by the name of Dihistān. One lay to the north-east of Herāt and the other, being both the name of the town and the district, was in Jurjān, that is to say, in the writer's own state. The term *sākir* has no meaning that I can discover. Possibly it is a copyist's error for *sārkhik*, which means a "mosquito" or occasionally "the bite of a mosquito".

In A.D. 1423 was written a medical work which (to judge from the manuscripts that are still extant) was exceedingly popular. This is the *Kifāya-i-Manṣūrī* or *Kifāya-i-Mujāhidiyya* of Manṣūr bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmed bin Yūsuf bin Faqīh Ilyās. He mentions the Balkh Sore, though briefly. He does not classify it as a variety of *al-Sa'fah*, as did Avicenna, but as a variety of *Ṣōlūl*, which disease he defines as "small, hard pimples". The variety of *Ṣōlūl* to which the term

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al-Balkhiya can be applied, is, he says, "a spot which splits open and on rubbing discharges a thin, ichorous matter" (11).

One small reference I have found in the *Baḥr-ul-Jawāhir* (a work also called the *Jawāhir-ul-Lughat*) of Muḥammad bin Yūsuf al-Harawī. This author writes :—

"The Balkh Sore is an ulcer, accompanied by pustules, dry scabs, and an ichorous discharge. It originates from the bites of mosquitoes and their poison" (12).

His son, Yūsuf, followed in his father's footsteps and chose medicine as his profession. He acquired considerable skill and became Court Physician to the Sulṭān Bābur and Sulṭān Humāyūn, who succeeded him. About 1540 he composed a small work entitled the Jāmi'-ul-Fawā'īd, in which the following passage occurs. The rhyme in the middle is characteristic of the writer; for he seems to have held that medical knowledge could best be assimilated if set out in verse :—

"*Al-Balkhiya* is a variety of *al-Sa'fah*. It is also called *Pasha-gazīdagī*.

When the Ulcer of Balkh breaks out on your face,
Grief and sorrow at once in your heart take their place;
With aloes and gum drive away the disaster,
And over the spot set a vinegar plaster" (13).

That the disease was still prevalent in Balkh in the eighteenth century is probable from a passage in the *Ṭibb-i-Akbari*. The author was one Muḥammad Akbar Arzānī, who wrote his system of medicine at the beginning of that century.

"*On the Balkh Sore*

"The Balkh Sore is an ulcer with pimples and scabs, from which a yellow fluid exudes, occasionally accompanied by palpitations and fainting fits . . . It is called Balkhiya because it is very prevalent in Balkh. It is probably caused by the bite of a variety of mosquito or fly found in Balkh.

"*Treatment*

"The following ointment is specific: Armenian Bole and vinegar, rubbed in continuously so that the ulcer may

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dry up, the raised edges sink, and the tissues become healthy" (14).

To sum up, then. From the evidence of various medical writers who are representative of the scientific thought of nearly eight hundred years, it would seem that :—

(*a*) There was an ulcerative disease, prevalent in the region of Balkh, a district which corresponds to what we now call the Russian Trans-Caspian provinces and north-eastern Persia ;

(*b*) The commonest seat of the ulcer was the face ;

(*c*) The ulceration was chronic, sometimes accompanied by severe symptoms, but never fatal ;

(*d*) The ulcer first appeared as a pimple or a patch of eczema or impetigo ; and

(*e*) The mosquito was believed to be the vector.

Now all these statements hold true to-day of Cutaneous Leishmaniasis. All that is wanting to make the chain of evidence complete is a statement that normally the disease, even without treatment, disappears in twelve months. And that statement I have found in the *Khulāsat-ul-Tajārib* of Bahā'-ul-Douleh bin Mīr Qawām-ul-Dīn Qāsim Nūrbakhsh al-Rāzī. But little is known of this writer. He states in his introduction that he composed this work in the year A.H. 907 (= A.D. 1501). The author of the *Maṭraḥ-ul-Anẕār* praises him as an erudite and learned physician (15). But the well-known physician, 'Imād-ul-Dīn, writing shortly after his death, abuses him as unscientific and a slanderer (16). I prefer the former judgment. This is what he says about the Balkh Sore :—

"The Balkh Sore is a sore within the tissues, slightly below the level of the skin, broad, and often accompanied by fever and palpitations. It may cause fainting attacks. Occasionally there is pus but no fever. As it is extremely common in Balkh and the surrounding country it is called by this name. In some places it is called *Pasha-gazīdagī*. It is also extremely common in Baghdād, and for this

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reason some people call it the *Baghdād Lozenge* (قرص بغدادی). It mostly attacks the poor.

"The materies morbi of the Sore is an acrid, thin, and corrupt blood. Its production also in a special way depends upon the climate.

"If this sore remains untreated it will continue for one year" (17).

The belief in the responsibility of the mosquito is astonishing for its correctness. Quite recently Adler seems to have proved that the Phlebotomus is the chief, if not the only, vector of the disease (18). Other possible sources of infection have been suggested—water, the bed-bug, flies, and dogs. Water—so long held to be the cause of every tropical disease—is now completely acquitted of all share in the transmission of Leishmaniasis. Dogs certainly suffer from *sālek* in Teherān and flies are ubiquitous. But "the bed-bug is rare in Baghdād, and the only biting insect, which is common and restricted in its range, is the Sandfly" (19). The men of Balkh, therefore, though they were not yet sufficiently advanced to distinguish between the mosquito and the sandfly, are in complete agreement with the trend of belief of modern epidemiology.

A review of the situations in modern Persia in which Leishmaniasis is endemic, shows that in two parts of the country it is believed to have existed from time immemorial. One is along the shores of the Persian Gulf: the other is in Meshed and the villages round. It is impossible to say at what date the Balkh Sore became endemic in Balkh. If this sore is indeed identical with Cutaneous Leishmaniasis, then I am prepared to agree that the disease has existed in Meshed also from time immemorial. For the people of Meshed must have been rapidly infected from the very proximity of their city to the infected state of Balkh and because later the sanctity of the tomb of the Imām Riẓā at Meshed must have attracted thousands of Balkhis annually to make the pilgrimage to their city. Of the antiquity of the disease along the Persian Gulf I have another explanation.

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Of all the cities in the world in which Cutaneous Leishmaniasis flourishes, the one in which perhaps it is most prevalent is Baghdād. Very few of the natives reach adolescence without infection: even the European residents rarely escape. That the sore has been endemic in Baghdād for a long time admits of no doubt. Two scholars of modern Baghdād to whom I applied for information (General Amin Beg Ma'louf of the 'Irāq Army Medical Service and Père Anastase of the Catholic Mission), both gave it me as their opinion that the medieval Arab physicians of those parts had no knowledge of the disease, and that it was imported into Baghdād—in their opinion from India. The native of 'Irāq calls the disease *al-Ukht* = "the Sister" (الاخت). Other Arabic names for it are *Ḥabbat-ul-Baghdād* (حبة البغداد), which means "the Baghdād Boil", a name used by Arabic-speaking foreigners in 'Irāq, *Ḥabbat-ul-Sanah* (حبة السنة) = "the Boil of a Year", a name used by the natives of Aleppo, *Ḥabbat-ul-Ḥalb* (حبة الحلب) = "the Aleppo Boil", a term used outside Aleppo and its vicinity all over Syria, in the Lebanon, where it is very rare, and in Egypt, and *al-Muqawwarah* (المقوّرة), which signifies "the Round One", a term used in Trans-Jordania.

I suggest that the source of the infection of Baghdād was Balkh. In A.D. 1215 the Mongol hordes began to beat upon the doors of the Empire of the Eastern Caliphate. Caliph Nāsir was then on the throne in Baghdād. His jurisdiction extended to beyond the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea and into modern Afghanistan. In A.D. 1258 Baghdād fell before Hulāgū Khān, the leader of the Mongol armies. What is more probable, then, than that the Mongols in their passage through Balkh carried with them into 'Irāq the parasites of the sore? From Baghdād the disease rapidly spread down the Tigris and was carried by native fishermen and traders along the coast. By the end of the thirteenth century, all

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the Gulf ports were infected and Cutaneous Leishmaniasis had become endemic. If a disease had existed for seven hundred years, it would not be unreasonable that the natives of to-day should say that it had existed amongst them from time immemorial.

Perhaps it will be objected that, if this theory is correct, the disease should have reached the north of Persia before it reached the south, even before it reached Baghdād. For the Mongols pursued their victorious march to Baghdād through the northern provinces of Persia. The answer to this is that in all probability the northern towns, such as Ray, were infected. But, thanks to the wholesale destruction which the Mongols perpetrated, either the cities were reduced to such ruins that they ceased to be inhabited after the conquerors had passed by or else the population was so scattered that the infection was unable to become endemic and died out. So thorough was the destruction that the capital of those parts, Ray, a city famous for its School of Medicine and University, was reduced to complete ruins and never rebuilt. The modern town of Teherān was founded long after the Mongols had passed on and did not, therefore, have any chance of infection. The successful defence of Ispahān by Jalāl-ul-Dīn prevented the Mongols from establishing themselves in the south. "Not one-thousandth part of the population escaped," wrote the author of the *Jahān-Gusha*. "If from now to the Day of Judgment nothing hinders the growth of the population, it cannot reach one tenth of the figure at which it stood before the Mongol conquest" (20).

The entry of the disease into the Central Persian Plateau, by which is meant that part of the country that to-day contains the three chief towns of Persia—Teherān, Ispahān, and Shīrāz—can be dated almost to the year. The main trans-Persia road has run for centuries from Russia on the north to the port of Bushire in the south, passing through these three towns. I have tried to show that Bushire was infected in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. From there, probably,

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the infection was carried by road, by merchants and travellers, towards the north. There is no evidence to show when it reached Shīrāz. But it is clear that it reached Ispahān about 1830, and Teherān about A.D. 1840. It has not yet reached Resht, the Caspian seaport in the north.

The evidence for the first of these dates is found in a novel called *Hajji Baba Ispahani*. The story is of an Ispahān barber and the adventures of his son. It happens that Hajji Baba spends the first sixteen years of his life in the very centre of the city of Ispahān. He then begins to travel and ultimately, but while still a young man, finds himself in Baghdād. Here he became infected with Leishmaniasis, which he describes in the following words: "But during the time that I was waiting for the return of the wood-cutter, I was attacked by a disorder, from which few residents, as well as strangers at Baghdād, are exempt, which terminating by a large pimple, as it dries up, leaves an indelible mark on the skin. To my great mortification it broke out on the confines of my beard, and there left its baneful print, destroying some of the most favourite of my hairs, and making that appear a broken and irregular waste, which before might be likened to a highly cultivated slope" (21).

The author of this work was James Morier, a British diplomat, whose official duties took him to Persia in 1807 and again in 1810. On the second occasion he stayed five years in Teherān as Chargé d'Affaires. *Hajji Baba* was published in A.D. 1824. Now it is quite clear from this description (and no one doubts that Morier knew well what he was writing about) that Cutaneous Leishmaniasis did not exist in Ispahān in 1815. For in that case the story would lose all point. No one can live in the bazaar of Ispahān to-day for sixteen years without becoming infected. It is equally clear that the disease was rife in Baghdād. That *Sālek* became endemic in Ispahān very soon after the publication of this book is also clear. For there is no grey-beard living in Ispahān to-day who can remember the time when *Sālek* was not to be seen

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in every corner of the city. Moreover, there is a Persian proverb extant: "Look only at one side of the face of an Ispahānī," meaning that one side is sure to be marred by the scar of an old ulcer, so that there is only one side presentable. And proverbs do not arise in less than a generation.

Now Hajji Baba spent several months in Teherān, first as servant to a doctor and then as groom in the Royal Palace. It may, therefore, be deduced that at Teherān also in the year 1825 there was no *Sālek* to be found. Yet John Schlimmer, who was Professor of Medicine in Teherān and Chief Medical Officer to the Persian Army during the reign of Nāsir-ul-Dīn Shāh, published in 1874 his *Terminologie Medico-Pharmaceutique*, in which speaking of *Sālek* he writes: "It is found chiefly in Teheran and Ispahan, attacking the inhabitants usually during infancy, or, at least, before they reach puberty. . . . The fact that the ulcer causes so little inconvenience made me pay but slight attention to it, especially as I expected never to see one again after my departure from Baghdad. I had forgotten all about them, when on my first arrival in Teheran (March 1851) the sight of new ulcers recalled to me the memory of what I had seen—a bird's eye view, so to speak—during my passage through the different villages and towns that lie along the main-road from Aleppo to Baghdad" (22). From this it is clear that there were a great many cases in Teherān in 1851 as well as in Ispahān. In other words, the disease had become endemic in central Persia between 1825 and 1850.

As Persia stands to-day, there is a chain of infected cities stretching from Teherān to the sea in the south and passing eastwards from Teherān to Meshed and Bukhāra. Resht in the furthest north is still free; so are Tabrīz, Sultānabād, and Kermānshāh to the west. But they stand in jeopardy. History shows that the disease has steadily advanced. Nothing, except wholesale destruction of life and property, seems able to arrest the progress of the parasite. That a single infected case may infect a whole village is possible.

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Adler describes how the village of Bar Elias, 25 kilometres south-west of Baalbek, became infected some eight years ago. Up to that date Oriental Sore was unknown. "An epidemic followed the return of an infected villager who had resided some time in Aleppo, where she had acquired the Aleppo Button. During the next five years almost all the population, adults and children, acquired the disease. . . . The neighbouring villages are entirely free from Oriental Sore" (23).

Fortunately, the disease is not serious either to life or limb, and so the Persian can look with an oriental calm at the ultimate legacy of the barbarian invader.

Postscript.—It is incumbent upon me to state that General Ma'louf, who kindly read through this manuscript for me, has recently informed me that Dr. Daud Chalabi (of 'Irāq, I believe) has quite independently come to the same conclusion as I have suggested above, that is to say, that the Balkh Sore of the medieval writers is synonymous with our Cutaneous Leishmaniasis. This opinion is not accepted by Père Anastase. Dr. Daud does not identify the Sore with Balkh (in which in my opinion he is wrong), but prefers to read Balḥ to Balkh, the difference in the Arabic script being only a single dot. I do not know whether these views have been published.

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The Root Rap in the Rigveda

By E. H. JOHNSTON

TWICE recently (JOURNAL, 1931, 572 and 899) I have touched on certain curious cases of compounds of Sanskrit *lāpaya*. Further inquiry has produced some other instances [1] and suggested to me that the Buddhist technical term, *lapanā*, is connected with the same verbs. For though the commentators were presumably well aware of its meaning, their statements are so lacking in clarity that modern scholars are still in doubt regarding the exact sense, and their vagueness seems to me due to attempting to make their explanations fit in with a derivation from *lap*. But this etymology is negatived by the old phrases in which the term originated, such as *janaṁ lāpayeyya* (*Suttanipāta*, 929) and *janaṁ lapetave* (*Udāna*, 21), which cannot be reconciled with their suggestions that the sinner himself is the speaker (cf. *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. iii, 165, n. 4, and *Visuddhimagga*, 22 ff.). As it occurred to me that possibly the facts might be accounted for by a derivation from some root other than the recognized ones, *lap* and *lī*, I turned for light to the use of *rap* in the *Rigveda* and *Avesta*. Though the inquiry did not issue in a certain explanation of the words in question, it did bring me to a conclusion about the Vedic root, *rap*, which, despite its heterodoxy, seems inescapable.

It is generally held to be beyond doubt that the root, *rap*, in the *RV*. is identical with the later root, *lap*. This led to difficulties over the translation of x, 10, 4, which were ultimately solved by agreement that the word means

[1] An important one is *bālālāpanam*, describing *sarvasaṁskṛtam* at *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, p. 43. The Chinese and Tibetan translations agree that *ālāpana* here means "beguiling", "deceiving", and this is the only sense which fits the context. The Pali word *bālalāpana*, at *Majjhima*, ii, 261, and *Jātaka*, iii, 450, should presumably be understood in the same way, the commentaries not showing clearly how the word was interpreted in Ceylon. See now H. Oertel, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1933, 142 ff.

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"whisper" there.[1] As a natural consequence this meaning has been found elsewhere, and it would now apparently be considered proper to translate *rap* so at all its occurrences in the *RV*. I would deny the correctness of this proceeding. For the root, *lap*, is Indo-European, and its cognates in the Celtic and Slavonic languages are given in Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, ii, 429; the Slavonic words mean making various kinds of noises and the Celtic ones "voice", "cry". To Walde's cognates from the modern Iranian languages should be added Pahlavi *rapand* "they cry out" (Sk. *ākrośayanti*), and the Turfan MSS. *r'b* (= *rāb*) "a cry", "a call".[2] That the original meaning of the root is to be inferred from these examples to be "cry", "call out loud" is borne out by the Vedic use of the intensive, which undoubtedly belongs to the same series. Thus at *RV*., vi, 3, 6, it is said of Agni *rebhó ná . . . rārapīti*; the singers chant out loud and the loud voice of Agni's flames is frequently referred to (cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 90, and the application of *krand* both to Agni and hymns). Again, *RV*., vi, 59, 6, has *hitvā́ śíro jihváyā vāvadat* (shown by x, 79, 2, to refer to Agni), but the *SV*., in the parallel passage, as already noted by Grassmann, substitutes *rārapat*. At *AV*., vi, 111, 1, *lālapīti* is used of a madman, and *Kāṭh*., 12, 12, runs *snuṣā ca śvaśuraś ca surāṁ pītvā saha lālapata āsate*. But if the intensive means "cry out incessantly", "talk incessantly", how can the plain root mean "whisper", and how is such a sense to be reconciled with the cognates in other languages?

Further, it is remarkable that, while the plain root, *rap*, appears a number of times in the *RV*., it never alternates with *lap* according to Bloomfield and Edgerton's *Vedic Variants*, and the latter form is very rare till we reach the

[1] In treating of this and other Vedic passages I have had the great advantage of seeing the advance sheets of the second and third volumes of Geldner's translation of the Rigveda, to which through the courtesy of the editor of the Harvard Oriental Series I am permitted to refer.

[2] For these Iranian words and for references and help on Avestic matters in this paper I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Bailey.

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epic period. The only occurrences seem to be once with *pra* at *T.Br.*, ii, 2, 10, 3 (as well as *etaśapralāpa* in the Brāhmaṇas), and several times in the *AV.* (three compounds of °*lāpa*, xi, 8, 25; *lapitā*, iv, 31, 9; *vilap*, i, 7, 3, and vi, 20, 1; and *alapan*, probably to be read with the commentary as *ālapan*, viii, 2, 3; *vilāpaya* at i, 7, 2, I explain differently). In the epics the use of the intensive is not uncommon and in the classical language the general meaning is "talk out loud", "chatter", "utter", with modifications according to the preposition employed; the use of the word suggests that it is perhaps somewhat colloquial, which may account for its rarity in the earlier literature. When it has to be explained in a commentary, it is usually glossed with *śabdaya*, *uccāraya*, etc., and the *Dhātupāṭha* (as also Kṣīrasvāmin in the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, ed. Liebich, Breslau, 1930) defines it by *vyaktāyāṁ vāci*. This sense appears in Pali in the use of *lapita* and *bhāsita* as synonyms at *Vinaya*, ii, 88, and it persists in the modern vernaculars, e.g. Hindi *lapaṛśapaṛ* (which Ram Lal's dictionary glosses *bakvāda*) and *lapahe* "chatterbox", a nickname which I came across in a remote village of the Māgadhi-speaking area of the Hazaribagh district. As against this general agreement that it implies utterance aloud, the *PW.* and Apte quote *Gītagovinda*, i, 41 (= i, 5, 5), *lapituṁ kim api śrutimūle*, to prove that it has the meaning "whisper"; but surely "speak", "say", does as well there, the emphasis being on the excuse for the approach to the ear, not on the loudness of the voice. Professor L. H. Gray has also translated *ullapan* at *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, i, 18, by "whispering" (see *JAOS.*, 27, 7), but the exact sense seems to be "calling out up to".[1]

[1] There is probably a hint here of talking like a lover. *Lap* with *ud*, though very rare in Sanskrit, occurs a number of times in Pali and Prakrit (see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, 57, 26, and index to Weber's *Saptaśataka*) of the conversations between lovers, cf. the use of *ullāpa* at *MBh.*, xii, 12248. It has also the sharply opposed sense of "insult", "mock at" (*Vairāgyaśataka*, 6, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, 382, and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. Wogihara, 169).

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In general, therefore, it seems we are not justified in attributing the meaning "whisper" to *rap* and *lap* at any stage of the language. If the Rigvedic passages, other than vi, 3, 6, already discussed, cannot be explained by the ordinary meaning of the root, surely we ought to inquire whether there is any other root which would satisfy the needs of the case.

The obvious source to examine first is the Avesta, and this has a root, *rap*, which has no known congeners in any other language. Its etymology being unknown, its sense can only be determined from the passages in which it occurs; since these are relatively few in number, the precision which is essential here is difficult to reach. In the Gāthās it is used of the help given by the gods to men (only once in the verb and then compounded with *ā*, but some eight times in the derivatives *rafəδra* and *rafənah*), once of the help given by Zoroaster to the righteous (*rafənah*), and three times (all in the simple verb [1]) of the attitude of men to the gods. The Yasna Haptanhaiti uses it once of help to be given by Ahura Mazda to men (in the simple verb) and once (*ahmā. rafənah*) of the desirable attitude of the nobles to the priests. In the later language the root is almost entirely confined to *rafnah* and its derivatives (except *rapantąm* of Ahura Mazda at *Y.*, 70, 1, and *rafəδrāi* at *Y.*, 54, 1, of Airyaman, and a valueless passage at *Ny.*, 3, 10), and is only applied to the help given by gods to men, in most cases being joined with *avah*, but once it is used (*Y.*, 15, 1 = *Vr.*, 6, 1), joined with *sasti* and *vanta*, of the attitude of men to gods. The Pahlavi commentators translate it by *rām* and derivatives, i.e. either "make to rest" or "please"; the latter meaning was accepted for the Sanskrit translation (*ānanda*, *pramoda*). Bartholomæ refused to accept this, and took the fundamental meaning to be "support", so that the verb means "to be a support for", but this breaks down over *Y.*, 51, 18, *hyaṯ Mazdā rapən tavā*,

[1] One of these, *Y.*, 51, 18, comes doubtfully under this head; see the next note.

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which he had to translate "that they (i.e. Kavi Vīštāspa, etc.) may find a strong support in thee", an inversion of his assumed meaning.[1] His views seem to be generally accepted now; for they are followed by Lommel in his translation of the Yašts and by Herzfeld.[2]

In the later language the root is obviously moribund and the regular parallelism of *rafnah* and *avah* is of little help to us; for it is only from the wider use in the Gāthās that we can extract the original meaning. There is one usage in these hymns which seems to provide the clue and that is the opposition of *rap* and its derivatives to *dvaēš* and its derivatives. Thus *Y.*, 43, 8, Zoroaster says he will be *haiθyō.dvaēšā̊ . . . drəgvāitē aṯ ašāunē rafənō aojōnghvaṯ*, and at 34, 4, it is asked that fire should be *rapantē ciθrā. avaṇhəm aṯ . . . daibišyantē . . . dərəštā.aēnaṇhəm.* The contrast is implicit in 28, 6, *dāidī . . . rafənō . . . yā daibišyatō dvaēšā̊ taurvayāmā*, while 43, 14, and 46, 2, prove that *rafənah* or *rafəδra* is that which is given by a friend to a friend. These cases cover about a third of the occurrences, the remainder giving no special clue, and I consider myself justified in inferring from them that *rap* is closely associated with the idea of friendship; it should therefore imply either liking, good feeling (i.e. favour of a superior, and devotion of an inferior), or else standing by a person as a friend, loyalty to him (i.e. succour, support of a superior, and loyalty, faithfulness, devotion of an inferior). The latter seems to me more consonant with the general tenor of the Gāthic passages and

[1] The passage can, however, be reconciled with his general meaning, if we accept the suggestion that *tavā* belongs to the root *tav*, not to the second person singular. Then, whatever the signification of *rap*, the sense is a prayer that the rulers will use their power to help the Zoroastrian faith.

[2] I do not overlook the translations "emporhebend", "Erhebung" by Andreas and Wackernagel in *NGGW.*, 1913, 364 ff., but no justification of this is given in the recently published notes to this paper (ibid., 1931, 304 ff.); and that Dr. Lommel, who was a pupil of Professor Andreas and had the benefit of his advice in the translation referred to above, should not follow it, suggests a subsequent change in the late professor's views.

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leads more easily to its later use.[1] Further, Mr. Bailey informs me that he is publishing a paper[2] showing that the Iranian languages know doublets of roots ending in *-p* and *-m*. If we accept this and follow the indication of the Pahlavi commentary, we could take *rap* as a doublet of *ram*. The latter does not occur as a verb in the Gāthās, but only in the derivative *rāman* "rest", "peace". In the later language the verb, which is rare, however, still, means "rest", with also a causative "bring to rest" and is clearly parallel with the Vedic use of *ram*, which in the active and causative means "bring to rest", "stop," and in the middle "stand by" and so "take pleasure in"; in later Sanskrit the original meaning of *ram* is often found implicit in it, even in the simple verb. In view of the Vedic equivalent it is probably only owing to the small extent of the Gāthās that we have no example of *ram* as a verb in them. Having regard to the kinship of meaning, there is no difficulty in holding that *rap* is a doublet of *ram*, with a certain differentiation of sense, but a decision of this question and, if answered in the affirmative, of the consequent question which is the original root, is not necessary for my purpose here, which is adequately met by accepting for Av. *rap* a series of meanings evolving from the idea of "standing by as a friend".

Is this root to be recognized in Vedic *rap*? The latter is found eight times in the *RV*. one of which, the intensive at vi, 3, 6, is clearly connected with the later *lap*, as already noted. In all but two of the remaining passages, however, if *rap* is the later *lap*, some violence has to be done to the sense of the verb to extract a possible meaning; most of them are unfortunately of much difficulty and dubious interpretation. It should also be noticed that in several cases the verb governs

[1] Does the meaning so worked out explain the difficult passage, *Vendidād*, 13, 45, where among the qualities of a dog is mentioned *raftō paurvaēibya yaθa raθaēštā*? Bartholomæ thought the form odd and accepted the reading *yato* (*Air. Wörterbuch*, 1238). It would suit the context much better, if we took it as a participle of *rap* in the sense "be loyal to".

[2] Since appeared in the Pavry volume, p. 21.

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an accusative of a type not found in later literature with *lap*, particularly i, 119, 9, and v, 61, 9. While Av. *rap* is also never found with an accusative, the existence of the same difference between Av. and Vedic *ram* shows that this is no hindrance to asserting identity between Av. and Vedic *rap*.

I start detailed discussion of the various cases with the two occurrences in the *Yama-Yamī* dialogue. At x, 10, 4*b*, we read *ṛtā́ vádanto ánṛtam rapema*, usually translated "speaking *ṛta*, are we to whisper *anṛta*?" But, quite apart from my denial that *rap* (= *lap*) can ever mean "whisper", this translation is entirely opposed to the frank treatment of sex in the *RV*. and seems to me to have only European ideas of prudery to recommend it. That the passage has always been felt to be unsatisfactory is shown by the fact that at one time the conjecture *sapema* obtained some degree of acceptance. As even the translation "whisper" shows, a strong contrast is required and therefore the parallel quoted by Geldner, iii, 4, 7, *ṛtáṁ śámsanta ṛtám ít tá āhur ánu vratáṁ vratapā́ dīdhyānāḥ*, where the repetition of a verb of identical meaning is intended only to strengthen the force of the asseveration, has merely a superficial resemblance and cannot be used here to justify the meaning "speak". If we identify Av. and Ved. *rap*, the translation would run "Are we to speak *ṛta* and hold to (follow, devote ourselves to) *anṛta*?" Surely the sense that would naturally be inferred from the context. *Ib.*, 11*cd* runs *kā́mamūtā bahú etád rapāmi tanvà me tanvàṁ sáṁ piprgdhi* "Driven on by love I keep on whispering this, etc." The same objections to "whisper", but the translation "speak" is not necessarily out of place here as introducing *d*. But equally the translation suggested for the previous passage seems better and stronger, "I hold very much to this," i.e. "this is what I want above everything".

In the same group of hymns, 11, 2*a*, has *rápad gandharvī́ḥ*; the verb in *b* is *pári pātu*, and according to Geldner *c* means "May Aditi help us to the fulfilment of our wishes" and *d* "May Agni decide what gifts we are to receive". The

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context therefore suggests some such sense as "help", "favour", for *rapat*; and the parallel with Av. *rap* is too striking to be mere chance.

Next consider i, 174, 7, *rápat kavír Indrārkásātau kṣā́m dāsā́yopabárhaṇīm kaḥ*. The meaning of *arkásāti* is much disputed, but the reference is to the occásion when Indra came with Kutsa on his chariot to Kavi Uṣanas and slew Śuṣṇa, cf. verse 5 preceding, i, 121, 9–12, and 175, 5; v, 29, 9; vi, 20, 4–5, and 26, 3; and x, 22, 6 ff., and 99, 9. Geldner explains this verse on the theory that Kavi Uṣanas was the counsellor of the demons, and, unwilling to betray his friends, spoke in oracles, but this assumption is hardly necessary here and is directly opposed to the language of the other passages. He translated *rápat* "whispered" and certainly the meaning "speak" is possible, the rest of the verse being the speech. But i, 121, 12, shows that Kavi Uṣanas rendered Indra material service in the fight by providing him with soma and making a *vajra* for him (the *vajra* and the soma may be identical, cf. Geldner *ad loc.*). The translation should therefore run in my view, "Kavi stood by (i.e. helped) [thee], Indra, at the *arkásāti*, [and] thou madest etc."

In one of the most cryptic hymns, x, 61, verse 18 runs *tádbandhuḥ sūrír diví te dhiyaṁdhā́ nābhānédiṣṭho rapati prá vénan | sā́ no nā́bhiḥ paramā́syá vā ghāháṁ tát paścā́ katithā́ś cid āsa*. It is generally agreed that the later story of Nābhānediṣṭha is not to be read into this verse, and I see no reason for assuming that it is a proper name here at all. The use of the corresponding word in the Avesta suggests that Ludwig may have been right in translating "nächster Verwandter". In a hymn traditionally addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ one would expect the verse to be directed to a god and certain indications in it seem to bear this out. *Sūri* is applied to many gods, including Agni and Soma. The verb *ven* has no special associations, but x, 123, is addressed to Vena, whom Geldner, on the strength of ix, 85, 9–12, and 86, 36, identifies with Soma as connected with the sun.

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This makes it noteworthy that *pāda c* has a close parallel in ix, 79, 4*a*, *diví te nā́bhā paramó yá ā́dade*, where *yaḥ* is to be regarded as attracted from *yasya* and *nābhiḥ*, masc., or *bandhuḥ* is to be supplied. With the latter, again, is perhaps connected ix, 10, 8*ab*, *nā́bhā nā́bhiṁ na ā́ dade cákṣuś cit sū́rye sacā́*. *Nābhi* has a special association in fact with Soma, who is strained *nā́bhā pṛthivyā́ḥ* (ix, 72, 7 ; 82, 3, and 86, 8). There seems, therefore, to be some ground for thinking that the verse may refer to the heavenly Soma, in which case *prá rapati* should have the same sense as *rapat* in x, 11, 2, but the verse is so obscure that certainty is impossible. I need not go into the question whether the original reading was *pravénan* or not.

The two remaining passages may be taken together, namely i, 119, 9, *utá syā́ vāṁ mádhuman mákṣikārapat*, and v, 61, 9, *utá me rapad yuvatír mamandúṣī práti śyāvā́ya vartaním* ; for the meaning is usually treated as the same in both, viz. "told by speech (or whisper)", "indicated". But if this is correct there is no parallel whatever to the use of *rap* or its equivalent *lap* in such a sense with such an accusative. As for the former passage, the connection between the Aśvins, the bees (or flies), and *madhu* or *madhumat* (honey ?) is referred to twice elsewhere. At i, 112, 21, *mádhu priyáṁ bharátho yát sarā́ḍbhyaḥ*, the meaning is quite clear that the Aśvins brought the honey to the bees, and one would expect the other passages to have the same general sense. In x, 40, 6, *yuvór ha mákṣā páry aśvinā mádhv āsā́ bharata niṣkṛtáṁ ná yóṣaṇā*, the difficulty lies in *pári bharata*. Elsewhere in the *RV*. this verb means, as given in the *PW*., "hinfahren über," "sich verbreiten über," and that is clearly its meaning here as applied to the simile according to the explanation I give below. One would not expect to find in the *RV*. that the verb has a different sense in the main sentence to that which it bears in the simile ; the *PW*. does not cite the passage, but the *PWK*. quotes it as justifying the meaning "bring." and adds *pári . . . bhárat*, ix, 52, 1, in the same sense. As regards this

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last the verb is active (the only occurrence in that voice) and it is far from certain that *pari* should be joined with *bharat*, the two words being in separate *pādas*; they could, in fact, be translated separately as Geldner does. If despite these difficulties we still keep to the sense "bring", clearly we must allow for the middle in x, 40, 6, and translate "the fly brought for itself (i.e. fetched) your honey, etc." Geldner, however, at i, 61, 8, translated this verb "umfassen", which essentially agrees with the *PW.*'s view and with the single occurrence of *pairi.bar* in the Avesta (*Yt.*, 11, 7, of sheepdogs, also in the middle, the latest translation, Lommel's, having "umkreisen"); the same sense fits ix, 94, 3, and Geldner translates it "assume" (a colour) at ix, 97, 15, in view of the comparison with ix, 104, 4*c*, which is a reasonable extension of meaning. On the whole, therefore, the safest course is to keep to the better certified meaning "spread itself over", and I would suggest that the simile is a reminiscence of i, 123, 9, where it is said of Dawn, *yóṣā . . . niṣkṛtám ācárantī*. An indirect reference to Uṣas is natural in a hymn to the Aśvins, and the verb is particularly suitable of the light of dawn spreading over the heavens. But whichever of the two possible senses is accepted, it is evident that the references in this line and in i, 112, 21, are to the same version of the story. The third passage should have the same general meaning, which puts the ordinary translation of *arapat* out of court. What alternative is there except to take it in the sense I propose for x, 10, 11, namely "the fly was devoted to the honey", or something of the sort?

The other passage is usually taken to refer to some unknown young mortal woman, about whom later legend spun a romantic tale (*Bṛhaddevatā*, 5, 50 ff., and Sieg, *Sagenstoffe des Rigveda*, pp. 50 ff.). Geldner suggests that she may have been the wife of the Taranta mentioned in the next verse, and that she tells the poet of the road to her relative Purumīḷha after giving him presents. But if the hymn is read by itself without regard to later inventions, it seems more natural to

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see in *yuvati* a reference to Rodasī, whose presence is described in verse 4. Further *vartani* is not just a road or path, but essentially the movement or track of the chariot-wheels, and I would seek for the real parallel to the line in viii, 63, 8, *prāvaś cakrásya vartaním*, recalling the association of *avah* and *rafnah* in the younger Avesta. I accordingly take the line to mean that Rodasī, gratified by the praise of the previous verses, protected (or aided) the course of the chariot for the poet's benefit, with the result given in the next *pāda*, *ví róhitā Purumīḷhāya yematuḥ*. But into whose chariot does he mount? This hymn is one of a series to the Maruts, which tradition, obviously correctly, assigns to a single author, and in another of them, v, 56, 6, we find *rohita* applied to the horses of the Maruts, the only time this epithet is used of them in the *Rigveda*. Surely it must indicate the same horses here. We have had no mention of the poet's own chariot, and the nature of the hymn does not suggest that he was wealthy enough to possess one. The inference I draw is that Rodasī takes the poet up into the Maruts' chariot and drives him to Purumīḷha. If this reasoning is sound, the form of the legend on which the hymn is based is entirely different to that which tradition has handed down.

Besides these cases I should add that it is usual to take *parirāpas* (*PP.*, *parirápas*), found only in ii, 23, to *rap* (= *lap*); from the context it would seem more probable that it is connected with the root *rap* of *rápas*, and there is no need to discuss it here. *Parirāpin* of *AV.*, v, 7, 2, and xii, 4, 5, I would explain similarly.

The root under discussion seems to occur only once more in the Saṁhitās, viz. *VS.*, 22, 2, *sā́ no asmínt sutá ā́ babhūva ṛtásya sā́man, sarám ārápantī*, referring to the *raśanā* to be put on the horse at the Aśvamedha. The difficulty here lies in the rare word *sara*, to which the *PW.* gave the sense "flüssig", without being able to cite any similar instances. Mahīdhara's interpretation is obvious from his paraphrase, *yajñaprasāro bhavatv iti vadantī*, and this is followed by

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the latest translator (Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris, 1927, p. 24), "révélant la marche à suivre pour obtenir le ṛta." The use of *rap* (= *lap*) in this manner is again very odd, and surely it would be better to take it as I propose for the *RV.*, "protecting" or "favouring" the course of the sacrifice. A special reason for the choice of *sara* is perhaps to be found in the later meaning of the word, "cord" (*PW.*, s.v. 2*b*), which would make its use seem particularly appropriate for the *raśanā*.

From this discussion it will be seen that *rap* (= later *lap*) is known in the intensive in the Vedic language but that acceptance of the equivalence for the simple verb gives sense in only two passages and compels us in the remainder either to make nonsense or to force the meaning of the root to an unjustifiable degree, while in all cases (except for the intensive) a sound and natural sense is to be obtained by equating it with Av. *rap*. I conclude accordingly that Vedic *rap* should be divided into two roots, one used originally only in the intensive, and the other equivalent to Av. *rap* with the general sense "hold to", "be devoted to", "favour", "help".

The consequence ensues that the independent existence of the second root had ceased to be recognized before the rise of the grammarians; and combining this conclusion with the fact that, except for the one instance given above, there are no cases of *rap* or *lap* in the Saṁhitās or Brāhmaṇas at all parallel to the use in the *RV.*, I infer that the root, like Av. *rap* after the Gāthās, was moribund at the close of the Rigvedic age.

158.

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"Bird Script" on Ancient Chinese Swords

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

(PLATE III)

HSÜ SHÊN 許 愼, in his postface to the *Shuo wên* 說 文, gives a list of eight styles of script practised in the Ch'in period. The fourth of these is called *ch'ung shu* 蟲 書, and a note is added by Hsü Ch'ieh 徐 鍇, one of the editors of the revised text which was published in A.D. 986 at the emperor's command. He remarks that the term is equivalent to *niao shu* 鳥 書 "bird script", so called because the tops of the characters represent bird forms. There is, however, tangible evidence that this fanciful variety of writing was in vogue earlier than the Ch'in period.[1]

One of the recognized examples of "bird script" is an inscription of ten characters on a famous bronze sword known as the "Sword of the Son of Chi Tzŭ of Wu" 吳 季 子 之 子 劍. A facsimile of an inked-squeeze taken from it appears in the *Chou chin wên ts'un*, vi, 94, and this shows the total length of the sword to be 53 cm. The inscription is discussed by Juan Yüan 阮 元 in his *Chi ku chai chung ting i ch'i k'uan chih* 積 古 齋 鐘 鼎 彝 器 款 識, viii, 20, 21. A good wood-cut copy of the two columns of characters, together with a decipherment, accompanies the text, and it is reproduced here in Fig. 1. Note should be made that the height of the original legend is 18·2 cm.

From a literary standpoint this sword is of high interest,

[1] See, for instance, the inscriptions on a bell 鐘 and a dagger-axe 戈, both of the Chou period, in *Chou chin wên ts'un* 周 金 文 存, i, 45 v°–47, and vi, 15, respectively. This is the collection of photo-lithographed reproductions of inked-squeezes taken from inscribed bronzes and published in 1921 by Tsou An 鄒 安. It is a reprint of parts which had appeared in the bi-monthly magazine of art and archaeology *I shu ts'ung pien* 藝 術 叢 編, Shanghai, 1916–1920.

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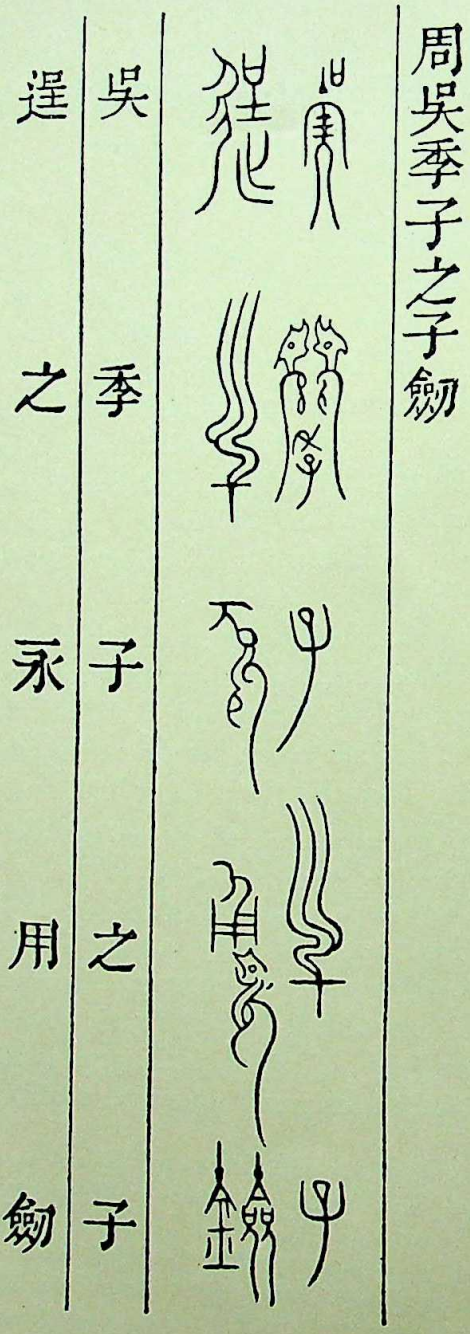

FIG. 1.

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because several eminent writers were moved to celebrate it under the mistaken notion that it was the identical sword which figures in a popular anecdote. The story concerns Chi Cha 季札 who lived in the sixth century B.C., and was the fourth and favourite son of the ruling Prince of Wu 吳. He is mentioned often in the *Tso chuan*.[1] Being nominated by his father to the succession, contrary to the right of primogeniture, he refused to dispossess his eldest brother, but elected to accept the minor dignity of the fief of Yen-ling 延陵. In the service of various princes, he roamed the country on diplomatic missions. While passing through Hsü 徐 (in the north of An-hui), he was wearing a sword which attracted the admiration of the ruler of that State.[2] Unwilling then to part with his sword, he intended to present it to the Prince on the way back; but, when he returned, the latter was dead, so he hung the sword on a tree above the tomb. To the expostulations of his followers, he replied: "You fail to understand my motive; in my heart I had promised this sword to the Prince. Why should his death cause me to break the promise in my heart?"

The fact was that about A.D. 1670, the sword being in the collection of Sun Ch'êng-tsê 孫承澤, no one had yet deciphered the inscription beyond the first three characters, which were believed to prove its identity. Hence at a banquet given in 1669 by Sun, the noted scholar and *bon viveur* Wang Shih-chêng 王士禎 indited *Lines on Two Swords* 雙劍行, his theme being the reputed relic of Chi Tzŭ and another famous weapon associated with the State of Wu and indirectly with Chi Tzŭ.[3] The next year Sun

[1] See Legge, *Chinese Classics* (1865–1895), v, 460, 464, 545, 549–551, 561, 565, 719, 721, 722, 820, 821.

[2] See Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, iv (1901), 15, 16.

[3] This dagger is often alluded to as "Fish's Bowels" 魚腸, because it was hidden inside a grilled fish by the man who murdered Prince Liao 僚 of Wu in 515 B.C., at the instigation of the Prince's cousin, a claimant to the throne. A picture of the assassin serving the fish at a feast, and thus

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received a visit from four scholars, among whom the most famous was Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊, and together they examined the sword. On this occasion Chu used it as the theme for a poem, and he has also left a note about the inscription, again recognizing identity with the historic tradition.[1] For our present purpose, the chief interest of the foregoing is the fact that all these eminent scholars found difficulty in reading the strange script. Some time afterwards, Wang Shih-chêng corrected his error in a note which gives a rendering similar to that in Fig. 1, except for the sixth character.[2] It was the version at length determined by Sun Ch'êng-tsê, who had taken the character in question to be *pao* 保; but the reading *Ch'êng* 逞 was later substituted by Wu Tung-fa 吳東發, and this is accepted by Juan Yüan. Accordingly, the translation is: "Sword ever to be used by Ch'êng, son of Chi Tzŭ of Wu."

The main subject of this article is a bronze sword, lately acquired by the Musée Cernuschi as a gift from M. Jacques Orcel, which I am privileged to describe in response to an invitation of the Director, M. René Grousset. As may be observed from the accompanying plate, the blade has suffered much from corrosion; but the guard is not so much damaged, except for the loss of most of the turquoise pieces which formerly filled the cavities in the raised design. Turquoise was likewise inset in the two rings encircling the hilt. The total length of the sword is 49 cm., and the width of the guard is 5·1 cm.

gaining access to the Prince, in spite of a numerous bodyguard, occurs among the Shan-tung reliefs of the second century A.D. See Chavannes, *Mission archéologique* (1909 and 1913), pp. 154, 155, and fig. 75. It is narrated in the *Shih chi*, where the adroitness of Chi Tzŭ in reconciling his principles with the exigencies of the situation is explained. See Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, iv, 20, 21. Wang's poem is included in the collection *Yü yang shan jên ching hua lu* 漁洋山人精華錄 (1700), ii, 14 r°.

[1] They appear in his collected works, entitled *Pao shu t'ing chi* 曝書亭集 (1708), vii, 14 v°; xl, 4 r°.

[2] In *Ch'ih pei chü t'an* 池北偶談 (1691), xiv, 21 r°.

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FIG. 2

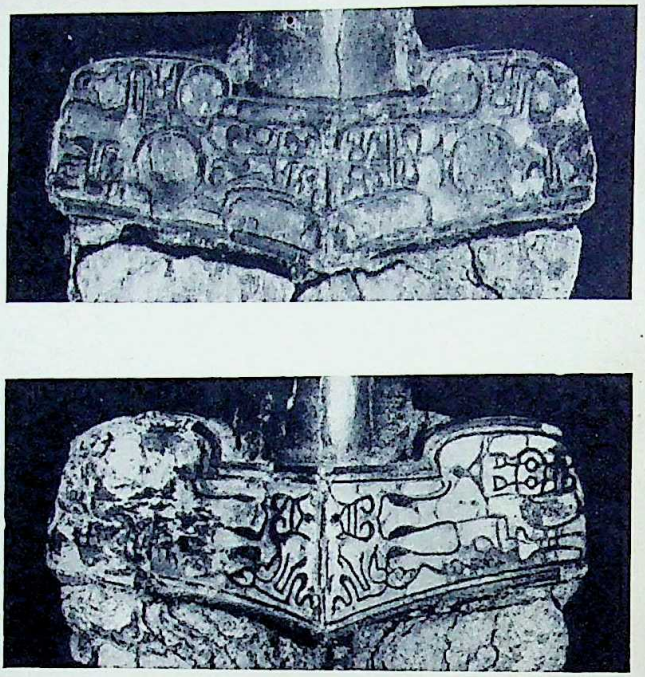

FIG. 3

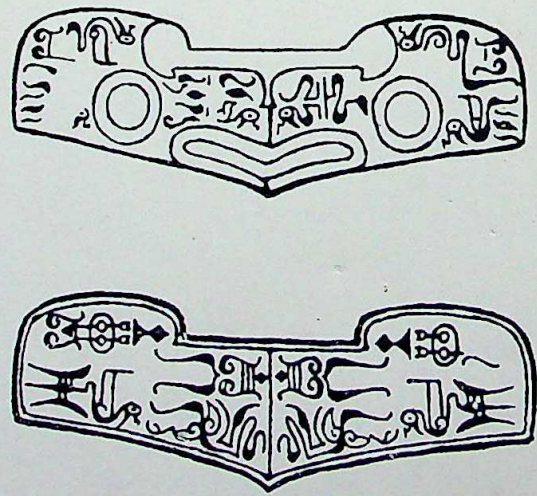

FIG. 4

To face p. 551.]

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It is the latter which claims chief attention, because it displays a notable example of "bird script". The characters seem to be identical with those on a similar sword-guard which has been recorded. The two should be considered together, since details missing from one are present in the other. Accordingly, drawings of the second guard, as published by Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉, are reproduced in Fig. 4.[1] Inked-squeezes appear in *Chou chin wên ts'un*, vi, 105, and they show that the width of this guard is 6·6 cm.

The problem is to decipher the characters, and the conclusion is that this remains largely a matter of conjecture. On the side shown below in Figs. 3 and 4 (Pl. III) there appear to be four characters repeated symmetrically, the head of each group being against the median line, so that the eight characters together present a balanced design. According to a note by Tsou An in the *Chou chin wên ts'un*, vi, 106, each group should be read thus:

寶 永
僉 用

But he remarks that the first character may be a name instead of 永, and that *tzŭ* 自 is a possible alternative to *pao* 寶. The latter is adopted by Lo Chên-yü. A translation in this sense would be: "Sword ever to be used by himself." Such a reading suggests the probability that a personal name is to be found on the other side, where there appear to be two groups of three characters each, though exact symmetry is doubtful. Tsou An dismisses this side of the guard as a mere decoration, while Lo Chên-yü confines decipherment to the clearer character beside the median line, which he reads as *p'ing* 平. There I must leave the problem, adding a note that Tsou An finds like forms on a bell and on a dagger-axe assigned to the State of Ch'u 楚, though the provenance of the latter may have been Ch'in 秦. Also he remarks that

[1] The work is *Chên sung t'ang chi ku i wên* 貞松堂集古遺文 (1931), xii, 23.

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the length of the sword is 3 feet in Chou 周 measure. Hence he argues an attribution to the latter part of the Chou period; and such may be a tentative dating for the sword in the Musée Cernuschi.

A few words are due concerning the history of the sword described by Tsou An. It was acquired in 1881 at Ch'ang-an by Wang I-jung 王懿榮, the scholarly official who is famous as one of the first to have recognized the importance of the inscribed bones and tortoise plastrons found at An-yang. An account of the purchase is said to appear in his *T'ien jang ko tsa chi* 天壤閣雜記.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE "LIBER INTRODUCTORIUS IN ARTEM LOGICAE DEMONSTRATIONIS"?

One of the best known works of Arabic origin on logic known in the Middle Ages was the *Liber introductorius*, which carried the name of a certain Muḥammad, a disciple of Al-Kindī ("*collectus a Mahometh discipulo aliquindi philosophi*").[1] More than once it has been asked: "Who was this Muḥammad?" The two outstanding scholars who were actual pupils of Al-Kindī (d. 873) were Al-Sarakhsī (d. 899) and Manṣūr b. Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, but neither of these was named Muḥammad. The former was called Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, and it has been suggested that the omission of the first name was a *lapsus scribendi* on the part of the Latin translator,[2] but more likely that of a later copyist.[3] There were, however, several philosophers of the period bearing this name who could have been actual pupils of Al-Kindī, and among them were Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Shākir (d. 873) and his contemporary Muḥammad b. al-Jahm, both of whom were logicians.[4]

Dr. Albino Nagy, who has edited the Latin text of the *Liber introductorius*,[5] was of opinion that this Muḥammad was the great Al-Fārābī (d. 950). Dates preclude the possibility that "the second teacher" could have been an actual pupil of Al-Kindī. Yet we know that Al-Fārābī used the works of Al-Kindī when he was studying logic under Yuḥannā b. Khailān (or Ḥailān) at Baghdād,[6] and so, in the wider sense,

[1] Thus in the Vatican MS. (2186). In the Paris MS. (Bibl. Nat., 6443) it runs: "*Machomat discipulo alquindi philosofi*"

[2] See *Archiv. f. Gesch. d. Phil.* (1900), xiii, 177. Baur, *Dominicus Gundissalinus*, 233.

[3] Leclerc, *Hist. de la médecine arabe*, 494, attributes it to Al-Sarakhsī.

[4] Ibn al-Qifṭī, 284, 442.

[5] Nagy, "Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb ben Isḥāq al-Kindī," *Beit. z. Gesch. d. Philos. des M.-A.s.*, v (1897).

[6] Ibn al-Qifṭī, 277.

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Al-Fārābī could very well be called a "disciple of Al-Kindī". Averroes, or more properly Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), appears to refer to this work and to attribute it to Al-Fārābī.[1] Further, the several works mentioned by the author of the *Liber introductorius* can all be identified, by titles at least, with works written by, or attributed to Al-Fārābī, notably the *Epistola de intellectu et intellecto*, *Epistola de causa et causatis*, and *Epistola de generibus scientiarum*.[2] Indeed, one can find among the Arabic titles of his works on logic several that could, at a stretch, be equated with the *Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis*. These are the *Kitāb al-tauṭi'a fī'l-manṭiq*, the *Fuṣūl yuḥtāj ilaihā fī ṣinā'at al-manṭiq*, and the *Kitāb al-madkhal ilā al-manṭiq*.[3] The first of these has come down to us in a Hebrew translation, the second in Arabic (Hebrew script), but the third has not survived.[4] An examination of the first two shows that neither of them can be identified with the *Liber introductorius*, and if the treatise is actually by Al-Fārābī it could only be the lost *Kitāb al-madkhal*.

On the other hand, there appears to be a better claim for the authorship elsewhere. We find the text of the *Liber introductorius*, almost word for word, in the famous *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' and, in consequence, there is no reason why we should not attribute the authorship to Muḥammad b. Ma'shar (or Mushīr or Naṣr) al-Bayustī (or Bustī), sometimes called Muqaddasī (or Maqdisī), who was one of the authors of the famous *Rasā'il*.[5] The *Rasā'il* were well known in Muslim Spain, where they are claimed to have been introduced by Abū'l-Qāsim Maslama al-Majrīṭī (d. 1007),[6] known to

[1] "Totum autem hoc significat, quod liber Abunazar (= Abū Naṣr) '*De demonstratione*' nondum fuerit completus . . ."

[2] Cf. Steinschneider, "Die europ. Über. aus dem arab.," *Sitz. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien*, cli, 95.

[3] Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, Nos. 12, 73. Munk, *Mélanges*, 362. Steinschneider, *Al-Fārābī*, 13–18.

[4] Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, i, 211.

[5] Ibn al-Qifṭī, 83.

[6] For the date of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' see *Der Islām*, iv, 324.

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Medieval Latin Europe as Albucasim de Magerith or Moslema.[1] In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there are two MSS. of the *Rasā'il* that carry his name.[2]

The Spanish group of manuscripts of the *Rasā'il* have special interest because it was in Spain probably that the Latin translation was made. Who the translator was we do not know for certain. Dr. Nagy, the editor, says that the Latin is smoother in this work than in the other works of Al-Kindī—*De somno et uisione*, *De quinque essentiis*, and *De intellectu*, all of which appear to have come from the hand of Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187). He suggests that John of Seville, who was working for Raymund the Archbishop (1125–1151) of Toledo, may have been the translator.[3]

The original Arabic is to be found in the 13th *risāla* called *Fī anūlūṭīqā al-thāniya fī'l-manṭiq*. One passage that refers to music runs as follows [4] :—

ومثال ذلك من الروحاني والنفساني وهو قولنا الغناء اشارة الي الحان
مؤلفة واللحن مؤلف من نغمات متناسبة وابيات موزونة والابيات
مؤلفات من المفاعيل والمفاعيل من الاوتاد والاسباب وكل واحد
ايضاً مؤلف من حروف متحركات وسواكن وانما يعرف هذه
الاسياء صاحب العروض ومن ينظر في النسب الموسيقية

In the Latin *Liber introductorius* this appears as :—

"Spiritalia uero spirantia sunt ut cantus qui est in numero sonorum ordinatorum. Sonus uero componitur ex tonis proportionalibus et uersibus metricis. Uersus uero compununtur ex pedibus. Sed pedes componuntur ex syllabis. Unaquaeque autem syllabarum componitur ex litteris uocalibus et consonantibus. Nemo autem cognoscit hoc nisi qui nouit proportiones musicas."

[1] Steinschneider, *Die europ. Über. aus dem Arab.*, as cited, cli, 101.
[2] Farmer, *Arab. Musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, 4–7.
[3] Op cit., xxx.
[4] Dieterici's text, 378; Bombay Ed. (1887–9), i (2), 132; Cairo Ed. (1888–9), i, 307.

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The same passage occurs, in substance, in the 5th *risāla*, entitled *Fī'l-mūsīqī* in the *faṣl* called *Fī uṣūl al-alḥān wa'l-qawānīnhā*. It may not be out of place to mention that the Arabic *laḥn* is not properly represented by the Latin *sonus*. A better word would be *armonia*. *Sonus* is the equivalent of the Arabic *ṣaut*, a word that stands for "sound" in its physical sense, although in *belles lettres* it equates with "voice". On account of this it seems highly improbable that either Gerard of Cremona or John of Seville was the translator.[1]

The author of the treatise on logic does not mention his authorities save for the treatises already mentioned, which may be those of Al-Fārābī, and to make a general acknowledgment of indebtedness to the Greeks. T. J. de Boer is of opinion that although the Ikhwān show no trace of the relatively purer and more complete Aristotelianism, which begins with Al-Kindī, yet it is not impossible, he says, that they had literary connections with Al-Kindī and his school.[2] On this question one point is worthy of note. In their *Risāla fī'l-mūsīqī*[3] they make precisely the same blunder in their tables of the cosmic influences on the constitution of man as Al-Kindī does in his *Risāla fī ijzā' khabariyya al-mūsīqī*.[4] The Ikhwān must have either copied from Al-Kindī, or else they all borrowed from the same source.

189. HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

A BABYLONIAN CONTRACT FOR THE RENT OF A GARDEN

The tablet[5] which I communicate here is dated in the third year of the reign of Samsuiluna (2022 B.C.) and is of particular interest in that it contains some new variants.

[1] See *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 568–589; 1933, pp. 314–18.
[2] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, ii, 459.
[3] *Rasā'il*, ed. Bombay, i (2), 116–18.
[4] *Berlin MS.*, Ahlwardt, 5503, fol. 31v.–35v.
[5] In possession of my brother-in-law, Stanley Gregory, Esq., London.

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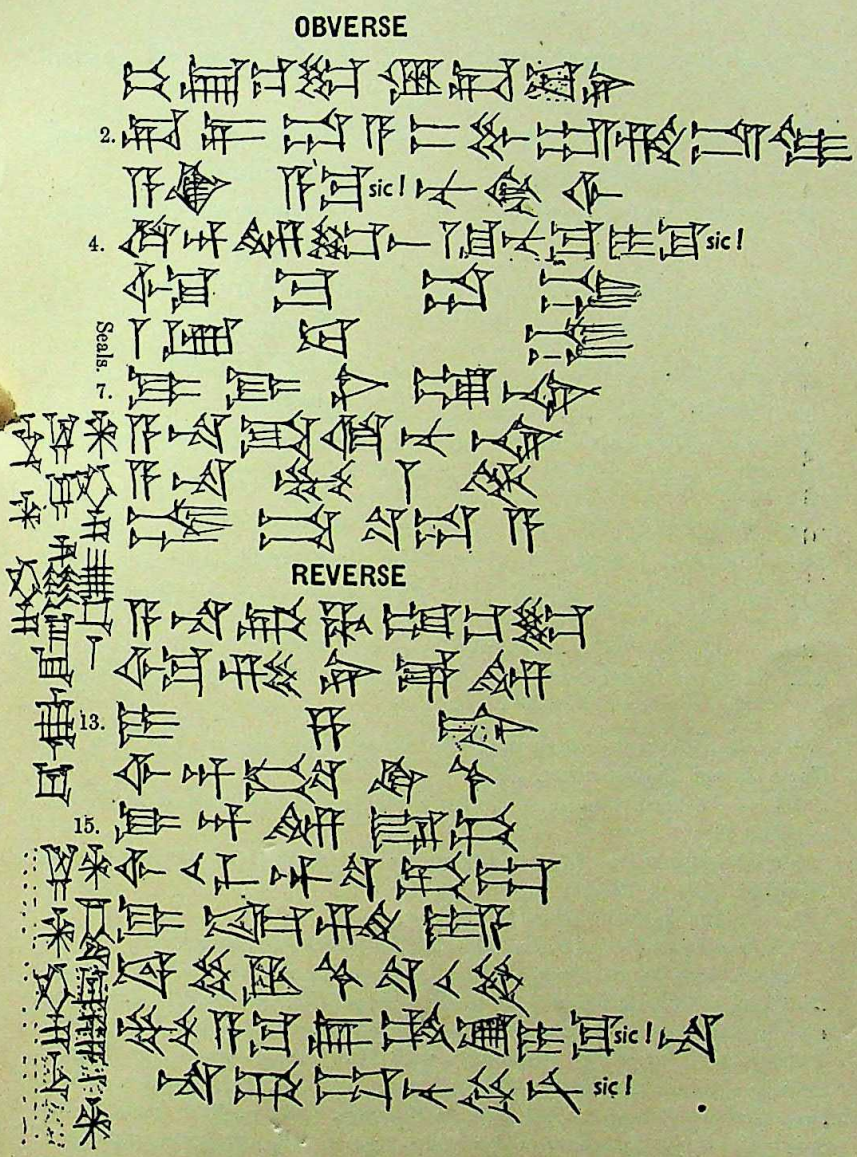
On the left edge are impressed two seals without figured designs. The upper and lower ends also carry traces of two seals, and so does the right edge. This was undoubtedly a case tablet, but the wrapper has been lost. One of the seals which can be read has the name of the owner of the garden,



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d·Adad-šar-rum mar I-zi-la-ak-ku [1] *warad d·Adad*, Adadšarru son of Izilakku, servant of the god Adad. I cannot read the names on the second seal, *d·Marduk* . . . . . *ilu mar d·Adad* . . . . . [*warad d·* . . . . . .]. The garden is an unusually large one and I do not remember having seen a contract mentioning a garden with 12 *iku* or about $10\frac{2}{3}$ acres.

1.	12 *iḳu kirî ru-uš-ba-ni* [2]	1.	Twelve *iḳu* of garden . . . . .
2.	*uš-sa-du a-tap-pu-um* [3] *Gi-mil-lum*	2.	joining on the canal Gimillum,
3.	*a-mur* [4] *nâr Nu-uḫ-ši*	3.	To the west of the canal Nuḫšu,
4.	*itti d·Adad-šar-rum Šu-nu-ma-i-lu*	4.	from Adadšarrum, Šunumailu,
5.	*ù Ma-du-tum* [5]	5.	and Madutum
6.	*Ib-ba-tum*	6.	Ibbatum
7.	*mar Mar-ir-ṣi-tim*	7.	son of Marirṣitum,
8.	*a-na ša-ki-nu-tim*	8.	for gardening
9.	*a-na šattim ištenit*	9.	for one year
10.	*ib-ta-è-a* (*ušêṣi*)	10.	has rented.
11.	*a-na pí-ḫa-at kirîm*	11.	For responsibility of the garden
12.	*ù a-na zi-ni-e-im* [6]	12.	and the branches

[1] I cannot interpret this name. On names beginning *i-zi*, *i-ṣi*, *is-si*, see Theo. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, 55.

[2] I do not know this word. Is it a rendering of *kirû absinnu* ? Cf. *VS.* vii, 100, 1.

[3] *Sic* ! not genitive. Cf. *ištu a-ta-pu-um*, *CT.* 8, 49 B 5 ; *i-ta a-ta-pu-um*, Schorr, *VAB.* v, 16, 11.

[4] Or *a-ḫar*, behind ? If so this is new.

[5] Hence Ungnad, *VAB.* vi, 199, 12, *Ma-du-ti* is a proper name.

[6] *zinû*, loan word, from *giš zi-na gišimmar* = *zi-nu-u*, *MVAG.* 1913 [2], 25, 20, in list with *libbi iṣṣi*, l. 11 (same word as *libbu*, Schorr, 136, 5, *li-ib-ba-am si-na-am inaṣar*), defined in Sumerian as *giš-šag gišimmar* " heart of the date palm ", hence no connection with *lîpu*, offspring (*lîplîpu* " palm branches " does not exist). Schorr's note, ibid., p. 192, is false. *libbu*, Syn. *zinû*, *šinû*, is Syr. *lebbā*, acc. to Meissner, ibid., p. 40, " frond of the date palm " ; l. 13, *uḳuru*, palm cole ; then in following group with *aru*,

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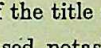
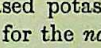
13.	*i-za-az*	13.	he will stand.
14.	*pan* ^{d}·*Marduk-daḫānu*	14.	Before Mardukdayanu,
15.	*mar* ^{d}·*Adad-ra-bi*	16.	son of Mardukrabi.
16.	*pan U-bar-*^{d}·*Šamši ga-éš*	16.	Before Ubar-Shamash the tax-gatherer (?),[1]
17.	*mar Pû-kîni-ia*	17.	son of Pukiniya.
18.	^{arah}*Adaru ûm* 10-*kam*	18.	Adar tenth.
19.	*mu* ^{nâr}*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*	19.	Year when (he dug) the canal "Samsuilua
20.	*na-ga-ab nu-uh-ši* !	20.	the totality of the abundance (of the people)".

našbaṭu, broken branch, comes *zi-na* = *zinû*, with *aṣilu*, *imbû*, *rikbi*, certainly names of branches; see *zi-na* in *OECT*. viii, 22, 7, and note; doors made of *zi-na*.

[1] This valuable text gives the reading of the title  , Thureau-Dangin, *RTC*. 20, ii, 3, the *gaeš-e* purchased potash, etc., and the *gaeš-maǵ-e* brought potash, etc., for the palace for the *nam-gaeš-ag* making the *namgaeš* of the ships of Elam, 21, ii, 5, whence Thureau-Dangin, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, 221, commenting on Amaregal, the *gaeš*, suggests "cleaner, laundry-man". The ^{amel}*gaeš*, *PBS*. ix, 12, Obv. 9, written  , with whom silver is deposited, Genouillac, *Inv*. ii, 4647, 9, who renders "laundry-man". The *ga-(r)eš a-ab-ba-ka-ge*, *Dél. Per.*, xiv, 22, 9. *VAT*. 9714, Obv. i, 32–5, has ŠGA-RA = *ga-eš-šu* (= *karašu*, garlic, *RA*. 24, 82), followed by GA-RAŠ = *muš-tam-ki-ru*, *ma-ki-su*; and [sá-kud-]da = *makisu*. Hence (1) garaš > *gaeš* = *karašu*, *kaiššu*, *gaeššu*, garlic, leek; (2) ga-ra-aš = GA-RAŠ = *purussû* (Syl. B′, ii, 4), decision, and *mākisu*, tax-gatherer? Or is *muštamkiru* from *makāru* "to wet, sprinkle", hence "laundry-man", and *mākisu* also "laundry-man"? *makāru*, to exchange, buy and sell, *kaspa uštammakaru*, Pohl, *MAG*. v [2], 62, 17. Hence *muštamkiru* "merchant"?

209. S. LANGDON.

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A NOTE ON THE NAME OF THE LAST GREAT SĀTAVĀHANA KING

"Yajñaśrī was the last great king of his dynasty."[1] And *Yajñaśrī*-Śātakarṇi has been taken to be the correct form of the name of the last great king of the Sātavāhana dynasty by almost all writers on the political history of Southern India. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Dekkan*,[2] A. K. Nairne in his *History of the Konkan*,[3] V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*,[4] Jouveau-Dubreuil in his *Ancient History of the Deccan*,[5] and many other scholars[6] have accepted this form of the name.

Evidently these scholars have accepted the name given in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇic passage[7]—

ēkōnaviṁśatiṁ rājā yajñaśrīḥśātakarṇy = atha—

clearly gives the name as Yajñaśrī-Śātakarṇi. Since, however, the Purāṇic traditions appear sometimes to be contradictory to one another[8] and sometimes to be disproved by other evidences,[9] it is always risky to depend only upon the Purāṇas. As regards the name Yajñaśrī-Śātakarṇi, it must be noticed that it is not found in any inscription or on any coin of this

[1] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 314.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. ii, pp. 152 (margin), 153; with reference to inscriptions and coins, however, the name has been written here as Śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi.

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

[4] 4th ed., p. 223.

[5] p. 42.

[6] e.g. Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 95.

[7] *Vāyu*, 99. 355.

[8] Note, e.g., that the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, at the same breath, gives two different traditions regarding the duration of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) rule. Cf.

ity = ētē vai nṛpās = triṁśad = andhrā bhōkṣyanti yē mahīm
samāḥ śatāni catvāri pañca-ṣaḍ = vai tath = aiva ca 99.358.

and again

andhrā bhōkṣyanti vasudhāṁ śatē dvē ca śataṅ = ca vai 99.371.

[9] Note, e.g., that the Purāṇas give nineteen years as the reign-period of King Yajña-Śātakarṇi, while the China pillar inscription of this king, dated year 27, clearly shows that he ruled at least for twenty-six years.

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monarch so far discovered. Thus epigraphy and numismatics do not support the Puraṇic statement in this case.

Four inscriptions of this king have as yet been discovered. They are (1) the Kanheri cave inscription (date illegible),[1] (2) the Nasik cave inscription (year 7),[2] (3) the Kanheri cave inscription (year 16),[3] and (iv) the China (now Madras Museum) inscription (year 27).[4] In all these inscriptions we have the King's name as *Gōtamiputa siri-Yaña-Sātakaṇi* (= *Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi*). As regards numismatic evidence, the legend on all the specimens of coins issued by this king gives the same name as the inscriptions.[5]

There can, therefore, be hardly any doubt that the name of the last great Sātavāhana king was Yajña-Śātakarṇi, and not Yajñśrī-Śātakarṇi as is generally taken to be.

[1] Lüders's *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 987.
[2] Ibid., No. 1146.
[3] Ibid., No. 1024.
[4] Ibid., No. 1340.
[5] Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Andhras*, etc., pp. 34 ff.

162. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE STORY OF KĀLAKA. By Professor W. NORMAN BROWN. $14\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 149, pls. 15. Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Studies, No. 1. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1933.

The resources of the Freer Gallery of Art have enabled Professor Brown to employ his energies to excellent purpose and to make a valuable contribution to our knowledge both of Śvetāmbara Jain literature and of miniature painting in Western India from the twelfth to the seventeenth century. He has secured for us such material as is available to supplement the remarkable work of Professor Jacobi in *ZDMG.*, xxxiv, and the additions made to it by the late Professor Leumann in *ZDMG.*, xxxvii. He has re-edited the version which Jacobi published, the shorter and later version commencing *hayapaḍiṇīyapayāvo*, the versions of Bhāvadevasūri, and Dharmaprabhasūri, the Śrīvīravākyānumata version, and the distinctly variant account in Bhadreśvara's Kathāvalī, translating the first two and analysing the last. He has also done what is possible to group the versions existing in manuscript, and has briefly characterized them. We need have little doubt now as to the essential facts as to the legend.

It is now clear that the tales of Kālaka were brought together not earlier than the eleventh century A.D., for he is made out to be the son of Vairasiṅha, doubtless the Paramāra of Dhārā, whose reign with that of his successor, Harṣa Sīyaka, filled the period from 920 to 975. Possibly the legend as we have it was the product of the literary activity under Bhoja, but that is mere conjecture and all that is certain is that it existed before 1250, the date of Bhāvadevasūri. It is also clear that it is a most curious conglomerate, whether we accept the view of Jacobi that it confuses five Kālakas, or the more moderate view of Leumann and the author that three will suffice. If there are three then they may be identified with Kālakas, of whom (1) died in Vīra era 376, (2) lived in

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453, and (3) lived in 993. The historical value of a legend which makes three persons into one, and covers the period from Vīra era 376 to the tenth century A.D., is prima facie negligible, and it seems hopeless to find any valuable evidence for the history of the first or second century B.C. in the strange tale of Kālaka and Gardabhilla. The two authorities who take it most seriously, Professor S. Konow [1] and K. P. Jayaswal,[2] differ very substantially in their results, and Professor Brown quite fairly insists (p. 12) that the latter relies in part on bad reading, Sagakula for Sagakūla and Parśvakula for paścimapārśvakūla, and in part on the view of one version that Balamitra and Bhānumitra were contemporaries of the Sāhi who conquered Ujjaṇ. But it is impossible to accept even Professor Konow's results as probable. He objects to the tendency to refuse to accept the tradition, suggesting that "most scholars are *a priori* disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and sometimes prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore", and he claims that "almost every detail can be verified from other sources". But it does not appear that there is any such verification of the only essential feature of interest in the legend, the overthrow of Gardabhilla by Kālaka, the driving out of the Sāhis by Gardabhilla's son Vikramāditya, and his founding of an epoch ultimately displaced by a Śaka epoch. The whole legend of Kālaka and Gardabhilla seems nothing save a conglomeration of an ætiological explanation of the name Gardabhin or Gardabhila, ascribed to a dynasty of comparatively brief duration by the Purāṇa tradition,[3] with the legends of Vikramāditya whose historical reality as a Hindu founder of an epoch still sadly needs proof.

Professor Brown makes an interesting conjecture (p. 7) regarding the name of the Jain astronomer known from Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's Bṛhajjātaka

[1] *Kharoshṭhi Inscriptions*, pp. xxvi ff.
[2] *JBORS.*, xvi, 227 ff.
[3] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45, 46, 72.

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Vaṁ Kālakācārya as perhaps Prakrit Vaṁkālaka Ācārya, for Vakrālaka, "having curly curls." It must, however, be remembered that we have the rather mysterious prefix in Ādi Vaṇ (or Vaṁ) Śaṭhakopa, where the explanation suggested would not fit. It is difficult also to accept the new senses of *bahir i*, *bahirbhūmi*, *bahiryā*, and *bāhyabhūmi* suggested (p. 108). According to the second version edited (verses 9 and 10) the nun was seized after paying her respects to her brother, who was staying outside the town (*bāhiṁ ujjāṇaṭhio*), on her way to her place of residence; Bhāvadevasūri has simply *gayā bāhiṁ* (v. 18), which seems to refer to her going abroad to see her brother, to whom she at once addresses an appeal for help; Dharmaprabhasūri has *bahiviyarantī* (v. 4), no doubt in the same sense, the Sanskrit version *sādhvīsametā gatā bāhyabhūmau* (v. 10) is naturally taken in the same sense, and Bhadreśvara's *vaccantī vāhim* offers no difficulty. In the first version, therefore, *viyārabhūmīe niggayā* (p. 38, l. 20) seems to mean nothing more unusual than that the lady had departed from, or had gone out of, the town to the place where her brother was sojourning. In the Sanskrit version may be noted the use of *yad* in verses 11 and 13, while in the former it is necessary to read *nīyamānām*.

While the miniatures reproduced are not precisely beautiful they possess much historic interest, and their publication with full explanations is of great value. Professor Brown repeats (p. 16) his suggestion to explain the fact that, when faces are shown otherwise than in full front, the further eye is made to protrude beyond the cheek. He holds that this is induced by the practice in Jain temples to place glass eyes over the eyes of the images so that, seen from the side, the result is similar to that in these miniatures. The view is ingenious but hardly convincing. It is very satisfactory to learn that further examples of miniatures from illustrations of the *Kalpasūtra* may be expected to be published in due course.

904. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

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THE PRONOUN KÜE IN THE SHU KING. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. Pamphlet. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 9. Göteborg: Elanders Boktrycher, Aktiebolag, 1933.

This small brochure of six pages, in English, by Professor Bernhard Karlgren is a Birthday Offering to Doctor Oscar von Sydow.

It is a sort of Detective Story that Professor Karlgren relates, in which he, as the Talented Amateur, follows up in the text of the genuine books of the Shu King, or Book of History, the confused and confusing disguises that have so much impeded the full understanding of various passages in ancient Chinese literature. But the Talented Amateur fully acknowledges his debt to a professional Chinese colleague and expert, a modern scholar and epigraphist, Mr. Liu Hsin-yüan, whose researches on the two characters *küe* (or *chüeh*) and *nai*, used as personal pronouns, he summarizes, while another admirer and often critic of Mr. Liu, to wit, the Japanese author of the *Ku Chou Pi'en*, Mr. Tadasuke Takada, cites the passage in full. It may seem a rather minute point of scholarship to expand into a pamphlet, but the few students of ancient texts on bronze vessels or on objects of bone, tortoise-shell and deershorn, will have good reason to thank Professor Karlgren for his lucid exposition.

A. 58. L. C. HOPKINS.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN ANNE. Being an account of the Settlement written by JOHN BURNELL. With an introduction and notes by SAMUEL T. SHEPPARD, late Editor of *The Times of India*. To which is added Burnell's Narrative of his Adventures in Bengal; with an introduction by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER and notes by Sir EVAN COTTON and L. M. ANSTEY. Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. LXXII. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxx + 192. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1933.

When a book has been published by the Hakluyt Society and contains the work of Mr. Samuel Sheppard, Sir William

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Foster, Sir Evan Cotton, and Miss Anstey, it may be taken for granted that it is in the first rank of books of its class. The volume under review reproduces in the first place a manuscript copy of an account of the Bombay of 1710, which has been unearthed in the India Office by the joint efforts of Professor Thomas, Miss Anstey, and Mr. Sheppard. The writer, Mr. John Burnell, gives us much interesting information about the Bombay of his time—the government, the trees, the native customs, the local festivals, and so forth, and provides a rich mine for historical topography on which Mr. Sheppard furnishes a great deal of valuable comment. There are important references in the book to early efforts at "reclamation", which are illustrated by an admirable map at p. 90 giving a reconstruction of Bombay as it appeared in 1710. The second part of the volume, which contains an account of Burnell's adventures in Bengal, was published—as being by an unknown author—by Sir Evan Cotton in *Bengal Past and Present* in 1923. It contains a strange picture of the local hostilities round Chandernagore and includes a description of the truculent Augustinian friar of Bandel, who "designed a dose" for the writer.

A. 16. ANON.

MEDIAEVAL TEMPLES OF THE DAKHAN. Archæological Survey of India, Volume XLVIII, Imperial Series. By HENRY COUSENS. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 10$, pp. vi + 86, pls. 115, ills. 17. Calcutta: Government of India Pub., 1931. 37*s.* 6*d.*

The photographs and plans in this volume are of the high standard which is expected in this series. The introduction contains a historical note and an architectural note, and a glossary of Indian words used. The architectural note is interesting and well written, and it is almost free from the irritating misprints which were noticed in a volume recently reviewed. On p. 64 a chief named Johādeva is said to have been reigning in Samvat 1922—which is surprising. And on pp. 67, 68, Samvat is apparently a mistake for Śaka.

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The temples described cannot be said to be particularly interesting. They are mostly rather the ruins of temples than temples. Mr. Cousens does not say which of them—if any—are used at the present day. Neither Poona district nor Bijapur district is mentioned at all, but there surely must be some mediaeval temple remains in them. Subject to these remarks the present volume is a beautiful and useful addition to the series.

902. C. N. SEDDON.

LES KAYANIDES. Par ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelser XIX, 2. 9½ × 6, pp. 166. Københaun: Audr. Fred. Høst. & Søn, 1931. Kr. 7.

Les Kayanides is occupied with the complex and often delicate problem of the legends of Persia from their earliest form in the oldest Iranian texts. The author has discussed the origins and date of the oldest source, the Avesta. His view of the date of the Gāthās, expressed on p. 32, seems to be most in accord with the facts we have: indeed, a date later by half a century for Zoroaster would be acceptable. The date here proposed is about 650–600 B.C.

That the kavis were Eastern Iranian kings may be regarded as certain, and the author is probably right in rejecting any connection of the Avestan Vištāspa with the father of Darius. The legends were never able to make the son of the Avestan Vištāspa a king.

In the intricate weaving of the legends the author has successfully disentangled two strands of the tradition: one mainly religious preserved in the Zoroastrian books, "la tradition religieuse"; the other more national, of which some episodes are of the later Sasanian period, "la tradition nationale." All the sources are then adduced and criticized. The method accordingly yields important and trustworthy results. It has been a pleasure to read and learn from the book.

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One or two points of detail should be mentioned. In the Pahlavi passage quoted on p. 83 one should probably read: *hamēšak vēhr* "always smiting" (not *vahār*), where *vēhr* is "striking", from *vaig-*. In the same passage should be read: *pat asp i rah rōč i vahārīk pat* 15 *rōč* "with a chariot horse during the spring days in 15 days". Here *rah* is the same word as in DkM. 806, 3: *asp i rah* (whether to read *rah* = Av. *raθa-*, or *ray* "swift", is uncertain, though *rah* "chariot" can be supported by other passages).

The word left untranslated on p. 84 is *karkahanēn* "made of chalcedony", providing the form postulated by Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, 199, on the basis of the forms Arm. *karkehan*, Arab. *karkúhan*, Syr. *karkeδnā*.

The place name, p. 54, Saokavastān (?), I have explained in *BSOS.*, vi, 950, as *Suβδastān* "Sogdiana".

663. H. W. BAILEY.

THE MATHNAWÍ OF JALÁLU'DDÍN RÚMÍ. Edited from the oldest manuscripts available with critical notes, translation, and commentary by R. A. NICHOLSON. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series, IV; 5: Books V and VI. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxiv + 8 + 602. London: Luzac & Co., 1933. £1 15*s*.

With the appearance of the fifth volume of the work (and the third, containing the fifth and sixth books, of the text) Dr. Nicholson's edition of the text of the *Mathnawī'i Ma'nawī* of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī is completed. Jalālu'ddīn never himself finished his work, but all he wrote is now available in a form which can be little different from the archetype. Dr. Nicholson does not claim to have established the original text of the *Mathnawī* as it was composed by the author, but by his careful collation of the best available manuscripts, including the remarkable Qoniya MS. brought to light by Dr. H. Ritter and dated 677/1278 (which is only five years after the author's death), and of the Oriental printed editions, he has provided

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an authoritative text by critical methods the high standard of which he has himself set.

The present edition contains 25,631 couplets, which is over a thousand less than the figure (26,660) mentioned by Aflākī in his *Manāqib al-'Ārifīn*. It must be remembered, however, that Aflākī wrote when Jalālu'ddīn had been dead over half a century and there is abundant evidence that at a very early period the copyists had begun to interpolate spurious verses in order, as Dr. Nicholson points out, (1) to make the transitions in the poem less abrupt, (2) to explain incidents in the narrative or illustrate points of difficulty, and (3) to amplify topics treated with brevity or develop thoughts suggested by the context. The editor may claim to have eliminated most, if not all, of these later insertions and to have presented the world of scholarship with a text which preserves what the author intended, including the "irregularities" of rhyme and metre and the colloquialisms of the Master's style, freed as far as possible from the "corrections" thought necessary by copyists.

It would be folly to offer criticism of details in this huge work undertaken by one who is an acknowledged master in the sphere of Sufi studies. The only criticism might perhaps come from those who think that any funds available ought to be used for the urgent work of publishing important books which still lie in the obscurity of manuscript, and not those already extant in print, even if it be only in Oriental editions. The value of such work as Dr. Nicholson's is, however, made abundantly clear by a comparison of the present text with even the best Oriental edition of the *Mathnawī*. His example might well be followed for such outstanding works as the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī or even Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, the last edition of which is long out of date.

The work of editing the *Mathnawī* was undertaken in the first place in order to provide a sound basis for a translation, with the commentary indispensable for a proper understanding of the contents of the poem. The present notice is concerned

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primarily with the text but the last volume of translation is now published, and Dr. Nicholson has entered on the task of writing the commentary. That in its scope is likely to include the whole field of Islamic doctrine and Sufi legend and will be an end fitted to crown the work.

936. R. LEVY.

A DICTIONARY OF THE KĀSHMĪRĪ LANGUAGE. By GEORGE A. GRIERSON. Bibliotheca Indica, No. 229. 12½ × 10, pp. xxiii + 1252. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1916–1932. Rs. 120.

Sir George Grierson began his work on this great dictionary in 1898; the first part was published in 1916, the fourth and last in 1932. It covers then almost exactly the period of that monumental achievement, the Linguistic Survey of India; yet the *πάρεργον*, as it were, of this period would be the full work and more of any scholar of less stature than Sir George Grierson.

Kāshmīrī, the language of a land somewhat withdrawn from the main stream of Indian life, cannot compare in importance, from the point of view of either administration, culture or literature, with several of the other languages of India, whether Indo-Aryan or Dravidian; while receiving much both from the literary Sanskrit (Kashmir was for long a centre of Sanskrit literary activity) and from the neighbouring languages of India it appears to have exercised little or no influence upon them in return. But for the historian of the development of the Indo-Aryan languages it is of great importance. For it forms part of the Dardic group of dialects, which being on the outskirts of the Indo-Aryan area and situated for the most part in mountainous and not easily accessible territory, have remained comparatively free of the influences of the centre, represented by the greater languages of administration and literature. Among the Dardic

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languages Kāshmīrī is both culturally and politically by far the most important; for the linguist it has the further inestimable advantage, that something of its older form is known. It will not be surprising to the reader to learn that this too is due to the inexhaustible energy of Sir George Grierson, who, partly with the collaboration of Sir Aurel Stein and Dr. L. D. Barnett, has been responsible for the publication of several old Kāshmīrī texts, which have already been noticed in this JOURNAL. Its complicated and difficult grammar has been illuminated and schematized by the same pen in several treatises and the excellent little manual published by the Clarendon Press. The completion of the Dictionary crowns this work. For it can confidently be said that no other modern Indian language, however great its political or literary prestige, is provided with a better or even as good a dictionary: but then no other has been so fortunate as to have Sir George Grierson as its lexicographer.

In his preface the author gives full due to the part played by Īśvara Kaula, whose uncompleted material for a Kāshmīrī-Sanskrit Kośa formed, after his death, the basis of Sir George's collection, and of his assistants Gōvinda Kaula and Mukunda Rāma Śāstrī, neither of whom lived to see the completed work. But the real value of such a work depends not on the collection of material so much as on its arrangement and interpretation. These are Sir George's.

The grammatical information, extensive and complete in the case of those words whose flexional forms do not fall within the regular paradigms, is lucidly set out; full references are made to the published texts; and the meanings and uses of words and phrases are exhaustively set out. The extent of this information may be gathered from articles like those on the verbs *gatshun* (3 quarto pages), *yun*ᵘ (3½), or on the noun *atha* with all its compounds (10).

One of the difficulties of Kāshmīrī are the changes caused in the vowels of a single paradigm or word-group by the nature of the final vowel of the word. Sir George's plan

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of using the consonants as his basis of alphabetical order avoids the disadvantage of separating in space whole groups of words and forms which are best put together. These complicated vowel-changes and the fact that Kāshmīrīs use three different alphabets (Śāradā, Nāgarī and Persian) for writing their language have led to a great variety in spelling. Sir George has chosen Nāgarī with a roman transliteration as his main medium and, in order to standardize spelling, has followed, with a few slight alterations, the system of Īśvara Kaula. Appeal to etymology suggests the possibility that this system is not altogether consistent and may sometimes indicate a single sound by more than one symbol: thus a Sanskrit *u* followed by two consonants is represented, without apparently any difference of condition, in three ways as *ŏ* in *mŏtsun* < *mucyátē* or *hŏtsun* < *śucyati*, as *ō* in *rōtsun* < **rucyati* (Pkt. *ruccaï*) or *bōzun* < *búdhyatē* or *pōshun* < *púṣyati*, as *u* in *muśun* < *muṣyatē*, *kupun* < *kupyati* or *kuṭun* < *kuṭṭayati*. But these may, of course, represent actual pronunciations due to dialect mixture in the standard language.

Sir George himself has given no etymological indications. This is perhaps to be regretted, because, out of his vast store of knowledge, he could have offered much which others perhaps even after years of research will not be able to attain. We may hope that he will still make some of the etymological information he must have gathered about this perhaps best loved of his Indian languages available in some other form.

One cannot leave this work without once more paying homage to the genius, the scholarship, the indomitable will which brooks no opposition from adverse circumstance, of the author of *Bihar Peasant Life*, of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, and of the *Kāshmīrī Dictionary*.

923. R. L. TURNER.

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SĀVAYADHAMMADOHĀ. An Apabhraṁśa work of the tenth century. Karanja Jaina Series, Vol. II. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN. 7 × 4¾, pp. xxxii + 125. Karanja, Berar: Karanja Jaina Publication Society, 1932.

This first edition of the *Sāvayadhammadohā*, an Apabhraṁśa text, is excellently designed. The text, based on 11 manuscripts, is provided with an *apparatus criticus* at the foot of each page, and a Hindi translation on the opposite page to which are added 16 pages of exegetical notes. In his Hindi Introduction the author describes his MS. authorities, discusses authorship and date (Devasena of Dhārā in Malwa, about Vikrama saṁvat 990), and gives a short description of the main grammatical features. In the vocabulary, which contains references to the text, the Apabhraṁśa words are translated into Sanskrit and Hindi. Finally there is an index to the dohās arranged alphabetically. There are a certain number of misprints, wrong references and omissions which rather more care might have prevented: e.g. p. 11 dohā 27 *pīnā* for *pānī*, p. 94 *ḍhis* for *bhis*; *ṇu* of dohā 135 is not in the vocabulary. P. 81 *chijjiu* is translated *kṣīyatām*, *kṣay howe*: it is of course a past participle, not an imperative, and reference to the verse makes this quite clear, *mohu ṇu chijjiu dubbalaü hoi*. On p. 95 the alternative explanation of *maṇagaccha* as *mat jā* hardly takes account of the actual form in the text *maṇagacchahaṁ*. Such things, of which it would be profitless to extend the list, somewhat mar an excellent and most useful work.

The linguist will find several points of interest for the phonology of Middle Indo-Aryan: the vowels *ā* + *ă* and *a* + *ā* have contracted *khāi*, *aṁdhāra-*, *khaṁdhāra-*. Although the consonant-groups of Prakrit are generally maintained, *ss* has already been shortened with lengthening of a previous vowel: *ass* > *ās* in *pāsa-* (*pārśvá-*), *sāsa-* (*sasyá-*), *ṇāsaṁti* (*náśyanti*: thus no longer distinguished from *ṇāsaï* < *nāśáyati*), *kāsu*, *tāsu* (cf. *kásya*, *tásya*); *iss* > *īs* in *mīsia-* (*miśrita-*),

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dīsaï (*dṛśyātē*) ; *ess* > *ēs* in *vēsā* (*vēśyā*). There are no contrary examples in which *ss* is preserved.

783. R. L. TURNER.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS AT NINEVEH, 1931–32. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON and M. E. L. MALLOWAN. (From the *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, Liverpool University Press, vol. xx, Nos. 1–4.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 116, pls. xxxv–cvi. Liverpool, 1933. £1 1*s*.

This is a report on excavations devoted to the completion of work on the temple of Ishtar at Quyunjiq, to the digging of four test-pits to the north-west of Sennacherib's Palace, and to the sounding on a large scale of all the strata down to virgin soil at a specified point.

Dr. Campbell Thompson gives a brief account of the work in the test-pits and a full publication of the inscriptions found, Mr. Mallowan an admirably full and clear description and discussion of the pre-Assyrian strata, Dr. Dudley Buxton deals with the osteological remains, Mr. Horace Beck discusses some interesting beads, and Mr. D. B. Harden contributes "Notes on the Glass found", Roman, Byzantine, and Arab. In all, an excellent publication, fully illustrated, which no one interested in the subject can neglect; we owe sincere thanks to the excavator, his colleagues, and the Liverpool Institute for producing it so well and so quickly.

One of the inscriptions contains interesting new historical information; though broken, it gives 185 lines of a dedication to Ninlil, and some details of buildings for her and other gods. It is almost certainly the last of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions yet known, and states that "Cyrus, king of *Parsumaš*", who must be Cyrus I of Persia (thus dated to 640–635 B.C.; a surprise), and *Pišlamē*, king of *Ḫudimeri*, sent tribute after the Elamite wars, a passage which is to be compared with another found in an inscription now in Germany. There are some new details of the Arabian campaign, in which Uaite'

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is called king not of Aribi but of (*mat*)*Su-mu-AN*, followed by Ammu-laddi(n), king of Qedar. Dr. Campbell Thompson reads *Su-mu-ili*, equates with Ishmael, and finds himself supported by Delitzsch. Qedar was the son, that is we suppose a sub-tribe, of "Ishmael", but it is legitimate to doubt whether "Ishmael" was a localized tribe-name as opposed to Qedar in the seventh century B.C., and the conjunction of *Su-mu-AN* and *Te-e-me* in Sennacherib's name for a gate of Nineveh seems to demand localization, probably on the caravan road through Edom. The editor has much of interest to say about *Ḫundaru*, king of Tilmun, and some new evidence to adduce. But the most important passage, a fairly long one, concerns *Dugdammē*. Dr. Campbell Thompson believes that in this text he is called *šar* (*mat*)*Sak-a-a-u-gu-tu-um-ki*, but his copy gives reason to doubt this monster. The division *sak-a-a*, though not impossible, is suspect, and the sign *sak* could not be written, as it is given, with one oblique instead of two horizontals before the last perpendicular; is not the first small perpendicular rather the head of the short preliminary horizontal of *da*? This would deliver us from the difficult assumption that the Assyrians called the Scyths both *Ašguzai* and *Saka*, and from *ugutumki* as an appellative of foreign derivation; and *-aiu* positively demands interpretation as a gentilic adjective. It may tentatively be suggested that the reading should be *šarru šad-da-ai-u Gu-tu-um KI*, "the hill-king (i.e. barbarian) the Gutian (i.e. vandal)." The word *qutu* is not unknown in this sense. There are other matters of great interest in the passage.

Another text of importance is a further fragment of the poetic account, largely in direct speech, of the wordy quarrels and wars of the Assyrian kings of the latter half of the second millennium with Kassite kings of Babylon. Its broken state, and the difficult idiom, leave the meaning very uncertain, as the editor points out.

Mr. Mallowan's exposition of the pottery stratification and of the associated objects solves some questions and raises

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promising new ones. The material is fragmentary, much of it new, and he has done all that is possible. There are, of course, corrections which will appeal to individual students. "Nineveh 5" must, we think, be allowed to come down to a later date, in view of Professor Speiser's work at Tall Billa. The seal, plate lxv, No. 18, seems not to be earlier than the eighteenth century B.C. In general, sound induction and moderate statement have gone hand in hand, as in the observation that the stone weapons scarcely change in form over long periods, and certainly not with an increased use of metal. One criticism is important. There is a tendency to estimate archæological periods in a fallacious time measurement; a century means very much more than archæologists willingly admit, even in the history of pot-making. On the other hand, change was often slower than we know. It would be a good thing if we could avoid the use of dates and speak in archæological terms for any time prior to 2500 B.C. Mr. Mallowan is to be congratulated on his most instructive work, already followed by his pioneering excavation at Arpachiyah.

A. 79. SIDNEY SMITH.

ORTHOGRAPHIE UND PUNKTIERUNG DES KORAN: Zwei Schriften von ABŪ 'AMR 'UTHMĀN IBN SA'ĪD AD-DĀNĪ, herausgegeben von OTTO PRETZL. 10 × 7, pp. 32 + 240. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaasi, 1932.

This is the third volume in the series *Bibliotheca Islamica* edited by Dr. Hellmut Ritter and published in Stambul "Im Auftrage der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft". Its editor, Dr. Otto Pretzl, is a pupil of Professor Bergsträsser, of München, and has already published another important text of ad-Dānī, the *Taisīr*, as volume II in this same series.

Ad-Dānī was famous among his contemporaries as an authority on all questions concerning the text of the Qur'ān, and a great number of MSS. of works of his on this subject is to be found both in European and Oriental libraries. The

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most famous, perhaps, of these books is the *Taisīr* already mentioned, which is a standard work on the variant readings of the seven Canonical Readers recognized by orthodox Islam. Numerous MSS. of this work exist, but until Dr. Pretzl's edition the only handy text was the miserable Hyderabad lithograph of 1316. It will be remembered that the *Taisīr* is the basis of the versified *Ḥirz al-Amānī* of ash-Shāṭibī, which, under the popular name of *ash-Shāṭibīya*, is still memorized by the old-fashioned Muslim savant, and has been the subject of innumerable commentaries in the East. It is true therefore to say that the work of ad-Dānī is the basis of practically all study of the text of the Qur'ān among orthodox Muslims of the present day. It is therefore the more surprising that his larger work, *al-Jāmi'*, of which a complete MS. exists in the Royal Library at Cairo, and another in Constantinople, has never been printed.

Ad-Dānī also wrote a work on the uncanonical variants in the Qur'ānic text, but this has apparently perished. The catalogue of the Algiers Library lists a copy of the work, but when the present writer sent and got a copy thereof it proved to be nothing more than a small treatise on the variant traditions as to the text readings of Warsh, whose text tradition is that followed in the Qur'āns printed in North Africa apart from Egypt. The work on the uncanonical variants, however, was formerly well known, as it is frequently quoted in the works of the Andalusi Commentators, such as Abū Ḥayyān, al-Qurṭubī, and Ibn 'Aṭīya.

Besides this work on the textual variants, however, he devoted much attention to the subject of Qur'ān orthography, a subject known among Muslim savants as *Rasm al-Maṣāḥif*. In part this consists of instructions to scribes as to all the textual peculiarities that they are to observe in their task of preparing codices, when and where they are to write a *t-marbūṭa* as a *t-ṭawīla*, where write and where leave unwritten the final ى sign, how to observe the varieties of *hamza*, etc. In part it deals with the orthographical variations known

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to exist among the ancient Codices of the great centres of Qur'ānic learning, Baṣra, Kūfa, Mecca, Madīna, and Damascus. The *Muqni'* is the most famous of ad-Dānī's works on this subject, and is the text that Dr. Pretzl has edited in the volume before us, based on eight MSS. preserved in European libraries. It is this work which really underlies the text tradition of the Egyptian Standard Edition of the Qur'ān of 1926, though the scholars who prepared that edition relied on more recent writers whose works were based on the *Muqni'*.

Textual criticism of the Qur'ān is only in its infancy, and most of the materials necessary for the prosecution of this line of study are still in manuscript. Professor Bergsträsser has recently published the collections of Ibn Jinnī, "Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten in Muḥtasab des Ibn Ginni," in the Sitzungsberichte of the Bavarian Academy (Heft i, 1933), and his edition of the work of Ibn Khālawaih on the non-canonical variants is being printed in Cairo. The Egyptian Library has just published the first volume of the old commentary of al-Qurṭubī, which will be completed in twelve to fifteen volumes, and the present writer has recently had the good fortune to unearth two MSS. of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (the Book of the Codices) of Abū Dāwūd, which it is hoped will be published shortly. Yet the important works of Ibn 'Aṭīya, Abū 'Ubaid, ath-Tha'labī, al-Farrā', and a score of other sources, are still unavailable, and there seems no immediate prospect of their being made available.

It is here that the work of Dr. Pretzl is so welcome. The problems of textual criticism of the Qur'ān fall into three groups :—

(*a*) The variants among the Canonical Readers.

(*b*) The uncanonical variants.

(*c*) The orthography of the old Codices.

With regard to (*a*) Dr. Pretzl's edition of the *Taisīr* of ad-Dānī, taken along with the Damascus edition of the *Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazarī, provides us with a firm foundation from which to work. In the case of (*b*) we are still only

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at the beginning of things. Now, however, with Dr. Pretzl's edition of the *Muqni'* in hand, we are in a position to make some progress with regard to (*c*). Ad-Dānī, being an Andalusi writer, follows himself the text tradition of Warsh from Nāfi' —not the commonly-accepted tradition of Ḥafṣ from 'Āṣim used in almost all printed editions of the Qur'ān, but his collections of material with regard to the writing of the text in the old Codices, drawn both from his personal examination of standard old Codices and the works of earlier writers now lost to us, provide us with a foundation for further research. For instance, on the basis of the indications of the *Muqni'*, it is possible to make some progress in assigning to definite local origin some of the old Codices still preserved in our libraries. The orthographical peculiarities of this Codex show that it was of Kūfan type, and the peculiarities of that are of the Madinan type, etc.

Moreover, these careful tabulations of orthographical peculiarities have not infrequently made it possible to see the origin of some of the variant readings that we find recorded in the Commentators, and, what is of even greater importance, enable us to decide whether recorded variants are variants of one type of text that had become standard in Islam, or whether they are dependent on some other earlier type of text that is now lost.

That the work has its interest to the student of the development of Arabic writing is of course obvious, but its main interest to us is as an instrument of textual criticism. This value is enhanced by the fact that as an appendix to the *Muqni'* Dr. Pretzl has printed the text of the lesser-known tractate of ad-Dānī on the pointing of the consonantal text, the *Kitāb an-Naqt*, a tractate which has also some value for the student of Arabic palæography.

The work has been very carefully edited, and very carefully printed, and includes complete indexes to the *Taisīr* as well as to the *Muqni'* and the *Naqt*.

882.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

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TALES OF MYSTIC MEANING, BEING SELECTIONS FROM THE MATHNAWĪ OF JALĀL UD-DĪN RŪMĪ. Translated with an introduction by R. A. NICHOLSON. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxviii + 171, pl. 1. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1931. £1 1*s*.

No book dealing with the Mathnawī of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī by Professor Nicholson has any need of "letters of commendation". The association of his name with any work on that subject gives all the assurance required that it is of the best. No scholar with anything like his equipment has ever devoted himself to such a protracted study of that great classic of Persian mysticism. His monumental edition of the complete Persian text of the poem is already published in the "Gibb Memorial" series, and the corresponding translation is on the eve of completion. These selections, therefore, have been made by one who possesses the fullest acquaintance with and truest appreciation of the whole work, and the book represents the best, no doubt, by way of stories, which the Mathnawī could yield.

The introduction substantially enhances the value, interest, and usefulness of the book, and is indispensable to those who are making their first acquaintance with the Mathnawī. Moreover, the occasional footnotes, elucidating obscure references in the stories, increase our eagerness to see the commentary with which Professor Nicholson proposes to crown his great work.

By the addition of this fifth volume to its number, "The Treasure House of Eastern Story" series has been greatly enriched.

160. E. EDWARDS.

BRAHMANICAL GODS IN BURMA. A chapter of Indian Art and Iconography. By NIHAR-RANJAN RAY. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 100, pls. 23. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1932.

Mr. Ray tells us that he has undertaken to make a systematic

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iconographic and artistic study of Brahmanical images in Burma. In his introductory chapter he discusses the introduction of Buddhism into Burma. He thinks it almost certain that Mahāyāna Buddhism reached Pagan directly from North-East India "at an early period", and holds that it is not impossible that before the introduction of Pāli Buddhism in the eleventh century an earlier stratum of Hīnayānism had been lying dormant, but gives this only as a tentative suggestion. Even if such vaguenesses had any value in themselves, no attempt has been made to show what they have to do with the subject. When we turn to Brahmanism we are also told that there was a Brahmanical population in Burma "at an early period". However, when Mr. Ray leaves historical theorizing he is on safer ground. He describes images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, and Sūrya, and the well-reproduced photographs are all the more valuable through his descriptions being based upon the actual objects. In particular his chapter on the art and historical background is well worthy of study.

724. E. J. THOMAS.

CHITRAPRABHĀ. A commentary on Haridīkshita's Laghuśabdaratna. By BHĀGAVATA HARI ŚĀSTRI. Edited with notes by MM. TĀTĀ SUBBARĀYA ŚĀSTRI. (Andhra University Series, No. 6.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 4 + 8 + 452. Waltair: Andhra University, 1932. Rs. 4.

The present work is an example of the intensity with which vyākaraṇa is still studied in South India, and also a testimony to the scientific activities of the new Andhra University. The author after studying the Black Yajurveda and kāvya went to Benares, where for fourteen years he studied vyākaraṇa, finally becoming court pandit to the Mahārāja of Vijayanagaram, and died in 1898 at the age of eighty-eight. As the *Laghuśabdaratna* is itself a commentary on Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's own commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, it

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naturally follows the arrangement of the original work, and covers the first fifteen chapters ending with *kārakādivibhakti*.

824. E. J. THOMAS.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1928–9. Edited by H. HARGREAVES. 13½ × 10½, pp. xiv + 196, pls. 64. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933.

This report, the main results of which are summarized in the introduction by the officiating Director-General, covers the whole of India and Burma. Among these the excavations at Nālandā, Taxila, and the areas of the Indus civilization stand out. The Asokan Rock inscriptions of Yerraguḍi in the Karnul District of the Madras Presidency, found by the geologist Mr. A. Ghose, are described by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, but their full treatment is reserved for *Epigraphia Indica*.

A. 29. E. J. THOMAS.

LES SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES EN CHINE. By Lieut.-Col. B. FAVRE, Ancien Directeur de l'Institut Franco-Chinois de l'Université de Lyon. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 222. Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1933. 20 fr.

The author of this interesting work states in its preface that he was led to write it by having been brought into personal contact on two occasions with secret Chinese societies. It would have been of great interest had he added a chapter to his work, giving an account of such personal experiences as he had, which are very rare in the case of foreigners. The object of his work is to deal generally with the question of secret societies in China rather than to treat in detail the history of the various and numerous secret societies that have risen from time to time in the course of the history of China. The work is divided into eleven chapters, five of which are concerned with the well-known Triad Society,

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and has notes and bibliography at the end. No Chinese characters are given for Chinese names, etc., and the Chinese titles of works on secret societies are omitted. This is no doubt due to the work being intended for the general reader who is not acquainted with Chinese, but it would have been an advantage if such names and works, with the addition of Chinese characters, had been given in an appendix. The author is to be congratulated on having written in an attractive style a work which will be most useful for those who wish to acquire a general knowledge of Chinese secret societies and of the important part played by them in the history of China.

876. J. H. STEWART LOCKHART.

MAHARANA PRATAP. D.A.-V. College Historical Monographs No. 1. By SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A. 7 × 4¾, pp. ix + 151 + iv, ills. 13, and 2 sketch maps. Lahore, 1932 (?).

The author, in his introductory remarks, calls this "an attempt at a continuous story of Rana Pratap's life", adding that an attempt has also been made "to dive beneath the surface, to look for motives and impulses". Tod's fascinating pages have long been recognized as defective in historical accuracy, being based largely on tradition, but a foundation for a more reliable and connected account of Pratāp's career has been laid by MM. G. H. Ojhā and Munshī Devī Prasād. Motives, on the other hand, are notoriously difficult to establish. Akbar's choice, for example, of Mān Singh to conduct the campaign against Pratāp has been the subject of much hypothetical speculation. We do not know on what grounds it is stated (p. 62) that some of the Muhammadan officers in the army resented his appointment because he was a Hindū. The passage in Badāūnī quoted merely refers to a remark made to him by his intimate friend, Naqīb Khān, who was not, it seems, in the army at the time. Difficulty has been found in checking several other references. For

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instance, on p. 27, *Akbarnāma*, ii, 46, is quoted as showing that Rāo Māldeva lost Ajmer, Nagaur, and Jaitāran to imperial commanders in 1558, but the passage appears to refer only to Ḥājī Khān's taking possession of that area: Ḥājī Khān's evacuation thereof, on the approach of the imperial forces, and Shāh Qulī Khān's capture of Jaitāran are described in ii, 66. On p. 77 Badāūnī is quoted as stating that "120 imperialists and 370 Rajputs fell down dead" (in the battle of Haldī Ghāṭ), but, as MM. G. H. Ojhā has already pointed out in his *Rājpūtāne kā Itihās* (p. 748, n. 3), Badāūnī writes "Hindū" (not Rājpūt), and so the number might be taken to include the Hindūs in Mān Singh's army that were slain. Again, *Akbarnāma*, iii, 375, is quoted as recording that 'Abdu'r-Rahīm was recalled towards the end of 1591 (1581 ?) for fraternizing with Pratāp, but this passage appears to refer only to Shāhbāz Khān's punishment.

Sāṅga's dream of a Rājpūt empire in India (if he ever did conceive such a design) was not shattered at the battle of Bayāna (p. 22), but at Khānua, which is closer to Fatḥpur Sikrī; and Kāmrūp was not within Akbar's empire in 1572 (p. 30). Apart from the numerous typographical errors that have escaped attention in the errata sheet, the spelling adopted is inconsistent in some cases and incorrect in others. For instance, we find Dongar Pur, Dongur Pur, and Dongarpur; Gujrat, Gujerat, and Gujarat; Aravils (for Aravallis); *parohit* (for *purohit*); *kanwar* for कुंवर, and so on. This should receive careful attention if a new edition be published.

788. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE LIVRO DA SEITA DOS INDIOS ORIENTAIS (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 1820) of Fr. JACOBO FENICIO, S.J. Edited with introduction and notes by JARL CHARPENTIER. 10 × 6½, pp. civ + 252. Upsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, 1933.

About eleven years ago Professor Chārpentier published

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in the *BSOS.* (ii, 754 f.) a preliminary report on the important anonymous manuscript (Sloane 1820) preserved in the British Museum, the author of which he was able, with the help of Fr. G. Schurhammer, to identify as Fr. Jacobo Fenicio, S.J., who died at Cochin in 1632 after nearly fifty years' work in South India. This MS. he has now carefully edited in the original Portuguese, omitting a very few passages of a purely polemical or else quite unimportant character, prefaced by an instructive introduction reviewing very fully the history of European acquaintance with Hindu religion and mythology from Greek and Roman times down to the days of the author, and followed by compendious notes on the bibliography of the subjects dealt with by Fenicio. The Portuguese text of Fenicio's account of his tour to the Nīlgiris has been inserted as an appendix. A very useful index has been added, which helps the reader to interpret names and words appearing in strange and often puzzling forms (e.g. *Guiuen* for Śiva, *Baynaia* for Maināka, etc.), some of which remain to be explained. Both the introduction and the notes bespeak the labour and research that have been devoted to his task by the editor. Professor Charpentier's investigations have led him to conclude that Fr. Manoel Barradas was the channel through which the information recorded by Fenicio reached Faria y Sousa, Baldaeus and Ildephonsus, all of whom seem to have used it without acknowledgment.

The work is divided into eight "books", each containing a series of chapters or sections. Book I treats of Hindu cosmogony and theogony. Books II to VI deal chiefly with Śiva, Viṣṇu and his *avatāras*, the stories of Rāma, Sītā, Rāvaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, and such like. Book VII treats of Brahmā; while in Book VIII various subjects are referred to, such as temples, idols, sacrifices, ceremonial ablution, use of cow-dung ashes, superstitions, festivals, ordeals, and other customs.

We hope that Professor Charpentier will be able some day to carry out his original intention of preparing an English

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translation of this valuable manuscript, the text of which is often difficult and at times obscure.

A. 17. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ÉTUDES COMPARATIVES SUR LES LANGUES CAUCASIENNES DU NORD-OUEST (MORPHOLOGIE). By GEORGES DUMÉZIL. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 262. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1932. 80 fr.

The three languages, whose comparative morphology has been studied in Constantinople with the aid of immigrants, are: Western Circassian (Abzakh, or Abadzekh) and Ubykh; for Kabardan (Eastern Circassian) the sources were fewer. M. Dumézil says that in Western Circassian his ear can distinguish only fifty consonants, while M. Jakovlev has set down double as many; he finds it beyond doubt that the north-western languages are related to those of the Central and North-Eastern Caucasus (Chechen and the idioms of Daghestan), and announces the early publication of an introduction to a comparative grammar of Northern Caucasian languages, as well as a collection of Laz texts, to which we look forward, believing they will, like his previous work, be useful contributions to the knowledge of these dying tongues.

981. O. WARDROP.

STUDIES AND TEXTS IN FOLK-LORE, MAGIC, MEDIEVAL ROMANCE, HEBREW APOCRYPHA, AND SAMARITAN ARCHÆOLOGY. By MOSES GASTER, Ph.D. Vols. I and II, pp. xv + 1,356. Vol. III, pp. 278. London: Maggs Brothers, 34–5 Conduit Street, 1925–8.

It is difficult to review adequately a work of such magnitude and versatility—of greater variety, moreover, than its detailed title would suggest—as Dr. Gaster here presents to the learned world. These *Studies and Texts* may justly be regarded as the harvest of a lifetime.

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The three volumes contain sixty-one essays and studies, together with seventeen texts ; some of which are published, for the first time, from rare MSS. in the author's possession (now in the British Museum) ; some appeared in Continental periodicals, issued in the years 1881–1923 ; others, again, made their début in the pages of this JOURNAL.

It was as a pathfinder, *par excellence*, that Dr. Gaster achieved his position in the fields of oriental and literary research. He was the first Jewish scholar to pay serious attention to the romantic lore of his own people. Zunz, Michael Sachs, Joseph Perles, and others, had certainly interested themselves in the study of Comparative Literature ; it fell to Dr. Gaster to conduct investigations on more modern lines. Embarking upon a voyage of discovery in the realm of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, then a somewhat obscure region, he began to publish new and fully-annotated editions of the several texts, special light being thrown on the books of Tobit, Judith, and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. Samaritan religion, too, became his especial interest. All three branches of research are represented in the volumes under review.

The present writer is ill-disposed to criticize afresh such of Dr. Gaster's opinions as have already received the attention of specialists. Surely their value lies not so much in the estimation accorded to them by three generations of scholars, as in the quantity of research this pioneer work inspired. Perhaps the last word has yet to be said, as the following example seems to indicate :—

When Dr. Gaster published in 1893–4 his *Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*—which had been edited for the first time by S. A. Wertheimer in his collection of Small Midrashim (1890 and 1894), no emphasis being placed on the value of the text—he met with opposition from those who rejected his defence of the Hebrew original. Dr. Charles wrote : "These theses of Dr. Gaster have not been accepted in the world of scholarship. Almost universally scholars who

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have worked on this field of literature deny the validity of his conclusions" (*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, London, 1908, p. 66).

And yet in the text of the *Late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali* mention is made of a ship, belonging "to the son of Berachel" (Gaster, *Studies and Texts*, vol. i, p. 82; Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. ii, p. 362, Appendix i, 4[8]). Dr. Eisler, it will be recalled, has recently drawn attention to an Egyptian document (approximate date, 900 B.C.), in which mention is made of a ship-building firm of the same name. Could a medieval Jewish writer have possibly known this? Surely Dr. Gaster was justified in seeing in that Hebrew text a remnant of the original Testament.

The texts of the *Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise* deserve special attention. Translated for the first time and published in the JOURNAL of the R.A.S., these eight texts provided ample material for discussion among scholars interested in the problems of eschatology. Students of Comparative Religion cannot afford to overlook this veritable mine of information. The work has been translated into French by M. Abraham, whose *Legendes Juives* appeared in Paris in 1925 (cf. *REJ.*, 70, 1925, p. 219). A recension of the *Visions*, known as *Midrash Ketapuah Beaze Ha-Yaar*, was included in S. A. Wertheimer's *Batte Midrashoth* (Jerusalem, 1893–7), iv, pp. 22 sqq.; and an Arabic version, *Qissat Musa*, has been noticed (*MGWJ.*, x, 1853, p. 361).

Of exceptional interest are the essays collected in Dr. Gaster's second volume. The text of the "Fairy Tales from inedited Hebrew MSS. of the Ninth and Twelfth Centuries"—(exhibited by a Bodleian MS., and now accessible in Israel Lévy's edition, "Un recueil de contes juives inédites" (*REJ.*, 33, pp. 47, 233; 35, p. 65)—has been, in the English rendering, subdivided thus: (1) "The Heathen and the Jew," (2) "The Princess with the Golden Hair," (3) "The Bridegroom and the Angel of Death," (4) "The Story of the Young

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Man and the Ravens." This latter section is represented in two versions.

Rich in folk-lore treasure, these tales yield many a problem for latter-day solution. Who will discourse upon the appearance of demons in human form, the gossip of ghosts, the number "three" in Folk-lore (with special reference to Jewish Folk-lore), the rôle of pious women in legend, the language spoken in the animal kingdom? It would be an appropriate tribute to Dr. Gaster's learning, were scholars to continue his fascinating investigations.

Much new material has come to hand since the earlier essays first appeared. Methods, too, have changed. The science of Comparative Religion has steadily progressed. More remarkable, therefore, is the freshness of these *Studies and Texts*. Savants of many lands will thank our VICE-PRESIDENT for a work as valuable as it is attractive.

842. A. MARMORSTEIN.

THE HERITAGE OF INDIA SERIES.

(1) THE MUSIC OF INDIA. By H. A. POPLEY. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. x + 173, pls. 12. Calcutta: Association Press, 1921.

(2) THE SACRED KURAL. By H. A. POPLEY. pp. xix + 120, pls. 9, 1931.

(3) HYMNS OF THE ALVARS. By J. S. M. HOOPER. pp. xi + 94, pls. 7, 1929.

(4) TELUGU LITERATURE. By P. CHENCHIAH and RAJA M. BHUJANGA RAO. pp. iv + 132, no date.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF INDIA.

(1) WITHOUT THE PALE. By M. S. STEVENSON. pp. xi + 89, pls. 5, 1930.

(2) KABIR AND HIS FOLLOWERS. By F. E. KEAY. pp. xi + 186, pls. 14, 1931.

These handy, inexpensive little volumes will be welcomed by those who are interested in India but cannot cope with the perennial stream of "indianist" literature.

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Dr. Stevenson has already made her mark in her first-hand studies of Brahmans and Jains. *Without the Pale* reproduces, with additions, a series of articles published in the *Missionary Herald* a few years back, on the life story of the Ḍheḍs of Gujarat; a sound piece of field work as far as it goes, but Dr. Stevenson's readers would like more; a fuller treatment of local variations in custom, of social and economic organization, would enhance its scientific value.

Mr. Popley's synopsis of Indian music is a masterpiece of lucid condensation; he shirks nothing, not even archæology and "visualized music"; he deals faithfully with *rāgas* in 31 pages, with musical instruments (an exhaustive survey with 12 plates) in 27, and appends a glossary, a bibliography, and some examples of Indian music in staff notation.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar's *Kuṛaḷ* is less amenable to systematic treatment; the historical setting is nebulous, the subject-matter difficult to render in terms of English thought. Mr. Popley handles his problem with skill. A concise introduction is followed by selected translations in verse, and adequate, but never diffuse, explanatory notes. The book is a worthy sequel to Dr. Pope's great work.

The quality of Mr. Hooper's book on the Alvars is not quite so high. Although their dates are disputed, ample evidence exists of their place in the evolution of Vaishnavism in South India, but this has not been freely used, and the historical background lacks clarity. There is no bibliography.

Kabīr's "reformation" is an outstanding example of the response of India to Islam, to which Dr. Keay does justice. A critical examination of the legends which encrust the story of Kabīr's life reveals a clear-cut picture of the man and his place in history. Dr. Keay then traces with care the evolution of the Kabīr Panth, its doctrines, ritual, and organization up to the present day, not forgetting the many sects that owe their inspiration to Kabīr's teaching. A sound, well-balanced book.

In "euphonic sweetness" Telugu holds first place among

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Dravidian languages. Yet Messrs. Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao are first in the field with a history of Telugu literature. One or two slips in history (the Golkonda Shahs, e.g., were not "Bahmanis") do not impair the value of this well-ordered epitome of facts and appreciations.

These volumes, and the quite extensive series of which they are samples, owe their being to one man. When the late Dr. J. N. Farquhar went to India, in 1891, no such books existed. He felt a need, and found men and means to meet it.

564. 571. 569. 570. 563. 568. F. J. RICHARDS.

LE TEMPLE D'EDFOU. Par EMILE CHASSINAT. Tome 7me. Mission Archéologique Française au Caire. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. x + 356. Cairo: L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1932.

With the publication of this volume the end of a long and exacting task comes appreciably nearer. The regularity with which these later volumes of the Edfu publication are now appearing is no small tribute to the industry and patience of Chassinat and the skill of the printers of the French Institute. It is a great boon, in these days of increasingly unwieldy and expensive publications, to find such important and interesting collections of texts published comparatively cheaply and in a form easy to handle. The reasonable size and cheapness of this volume go far, in the reviewer's mind, to atone for the ugliness and lack of detail of the hieroglyphic type, and the failure to preserve the original grouping and direction of many of the texts. One of the most serious objections which can be made to this series is the disappointing and unsatisfactory nature of the type. The writing of the Ptolemaic period offers much that is new, not merely in the values of the signs, but in their forms also, and the details of many signs in this volume are painfully obscure. A necessary part of the study of Ptolemaic grammar and texts—a study which one hopes will be stimulated by this very valuable

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publication—is the establishment of clear and accurate forms of the signs employed. M. Chassinat would add very considerably to the debt which all who are interested in the Ptolemaic period owe him if, at the conclusion of his present work, he could publish a complete list of the signs employed in his fount, drawn to a larger scale, and if possible in outline.

The present volume is entirely occupied with the texts on the outer face of the enclosure wall of the temple. Most of these texts are here published for the first time. In an appendix is given a lengthy list of divergences between the texts published in vol. vi, 213–223, and the earlier publication of Brugsch in his *Thesaurus*, 607–610.

831. H. W. FAIRMAN.

TELL HALAF. A new Culture in oldest Mesopotamia. By Dr. BARON MAX VON OPPENHEIM. Translated by GERALD WHEELER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xviii + 328; pls. 68; maps and ills. London: G. P. Putnam, 1933. 21*s*.

The appearance of Baron von Oppenheim's book giving for the first time an account, popular but reasonably full, of his discoveries at Tell Halaf is very welcome. The volume is well illustrated. It contains photographic reproductions of some seventy of the stone sculptures and eight plates of pottery as well as some of the gold, ivory, and other objects: the text gives an account of the site, of its excavations, and of its history and a description of the sculpture and small objects by von Oppenheim himself, while appendices by Herzfeld, Langenegger, Karl Müller, Hubert Schmidt, Meissner, and Jensen deal with the more technical aspects of the work and of the material.

Tell Halaf, a group of mounds on the banks of the Khabur river in northern Mesopotamia, proved to be a most remarkable and a most productive site. In the lower strata of the mound there were found no buildings but great quantities of pottery.

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At the bottom came a monochrome ware associated with stone weapons and implements which was unquestionably neolithic: above this came an elaborately painted ware with designs sometimes geometrical, sometimes naturalistic, in a paint which at its best is as lustrous as that of Mycenæan pottery. Hubert Schmidt contributes a short but valuable study of this material, which he distinguishes into four periods. Similar wares have been found at Carchemish, Sakjegeuzi, and, more recently, at Arpachia, near Nineveh, and there is no doubt that it is extremely early; at Tell Halaf Schmidt records the finding of a few copper implements associated apparently with the "first painted period", so that we may even from the outset be dealing with a chalcolithic rather than a truly neolithic culture; but in bringing the later phases of the ware down so late as 2000 B.C. von Oppenheim is surely minimizing its antiquity.

In the upper levels, below scanty remains of Hellenistic date, the excavators traced the town wall with its gates and a few adjacent buildings; one of the mounds inside the rampart yielded a large temple of the Assyrian period resting upon walls of an earlier date; but the greater part of the work was concerned with the Citadel which lay at the north side of the town close to the river; here there was a very large complex of palace and other buildings erected by Kapara, an Aramaic ruler whom Bruno Meissner would date to the twelfth century B.C.—other authorities would certainly consider this date some hundreds of years too early. The palace produced an astonishing array of stone sculptures, statues in the round, carved bases, and, above all, reliefs on basalt or limestone slabs which decorated the façade of the building; the study of these, from an artistic and a chronological point of view, occupies a large part of the volume. Further, at Jebelet el Beda, 70 kilometers south of Tell Halaf, Baron von Oppenheim discovered a burial-place surmounted by basalt statues of a remarkable sort.

The mounds of Tell Halaf yielded no remains whatever

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dating between the close of the Painted Pottery period and the time when Kapara (or more probably his father, for the palace shows traces of rebuilding) re-occupied the deserted site. Baron von Oppenheim and Professor Herzfeld are convinced that the sculptures, many of which are inscribed with the name of Kapara, are of a much older date and were simply re-used by him, and since there is no building earlier than the twelfth century to which they can be assigned it follows that Kapara must have found them in the Painted Pottery level and that they rightly belong to the third millennium B.C.: Professor Herzfeld on stylistic and technical grounds distinguishes the bulk of the sculptures into groups which he dates to *c.* 3000, *c.* 2800, and *c.* 2600–2550 B.C. respectively. It is a theory which few scholars will be inclined to accept.

There is too close a parallel between the sculptures of Tell Halaf on the one hand and of Carchemish, Senjirli, and Sakjegeuzi on the other for them to be very far removed from one another in point of time: recognizing this, Professor Herzfeld attributes the monuments of these sites also to various dates in the third millennium. Now the buildings in which the monuments occur belong definitely to the first millennium; therefore the Tell Halaf theory must apply equally to them and in each of the four cases a late builder must have delved in the prehistoric strata, discovered prehistoric sculptures, all intact, and incorporated them in his own work. This is carrying coincidence too far.

At Carchemish there are, indeed, instances of older sculptures being re-used, but such are generally re-used merely as building material and not for decoration; but of very many of the slabs, including some which Professor Herzfeld attributes to 2650 B.C., it can be proved that they were carved expressly for the positions which they occupy in the present building. Indeed, the professor's stylistic criteria, as well as his chronological theories, fail to work when applied to Carchemish, for the "musicians' slab", for instance, which he makes contemporary with the women

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in festal procession, is earlier than they, being re-used as building material in the palace for which they were designed, and the "Hadad" statue is strictly contemporary with the warrior slabs which he regards as later in date. Even the earlier Carchemish sculptures could not be made to harmonize with the Tell Halaf theory; for on this site undisturbed stratification proves that a very long period—a period of at least two thousand years—separates the Painted Pottery age from any to which the sculptures in stone can be attributed; and the same is true of Sakjegeuzi.

The fact that a number of the Tell Halaf slabs bear the name of Kapara, which to many people would seem conclusive, is dismissed on the assumption that the inscription was cut on the ancient stones discovered by him. Other difficulties are as lightly met; thus that the domestication of the horse and the use of Assyrian horse trappings and harness would by this theory be carried back into the third millennium is held not to weaken the argument but only to enhance the interest of the carvings: on the basis of a purely subjective criticism which in some instances can be proved misleading we are asked to jettison all that we have yet learned about the chronology of north Syrian art. It is generally agreed that the earlier Carchemish sculptures are of about the twelfth century B.C. and others two or three centures later; both the Senjirli and the Sakjegeuzi sculptures fall well within the first millennium and some of the latter are approximately dated by inscriptions. The Tell Halaf reliefs resemble those, for instance, of Carchemish in their use—alternate slabs of limestone and basalt forming a façade—often in their subjects and sometimes in their style; and in so far as the style differs the Tell Halaf orthostats seem to be not so much primitive as provincial. Similar basalt carvings are not uncommon in north Syria, but nearly always are found on small mounds where the other remains are of late date, and it is probable that they decorated the buildings of local magnates who could not command the services of the better artists employed in

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the royal cities ; to this category and to this late period the Tell Halaf sculptures appear to belong.

The case of the Jebelet el Beda statues is quite different. Here we have figures which are either very ancient or preserve remarkably well the ancient tradition ; their dependence upon Sumerian art is obvious, but to bring them into close relation with the Tell Halaf orthostats is wholly unjustified. They are of great importance, and so are the sculptures of Kapara's palace and the prehistoric pottery : Baron von Oppenheim is to be congratulated on his discoveries, and everything that throws light on their character and on the conditions in which they were found is a welcome addition to knowledge. It is the more to be regretted that the chronological theories put forward in the present volume should rob it of so much of its value as a contribution to history.

945. C. L. WOOLLEY.

EDWARD HINCKS : A selection from his Correspondence, with a Memoir by E. F. DAVIDSON. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 274, ill. 1. London : Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1933. 20*s*.

Oriental archæologists, old and young, will welcome this book cordially, for it tells us everything which is, practically, worth knowing about a man who was a distinguished Churchman and politician, and was at the same time a great pioneer in the field of Egyptian and Assyrian decipherment. His work has been foolishly overpraised and wilfully belittled by the friends of his fellow-pioneers, but now with the help of Mr. Davidson's excellent and documental memoir, we are able to see clearly the greatness of the man and appraise his work at its true value. Mr. Davidson has done his work well, and the large collection of the letters of English and foreign scholars which he publishes enables us to reconstruct every event of importance in Hincks' life.

Edward Hincks was born at Cork on 19th August, 1792,

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and he died on 3rd December, 1866, nearly seventy-four years old. He was an exhibitioner, scholar, and Fellow (1813) of Trinity College, Dublin; he was Rector of Ardtrea from 1819–1825, and Rector of Killeleagh, about 30 miles south of Belfast, from 1825–1866. His mind acted quickly, he was shrewd, sagacious, and penetrating, and he loved a "bit of a fight" with his pen; Dr. Birch always spoke of him as a "delightful Irishman". He was not a great scholar, and the only Oriental language he knew anything about was Hebrew. But he possessed an almost uncanny ability in deciphering ciphers, acrostics, riddles, picture rebuses, and the like, and it was this ability which enabled him to obtain some of his best results in deciphering Egyptian, Assyrian, and Demotic inscriptions. Nature intended him to be a great decipherer of Oriental languages, but circumstances made him a parish priest in Ireland for forty-seven years, with a limited stipend and a wife and four daughters to keep. He had no books, and no money to buy any. And but for the gifts of books by Birch, Oppert, Norris, Layard, Fox Talbot, Renouf, and others he would never have done any deciphering at all. He wrote scores of short papers and read them before learned societies, and sent copies of them to the chief German, French, and English scholars, who wrote in reply (1841) and often showed him that his discoveries were already known or were wholly wrong. A project was set on foot to bring him to England, and get him an appointment in the British Museum, and a living somewhere in London or its suburbs. The Trustees of the British Museum appointed him to copy and translate texts for publication for one year for £120. But Rawlinson found that he could not stand the drudgery of copying, and that his translations were incomplete and doubtful, and because of his attacks on other pioneers could not be published by the British Museum. The truth is that all the pioneers talked at once, and no one listened to his neighbour until that neighbour began to criticize his work; then there was trouble. Many attempts were

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made to translate Hincks to England but they all failed; the Universities had nothing to offer, there was no preferment for him in the Church, and he became a disappointed man. And it was his method of work, or rather his want of method, that made his ability and labour non-productive. He never finished anything, not even his Assyrian grammar. His best bit of work was his paper on the Egyptian Alphabet, published in 1846. He complained bitterly about Rawlinson, Brugsch, and others, and he never seems to have realized that their successes were due to training in the Indian and Semitic languages which were cognate to those at which they were working. Lord Aberdeen gave him a pension of £100 per annum, and the British Government made provision on his death for his daughters. It is terrible to think that Hincks died a dissatisfied and disappointed man. The pity of it! Trinity College, Dublin, and the Royal Irish Academy performed a gracious and graceful act in making the publication of the volume before us possible, but it is a pity that they did not publish specimens of Hincks' work on the Egyptian Alphabet, published in 1846.

925. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

HOW CHINESE FAMILIES LIVE IN PEIPING. By SIDNEY D. GAMBLE, Research Secretary, National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations. 8½ × 6, pp. xii + 348, ills. 38, diagrams 21. London: Funk and Wagnall, 1933. $3.00.

Mr. Gamble performed valuable service when, a few years ago, he published his illuminating volume on the Social Survey of Peking. The present book is equally valuable as a species of corollary, and is the result of a year's exacting inquiry into the actual living costs of 283 Chinese families living in Peiping (or Peking). Incidentally it also shows how deep trust and confidence can go between East and West, for these families

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submitted their entire income and expenditure to the most minute scrutiny as to rent, food, fuelling, water, light, simple sanitation, police dues, incense for the gods, diversions: and though Chinese "field workers" did the visiting, yet everyone must have known that the results were being reported to the foreign white man. Wedding expenses are included, with the gifts received and given on those occasions, funeral costs, even charities—and here it is interesting to note that Christians easily lead in philanthropies, with Mahommedans a lagging second. The families varied from a rickshaw coolie's at $8 silver a month to a teacher's at $550 a month.

The book is necessarily loaded with statistics, but these are rendered intensely interesting by their human associations. It is worth realizing where meat-eating begins as incomes rise. In many of the cases cited, there is a terribly close approach to the minimum human condition of food and housing. One cannot grudge the rare colour and extravagance of gala seasons when birth, marriage, and death cost the family two or three months of their total incomings. And, astonishing to say, they catch up with their expenditure apparently before total bankruptcy. One sympathizes with the rickshawman who, with a wife and two small children and earning $14 a month, lost $20 by gambling at the New Year. Yet within the year they had repaid the money he had had to borrow, saved $13, and even made a loan to another family. What miracles of saving his wife performed as well as himself!

The reader ends with a wholesome respect for the integrity, sobriety, and goodwill of Chinese workers and householders, and they compare very favourably with other nationalities. The book is a piece of patient, kindly research, and a real contribution to our economic knowledge of China.

A. 34. DOROTHEA HOSIE.

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THE ELEPHANT. By ETSUJIRO SUNAMOTO. Two volumes. 9 × 6½, numerous illustrations. Vol. I: pp. 16 + 65 + 1151, pls. 17. Vol. II: pp. 102 + 38 + 1017 + 41, pls. 111, charts 8, map 1. Osaka: Fukumatsu Sunamoto, at the Seson Fugenkai Shuppan-bu, Kawara-machi, Higashi-Ku, 1931. Price 30 yen.

This work, in two formidable volumes weighing close on 10 lb. avoirdupois, may fairly be described as elephantine in more senses than one. The author, the son of a merchant of long standing in the ivory trade in Osaka, tells us that he spent fifteen years in its preparation, and, considering the extraordinary variety of the information he has collected and its wealth of detail, this does not seem an unreasonable time. There is no aspect of his subject on which he does not touch. Of the twenty-three chapters into which the book is divided, the first eighteen are taken up mainly with descriptions of the structure, habits, and habitats of the various branches of the elephant family, the methods employed in the capture of the animal, and the various uses to which it has been or is still put for purposes of war or the chase, or as a beast of burden. The nineteenth chapter, which is carried on from the first volume to the second, is devoted to a lengthy discourse on elephant lore; and the rest of the book, with the exception of the final chapter, which contains a brief description of the mammoth and of other animals the tusks or carapaces of which have an economic value, deals with ivory and its uses in commerce and art. The book is profusely illustrated, and the second volume in particular contains a number of interesting and well-reproduced photographs and drawings of objects of art, European and Oriental, in ivory. There are also an excellent index and a comprehensive bibliography of over a thousand authorities. Undertaken apparently *in piam memoriam* of an animal which has suffered much at the hands of man—the same motive indeed which prompted the author's father to erect in the grounds of the Tennoji temple at Osaka a colossal bronze figure of Fugen

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(Samantabhadra) seated on an elephant—this work is a monument to the patient industry of its compiler; but it is unfortunately written in Japanese and therefore to the majority of foreign readers a closed book. To those among Mr. Sunamoto's countrymen, however, who are interested in this subject it should prove invaluable as a work of reference. It is certainly encyclopædic in its scope.

A. 70. H. PARLETT.

ISLAM AND MODERNISM IN EGYPT. A study of the modern reform movement inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh. By C. C. ADAMS. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 283. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Modernism began in Egypt with the visit of Jamál ul-Dín al-Afgháni, though Muḥammad 'Abduh was the real founder of the movement. As a boy he had to be driven to his books and was at first scared away by bad teachers and teaching. A Sufi relative waked his mind and he became a keen student plunging into mysticism. Recalled from his dreams by the same kinsman, he soon came under the spell of Jamál ul-Dín and turned to public life. As soon as his student days were finished he became a teacher in al-Azhar. He made all that he touched great. Appointed editor of the Government gazette, he made it a stern critic of the administration; indeed, it was the voice of conscience of a nation that was not yet born. He gave the nationalist movement its ideas and was banished after the 'Arabi revolt. The years of exile were not barren. He saw the world, taught in Beirut, wrote a newspaper in Paris for Jamál ul-Dín, and visited England on political business. On his return to Egypt he was made a judge in the court of first instance of the native tribunals and two years later consultative member of the court of appeal. He did not forget the reform of al-Azhar. He made great plans, changes in the method of teaching, in the pay of the staff, the housing and care of the students, and the libraries. He did not do

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all that he hoped, but he did something. His next promotion was *mufti* of all Egypt. Here he turned what was almost a sinecure into a national institution. As *mufti* he was head of the courts dealing with personal status; he inspected these courts and was at work on plans for a school for the judges when he died. He was made a member of the legislative council and soon became the leading member whose opinion on every question was heard with respect. He founded a benevolent society, worked hard for the advancement of the Arabic language, and wrote against European critics in defence of Islam. Muḥammad 'Abduh said of himself that he was first of all a teacher. It was a revolution when he used Guizot as the basis of his lectures on political science. He was a great gentleman, a patriotic Egyptian, and a convinced Muslim.

After the crowded story of his life, the content of his teaching is rather an anticlimax. He tried to solve for Islam problems with which Christians had been busy for the previous century, and his solutions have nothing new for them. Constant use of the imagination is needed to see that he was a bold though reverent innovator. What a lot of trouble it would save if a conservative Muslim would study the history of Christian thought and apply the lessons to his own faith!

Muḥammad 'Abduh was bigger than his followers. During his lifetime he published a commentary on the last section of the Kur'án. Though very devotional, this never exceeds due limits. After his death it was continued by Muḥammad Rashíd Riḍa, who regards himself as the executor of his master. In its new form it has become a library dealing with the whole of Islam and the sacred text is lost in a mass of exhortation and disquisitions on all subjects remotely connected with Islam. Muḥammad Rashíd Riḍa has also become conservative.

Dr. Adams brings his subject down to the present with biographies of those who may be called disciples of Muḥammad 'Abduh and with notes on those who have no direct connection

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with him. We have to thank Dr. Adams for an admirable piece of work. The translations from Muḥammad 'Abduh's crabbed Arabic are rather free, but perhaps that was inevitable. There is an index and a bibliography of Muḥammad 'Abduh's writings. One of the references on p. 119 seems to be wrong, and that is all there is to criticize.

841. A. S. TRITTON.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR. Ed. by G. S. SARDESAI. 9½ × 6. Bombay Government Central Press.

No. 24. THE PESHWA'S COMMITMENTS ON THE WEST COAST. 1740–1772. pp. vi + 273, map 1. 1932. Rs. 4 as. 2, or 7*s*.

No. 25. BALAJI RAJIRAO PESHWA AND THE NIZAM. 1740–1761. pp. iv + 305, pls. 2, map 1. 1932. Rs. 4 as. 12, or 8*s*.

No. 26. TARABAI AND SAMBHAJI. 1738–1761. pp. iv + 207 + ix, pls. 2, map 1. 1932. Rs. 3 as. 10, or 6*s*. 3*d*.

No. 27. BALAJIRAO PESHWA AND EVENTS IN THE NORTH. 1742–1761. pp. vi + 286 + xiii. 1933. Rs. 5 as. 8, or 9*s*.

No. 28. PESHWA BALAJIRAO, KARNATAK AFFAIRS. 1740–1761. pp. vi + 336 + x, pl. 1, map 1. 1933. Rs. 6 as. 2, or 10*s*.

These further volumes cover a very interesting period in the history of the Marathas culminating in their zenith in 1759. At that date Raghunath Rao had defeated the Abdali Ahmed Shah at Lahore, Raghuji Bhonsle had terrorized Bengal; the Nizam had been humbled and alienated from his French supporters. The Karnatak had been conquered, and on the coast the Sidi had been greatly reduced, and the Peshwa's rebellious subject, the Angria, humbled by the capture of Gheriah, while Guzerat had fallen under Maratha subjection. The difficulties which the Peshwa had to face were, however, becoming overwhelming. He had to fight, or to be prepared to fight, on at least five fronts, with the Afghan invader on the North, with the Nizam on his flank, on the South, on the West Coast, and, last but not least difficult, on the home front. Permanent success in the North

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was impossible owing to the dependence of the Marathas on forcible levies for their support, and the consequent enmity even of their Hindu allies, the Rajputs and Jats. In the South the French and English had begun to take a share in the game, and Hyder Ali was rising to power in Mysore. In the Home Country the Peshwa had to deal not only with insubordinate Sardars, but with two very stubborn ladies, the Rani Jijibai of Kolhapur and the Rani Tarabai of Satara, who gave much more trouble than the puppet kings, their husbands. To the English student the most interesting of these five numbers, though it is not the most important, will be the account of the Peshwa's Commitments on the West Coast. It is interesting as showing the weakness of the Marathas on the sea. They had to deal not only with the established English and Portuguese settlements, but with the still pugnacious Sidis, while their only instruments were their refractory subjects, the Sawants of Wadi and the Angrias. These latter were constantly in rebellion, and the Marathas had finally, though very unwillingly, to agree to the English crushing them. It is interesting to note that the Portuguese were more active than is generally believed after the fall of Bassein and that they were willing, at least in the opinion of the Marathas, to combine with the French in attacking Bombay in 1748. The accounts of the English captures of Vijayadurg in 1756 and of Surat in 1759 are full and do justice to the fighting powers of the English. They also fully bear out the suspicions which Clive and Watson at Gheriah, and the Bombay officers at Surat, felt regarding the intentions of the Marathas, who were in each case secretly treating with the defenders. The Marathas were clearly very anxious about the English keeping their promise to hand over Vijayadurg, and it is satisfactory to find a Maratha leader writing to the Peshwa, "The English are observers of truth." The most interesting letter in No. 25 is the account of the unsuccessful effort of the Marathas to crush Bussy's French troops at the battle of Char Minar near Hyderabad in 1756.

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The use of the French artillery greatly impressed the Marathas and this was largely responsible for the fatal tactics adopted by them at Panipat. The shadow of that great disaster hangs over Volume No. 27, indicating its wide-spreading effects in spite of the great effort made by the Marathas to restore matters, which resulted in the rise of the great feudatories, Sindhia, Holkar, and the Nagpur Bhonsle. In the extreme south the Marathas, with a kingdom already established in Tanjore, might well have crushed Hyder Ally and been ultimately successful, but for the presence of the English. The volumes bear witness to the patient diplomacy of the Peshwa ; but they make it obvious that the Marathas, the genius of whose leaders, with the possible exception of the Bhonsles, was generally destructive rather than constructive, could not bear the continued burden of warfare from the Panjab to Tanjore, though they were constantly successful on the battle field. A welcome new feature in this excellent series is the provision of an index in Nos. 26 to 28.

721, 795, 813, 908, 954. P. R. CADELL.

خبايا الزوايا من تاريخ صيدنايا. HISTOIRE DE SAIDANAYA. By ḤABĪB ZAYYĀT. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 12 + iv + 296, ills. 22. Harissa (Liban) : Imprimerie de Saint Paul. London : Luzac and Co., 1932. 10*s*.

This work is the third volume of a series called (in French) *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Patriarcat Melkite d'Antioche*, and deals with the seat of a bishopric not far from Damascus, known to European writers by a variety of transliterations, of which Saydaneia appears to be the most accurate, Cetenaiha the furthest removed from the original. The place was famous in medieval and to some extent modern times for a convent which housed a miracle-working image of the Virgin Mary, which attracted vast numbers of pilgrims, some of them Muslims. M. Zayyāt has collected the legends connected with this object of adoration, which at some time

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appears to have been stolen from the convent, only the box in which it had been kept being preserved, whence, however, a fragrant fluid issued which could effect marvellous cures. His researches have clearly been most painstaking, involving the study of books of travel both printed and MS., and many other sources of information. Thus his list of bishops is to a considerable extent extracted from the colophons of MSS. in which they are casually mentioned. Besides its religious attractions the place was also celebrated for the excellence of its wine, too well appreciated by many pilgrims, who shocked some visitors by their debauchery. The volume is well illustrated with photographs and facsimiles, and is elaborately indexed.

941. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

A FACSIMILE OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF AL-KITĀB AL-BĀRI' FI'L-LUGHAH: by Ismā'īl ibn al-Ḳāsim al-Ḳāli. (Or. 9811.) Edited with an introduction by A. S. FULTON. 12 × 9, pp. 16 + 147. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1933.

This title seems wanting in accuracy, since a reproduction by photography is not quite the same as a product of the printer's art, and "editing" implies something more than supervising such reproduction. Still, Mr. Fulton has prefixed a valuable introduction, containing a biography of the author, who is well known by his *Amālī* (first printed Cairo, 1324 A.H.), and a description of the curious work of which this is a fragment. It was meant to be a thesaurus of the Arabic language, of which the arrangement is well illustrated by Mr. Fulton. In an English dictionary arranged on this model (which, of course, neither the structure of the language nor sanity would permit), suppose the reader (?) wished to find, let us say, the word *brag*. He would first have to recall a special order of the alphabet in which the guttural consonant *g* precedes the lingual *r* which precedes the labial *b*. He

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would then look up section G and pass to the tri-consonantal subsection thereof, where in due time he would find the paragraph entitled $g + r + b$. There he would see disquisitions on the words *grab*, *grub*, *garb*, *brag*, *brig*, *berg*, etc., among which he would at last discover the word he was looking for.

The glosses, where I have compared them, contain nothing that is not found (usually, with more detail) in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, but there are some differences in the proof-verses cited, and in the authorities named as assigning meanings to the words.

The writing, except where the pages have suffered some damage, is fairly legible, and diacritic points are copious. Mr. Fulton's index remedies the difficulty of finding a word.

926. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LES PEINTURES RUPESTRES SCHÉMATIQUES DE LA PENINSULE IBÉRIQUE. Vols. I and II. By HENRI BREUIL. Fondation Singer-Polignac. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$. Vol. I: pp. iv + 76, pls. 24, figs. 40. Vol. II: pp. iv + 192, pls. 42, figs. 50. Lagny: Imprimerie de Lagny, 1933.

Any work by M. Breuil is worthy of the utmost attention. In these two volumes he has collected all the known neolithic paintings in the Iberian peninsula and thus demonstrates, more clearly than has ever been done before, the characteristics of neolithic art, if art it can be called. He has drawn no conclusions, at least in these volumes, but presents the paintings in their proper colours, with beautiful photographs of the sites where they occur, while the letterpress consists of careful descriptions of those sites and of the paintings themselves. By the superposition of one sign over another a sequence is clearly indicated; thus the paintings in pale red are the earliest, while those in black or in white are towards the end of the series. The art bears no resemblance to the brilliant work of the palæolithic period, for the figures are

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so schematized as to approximate rather to writing than to pictures; in fact, they might be compared with the hieratic writing of the ancient Egyptians which was the schematized form of their picture-writing or hieroglyphs. The crudeness of the neolithic work is partly due to the rough surfaces of rock on which the signs are drawn, but there is also a very definite system of contraction and simplification of elaborate signs. Thus when the figure of a man with arms akimbo is sometimes well and recognizably drawn, but can also be reduced to a sign somewhat resembling the Greek letter *phi*, the change appears to be a deliberate simplification rather than natural degeneration. These two volumes are of the greatest importance to all students of the development of human culture, they are invaluable for the study of the style of the art of the period, and they also give evidence that a certain type of decadence in art may be the beginning of writing.

957. M. A. MURRAY.

INDUCTIVE TURKISH LESSONS. By FRED FIELD GOODSELL. Revised by EDWARD TYLER PERRY. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 278. Istanbul: The American Board, 1931. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Among the most conspicuous reforms instituted by Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha in post-war Turkey rank the abolition in 1928 of the old Arabic script and the adoption of a phonetic alphabet of twenty-eight Latin letters, and, concurrently, the gradual purification of Turkish from Arabic and Persian elements. Doubtless the study of Turkish has become much easier in consequence of these reforms which have also necessitated the revision of the Turkish grammars and textbooks written for the use of beginners.

Such an introductory book is the *Inductive Turkish Lessons* of Mr. Fred Field Goodsell, which was revised and rewritten in the new Latin script by Mr. Edward Tyler Perry, Director of the American Board Language School in Istanbul. The book

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was originally composed for American college and university graduates: in using it the assistance of a Turkish teacher is necessary. It can, however, be used with much profit by those who desire to acquire the colloquial Turkish without a tutor, provided that they have a concise grammar of the Turkish language at hand.

The book contains sixty lessons which evidently serve as practical exercises to the *Lycée Grammar* of Midhat Saadullah. They consist of a number of English sentences with a Turkish translation on the confronting pages, and grammar notes briefly elucidating those points of grammar the knowledge of which is necessary for the comprehension of the sentences. The sentences are so selected as to give a gradual initiation into the more complicated constructions of Turkish and the vocabulary used in everyday talk. A number of useful appendixes are added to the lessons, including rules for the new Turkish spelling, for vowels in suffixes, and a number of tables of declension and conjugation. An English–Turkish and a Turkish–English vocabulary, and a glossary of grammatical terms are also appended to the lessons.

Mr. Goodsell's book, emphasizing conversation, is an excellent practical handbook for those who desire to get acquainted with the rudiments of modern Turkish. Unfortunately, it contains some embarrassing incongruencies between the English and Turkish texts, which could be considered in a possible second revision of the work. Here we give a list of the mistakes of this kind :—

p. 27 : the Turkish answer is wanting in sentence 28.

p. 28 : the correct Turkish of sentence 51 reads : "arkadaşları ve parası yoktur."

p. 29 : sentence 68 is correctly "Bu fincan ve bu çaki güzeldir."

p. 29 : sentence 82 ends correctly with "görüyormusunuz ?"

p. 33 : in l. 3, "Lesson twenty-one" should stand and not "Lesson twenty-two".

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p. 37 : the correct Turkish of sentence 12 is " Arkadaşınız için . . . ".

p. 38 : in sentence 38 " oradadır " should stand and not " odadadır ".

p. 40 : to sentence 61 the words " next week " are to be added.

p. 53 : in the English sentence VII (and not VI), 4, the words " without curtains " are wanting.

p. 67 : in sentence B, 3 " On beşinci " should stand and not " On yedinci ".

p. 72 : in sentence II, 1 " hemşirenizdir " should stand and not " hemşiremizdir ".

p. 83 : the English sentence II, 5 is wanting.

p. 96 : the correct Turkish of sentence A, 4, is " gidip gitmiyeceyimizi " and not " gitmiyeceyinizi " ; " bilmiyoruz " and not " bilmiyorsunuz ".

693. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

L'ABHIDHARMAKOŚA DE VASUBANDHU. In six vols. By LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Société Belge d'Études Orientales. 10 × 6½. Vol. i, pp. ii + 331 ; vol. ii, pp. ii + 217 ; vol. iii, pp. 255 ; vol. iv, pp. xi + 303 ; vol. v, pp. i + 302 ; vol. vi, pp. lxvii + 156. Paris : Geuthner, 1923–1931.

The appearance of the sixth volume concludes Professor de la Vallée Poussin's monumental translation of Vasubandhu's treatise. The work must incontestably be held to be the most important publication on Buddhism of our generation, unless we see a competitor in the translation by the same hand of the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* ; the latter lacks only a similar introduction and indexes for completion, but is hardly perhaps of the same weight as an original authority. An adequate appreciation of the achievement could only proceed from the pen of a recognized master of the subject, but, as a brief mention of the first volume is so far

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the sole notice it has received in the review columns of this *Journal* (1924, p. 300), it falls to a less skilful hand to attempt some sort of an estimate of what it means to students of Buddhism and also to students of Sanskrit literature in general. Before proceeding to this, I may observe that the final volume contains the Introduction and much needed indexes. If the former is not all that was promised (much of the material, more suitably perhaps, has been or is being published elsewhere), its description of the seven Abhidharma treatises of the Sarvāstivādins with comparisons with the corresponding Pali works, and of certain *Vibhāṣā* masters and schools, alone would ensure it close attention. Of the indexes I need only say that much use of them has shown that their completeness and general correctness [1] make them indispensable aids to the exploitation of the preceding volumes and that the index of proper names contains many new references to other literature.

The work of translating the *Kośa* is attended by formidable difficulties, which are not merely due to its length or to the linguistic attainments required. For Vasubandhu is a master of Buddhist dogma, whose subtleties and abstruse points have a special attraction for him, and he is so thorough in his methods that few matters touched on by Hīnayāna dialectics are left undiscussed by him. The translator must have an equal enjoyment and understanding of scholastic points and add to it an encyclopædic knowledge of extant Buddhist literature, so as to bring out the exact doctrinal value of the views expressed. Further, as the Sanskrit original is not available to help us where the translation does not make the precise bearing of the arguments clear, a peculiarly nice choice of wording is demanded. To state these difficulties is to state just those directions in which this version seems to me specially distinguished. The translations of the technical terms have been selected with such skill and the Sanskrit equivalents

[1] Something seems to have gone wrong with the entries under *saṁtati* and *saṁtāna*, a number of which I cannot trace.

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are so frequently given in parentheses that it is the only translation known to me of a work of this class in which the necessity of turning up the original for full comprehension is not experienced at every moment. Not that the work, even as now translated, is easy to grasp as a whole ; far from it, unfortunately. In fact, for those passages for which it is available, Yaśomitra's commentary is a great aid to understanding, and, though the plums have been pulled out from the rest, it is much to be hoped that the edition of it appearing in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* will soon be completed. Still it remains that the only substantial difficulty in using the work is of a purely practical nature due to the habit of quoting it by chapter and page number ; not only is this liable to be confused with quotation by chapter and *kārikā* number, but, as the nine chapters are spread unequally over five volumes and the publisher has failed to provide any lettering on the backs, the selection of the right volume from the shelf is a matter of luck, often leading to exasperation.

These remarks will give some indication of the inestimable value of the translation to students of every form of Buddhism, but after all its greatest use will perhaps be found to lie not so much in Vasubandhu himself as in the annotations, which provide full references on every conceivable issue and give the reader an admirable starting point for considering the historical development of the various ingredients that make up Buddhist scholasticism. No one in future will be justified in attempting the translation of any work of either Vehicle, or, indeed, in discussing any Buddhist doctrine, without constant consultation of it in all crucial questions. But if light is usually to be found in it, it will not be so always ; for Vasubandhu only professes to set out the system of the *Vibhāṣā* with a detailed statement of the Sautrāntika position where it parts company from the older school. Thus there are a few omissions and in some cases we may have something to learn still from the *Vibhāṣā* and the treatises on which it is based.

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But others besides students of Buddhism must reckon with the materials herein contained. Lexicographically it shows few words of more general interest, and I mention those I have noticed as their omission from the index may lead to their being overlooked by those most concerned. Ch. ii, p. 146, the Prakrit word *siṁka* (or *siṁkā* ?), as a synonym of *tūlī*, is connected not with Marathi *siṅka* (Sk. *śikya*), but with Hindi *sīṁk*, the spiky culm of the grass *Andropogon muricatus*, of which brooms are made (cf. the use here with the examples in Fallon). Ch. vi, p. 192, *luṅga*, an "ear of corn" = Behari *ṭuṅganā* (Grierson, *Behar Peasant Life*, § 958) in the same sense ? Ch. vii, p. 35, *pāṣi* "cowdung manure" = Hindi *pāṁs* in the same sense. Ch. ii, p. 224, Kālakarṇī is the goddess of bad luck, who invariably accompanies Śrī (Candrakīrti on *Catuḥśataka* 19, *Mahānārāyaṇa Up.*, 4, 9, *Jātaka*, v, 112–13, where equated with Alakṣmī). *Ghāṭā* I have dealt with elsewhere, and I can make nothing out of *pampā*, a kind of animal, at ch. iv, p. 92.

Naturally, however, it is to the philosophical side that most people will turn, and in a sense disappointment awaits us there. For Vasubandhu is not a master in philosophy as in scholastic dogma. Though he underlines the deficiencies of the older categories, which his purpose would not allow him to omit, his handling of the theories he considers fundamental is far from thorough. The central point of his scheme lies in an analysis of the individual, as is now well known, into a number of ultimate elements called *dharmas*. The question naturally arises, if a *dharma* is the final point to which even omniscience reaches, what kind of reality does it possess ? The *Kośa*, so far as I can see, gives no hint of an answer. A *dharma* is sometimes equated with *dravya*, and, properly speaking, a *dravya* is something that exists *svalakṣaṇataḥ*, which again is explained as *paramārthena*. But it is denied that this implies the reality of a *dravya* in the Vaiśeṣika sense, and in any case this latter word is used in at least three different meanings in the *Kośa* without much distinction being drawn

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between them. It seems, then, that when the Sarvāstivādins say that all *dharmas* are real, we can assign no precise content to their statement, and the real answer presumably is that the scheme originated before Indian philosophical speculation was focussed on the question of absolute reality, and that, when that happened, their views had so solidified that they were incapable of modification to meet the new situation. Underlying the exposition we can perhaps, without too great a stretch of imagination, discern a latent feeling in Vasubandhu that the views he sets out are not entirely satisfactory, and this may account for the curious fact that, except for one contemptuous reference, he avoids all mention of the Mādhyamikas. If he had let himself come to grips with Nāgārjuna's trenchant criticism of the Hīnayāna doctrines, he could hardly have avoided stating the fundamental postulates of his position.

This reluctance to face ultimate issues is apparent in the discussion of *pudgala* versus *saṁtāna* directed against the Vātsīputriyas in the final chapter. Vasubandhu argues from the Sautrāntika standpoint but continues to treat the *saṁtāna* as if that school had introduced no substantial changes into the original conception. According to the Sarvāstivāda the "series" was a mere succession of moments, in which *dharmas* are born and disappear, and they were careful to empty it of all traces of personality by denying any possession of attributes to it, so that they could justly compare it to a file of ants or a running stream. This involved imagining the existence of *dharmas* such as *avijñapti*, *prāpti*, and the *saṁskṛtalakṣaṇas*. The difficulties inherent in the postulation of such forces were obvious and the Sautrāntikas swept them aside by denying that they were *dharmas* at all, holding instead that the series was capable of *pariṇāma* and *viśeṣa*, but thereby conceding that it was something which could accept attributes. Logically this was an advantage, but for the Buddhist it involved the heresy of introducing some degree of personality into the conception. The danger becomes

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apparent by Vasubandhu's occasional use of *saṁtāna* in compounds, where ordinary Sanskrit would use *ātmaka*. To pretend, as he does, by continuing the use of the old similes, that there was no real change, is nothing but evasion. Possibly it is to be inferred that this final chapter was written to refute the charge that the series so conceived was not different in essence from the *pudgala* of the Vātsīputriyas, but, in any case, his handling of the dispute suggests that the Sautrāntika position could not be more than a half-way house to anyone who would pursue the implications of the idea to the end.

Vasubandhu's real importance to students of Indian philosophy lies, in fact, not in his own contribution to it, but in the light he throws on the historical development of ideas. He sets out before us, as is done nowhere else, the entire range of the Lesser Vehicle's scholastics from beginning to end, and, though he does his best to make it appear a coherent whole and to conceal the traces of development and changes of ideas, it is the business of the historian of philosophy to go beneath the surface and with the help of other documents to work out the process of evolution. Through the confused mass of material alone left to us it seems possible to discern that in the centuries when Indian philosophy was in the making, before each system took final form in works of universally recognized authority, particular ideas ruled generally in particular epochs, and each school of thought adapted these ideas to its own purposes in its own way. The *Kośa* should be of inestimable value to us in reconstructing the course of events. The kind of question I have in mind as asking for searching study of its evidence may be illustrated by two instances; does the survival in Vasubandhu of the category *dṛṣṭa*, *śruta*, *mata*, and *vijñāta*, which was a living conception only in the time of the oldest Upaniṣads, prove that the earliest Buddhism preceded the formulation of the Sāṁkhya system? Or, again, were the Buddhists or the Vaiśeṣikas the original inventors of the atomic theory?

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In other words, is that theory more essential to the *kṣaṇikavāda* than to Kaṇāda's analysis of the universe ? Such questions are easier to put than to answer and a review is no place for their discussion. Enough if I have succeeded in indicating a few of the roads which Professor de la Vallée Poussin's translation has opened out to Buddhist and Sanskrit scholars alike, and their gratitude to him can be best expressed by making full use of the opportunities so provided.

526. E. H. JOHNSTON.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN, kept during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–11. Edited with Notes and Introduction by C. E. A. W. OLDHAM. 10 × 6½, pp. xxxi + 259 + x, maps 2. Patna : Bihar and Orissa Government Press, 1930. Rs. 2.8.

Thanks to the efforts of the late Mr. V. W. H. Jackson and of Mr. Oldham, the value of Buchanan's survey of Bihar one hundred and twenty years ago is becoming better recognized, and the day may come when his reports will be published in their entirety. This volume contains the diary of a six months' tour in the then district of Bhagalpur, comprising the greater part of the present districts of Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas and Monghyr. The present reviewer at one time held charge of part of this area and thought that he knew it fairly well ; Buchanan has convinced him of his error. In addition to his scientific attainments, his capacity as a touring officer was remarkable and he covered this enormous area with a thoroughness that is almost incredible in view of the little known of it at that time. For the most part the journal excludes details on matters of wider interest, which were dealt with in the still unpublished reports, but attention may be drawn to his account of the Mughal palace at Rajmahal and the editor's appendix on it, and to the description of the hot springs in the Kharagpur hills. In a work that is so largely of topographical interest it is dis-

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appointing that no light should be thrown on Hiuan Tsang's journey in this part. The Chinese pilgrim crossed the Kiul river at Nongarh (Watters' Lavaṇanīla), where a reminiscence of the lake, which he described but which is no longer in existence, is preserved in Gunsagar, the name of the village on the rising ground above the stūpa. He then seems to have gone up a valley of the Kharagpur hills which runs east and west and which still contains old remains, and to have come out on to the plain, probably near Basauni. But I gather that Buchanan did not go up this valley or know of the old sites; it would have been a useful piece of evidence if such a route had still been in use in his day.

The editing of the volume, it need hardly be said, is admirable and the solution of topographical difficulties impeccable. The only point to which such local knowledge as I possess could lead me to take exception is the statement in note 783 about the lake shown by Rennell on the low land between the Ganges and the Kharagpur hills. A large area goes under water here in the rains every year, not sometimes as stated, but, as in Buchanan's time, winter crops are grown on it. This triviality is mentioned to show how reliable this edition is in matter of detail.

620. E. H. JOHNSTON.

A BUDDHIST BIBLE; The Favourite Scriptures of the Zen Sect. Edited, interpreted, and published by DWIGHT GODDARD. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 316. Thetford, Vermont, 1932.

The Buddhist sect of the Far East, which is best known to us by its Japanese name of Zen, based and bases its doctrinal teachings, as is well known, on the most interesting, but also the most difficult, of all Mahāyāna sūtras, the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The late Dr. Nanjio's excellent edition of it and two remarkable recent works by Professor Suzuki have done much to make its ideas comprehensible; but the Sanskrit text is still corrupt in many places and, though a

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more thorough exploitation of the Tibetan version would apparently lead to the correct restoration of a number of them, others are likely to remain unsolved. In these circumstances it was a bold undertaking for Mr. Goddard to attempt the popularization of its ideas. About half this book consists of passages from the sūtra, rearranged to make the arguments intelligible. The remainder is made up of the *Vajracchedikā* and the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*, handled on similar lines, and of a version of a sūtra spoken by the sixth Chinese patriarch of the sect, which is based on an authoritative translation by a Chinese scholar. The last I am not in a position to discuss. For the Sanskrit texts the author is fairly successful in making the general drift of the teaching clear, though readers without knowledge of Sanskrit and of Buddhist dogma may well sigh for an adequate glossary. But the specifically Indian flavour of the originals evaporates in his versions, and in the *Laṅkāvatāra* in particular, which is full of terms used in a precise dogmatic sense, more exact translation would dispel much of the vagueness which is the impression left on the mind by many passages. One or two instances from the early pages will make my point clear; p. 46, "ethereal flower" conveys in English almost the opposite of what is meant by *khapuṣpa*, and similarly "this thing and that thing" is inadequate as a rendering of *dharmādharmam*. p. 48, *anābhoga*, "unattended by any striving"; the word is used only of mental, not of physical, action, which should be brought out in translating. p. 49, "finding delight in a world of multitudinous forms" may not be wrong as a paraphrase of *vicitrarūpaviṣayābhilāṣin*, but it misses the technical meaning of *rūpa* and *viṣaya* and impairs the sequence of the argument by its imperfect equivalent for *abhilāṣin*. In most cases Mr. Goddard is not the original inventor of the translation adopted, but a version, intended to be read by scholars with the Sanskrit text, will pass, where the same version, meant for popular use by itself, is ineffective. In general

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he may be deemed to have achieved as much success as could reasonably be expected.

695. E. H. JOHNSTON.

DAṆḌAVIVEKA OF VARDHAMĀNA. Critically edited with an Introduction and Index by MM. KAMALA KṚṢṆA SMṚTITĪRTHA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. lii. 9½ × 6, pp. xxxiv + 380. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 8.8.

This is a work on criminal law written by a scholar of Mithilā in the sixteenth century, when the decline of that school had begun, and consists entirely of extracts from earlier treatises, from Baudhāyana and Āpastamba onwards; among standard works Manu and Yajñavalkya are most frequently cited, and among commentaries the *Vivādaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura. Vardhamāna makes no attempt to set out any original views on the theory or practice of criminal jurisprudence and contents himself with explaining difficult words in the passages quoted and with noting alternative readings. The book may be of use in this respect to students of earlier works, but in itself has little importance otherwise. The editing is good and the indexes include full lists of all quotations, though no help is given towards tracing their places of occurrence in the original sources.

730. E. H. JOHNSTON.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL, Vol. VIII–IX. Board of Editors: D. PHILIPSON, J. Z. LAUTERBACH, J. MORGENSTERN, S. H. BLANK. 9 × 6, pp. viii + 746, pls. 1. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1931–2.

This double volume of the *Annual* caters for students in almost every branch of Hebrew learning, and is dedicated to Dr. D. Philipson, chairman of the Board of Editors, on the

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occasion of his seventieth birthday. Congratulations to the venerable scholar whose reputation as an author, teacher, and man of public affairs is widespread!

No less than fourteen articles are contained in this issue, five in German, one in Hebrew, the remainder in English; and of these the first and last between them fill 290 out of 740 pages, excluding addenda of six closely printed pages to the first.

Dr. Morgenstern continues (see *JRAS.*, July, 1932, pp. 643 ff.) his laborious studies on the Book of the Covenant, dealing with the two groups of laws in Exodus xxi, 12–17, xxii, 17–19, which he designates as חקים. The major part of his study concerns the origin of the חק, which a detailed analysis shows to be a distinctively priestly law form of post-exilic date fictitiously ascribed to Moses. The second group of these laws are designated by the essayist as pseudo-*ḥuqqīm*, since they differ somewhat in structure from the true *ḥōq* and are tacked on to the very end of the entire body of *mišpāṭīm*, to which they form a kind of appendix. That they have their counterpart in Leviticus xx is of significance, for we are able by a comparison to see that they are concise statements of the laws there which are probably their antecedants, and have no direct origin in oracular revelation like the true *ḥuqqīm*. A full summary of this and the previous articles is contained on pp. 140–150, and a treatment of the two remaining sections of the Book of the Covenant is promised for a later volume of the *Annual*. No such lengthy and learned commentary on this portion of Holy Writ exists, and for long it will continue to be a mine of suggestion to scholars.

The article on the Palestinian Chronological Data, 750–700 B.C., by Mr. W. J. Chapman, of New Boston, is a continuation of the study published in the second volume of the *Annual* (1925). The subject bristles with difficulties, and further research may modify the conclusions arrived at. Meanwhile, students will be grateful for the chronological table with the Assyrian data and Biblical references given on pp. 156 ff.

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Students of textual criticism will welcome Mr. Kaminka's careful study of the LXX and Targum to the Book of Proverbs, and Mr. Sheldon Blank's description of a Hebrew Bible MS. in the library of the Hebrew Union College to which attention had already been drawn at the Leyden Congress of Orientalists in 1931. The MS. resembles the British Museum MS. Add. 21161, but contains interesting features of its own, which are described in the article. Its chief surprise is that it introduces us to a new Massoretic authority, Abruṭi, whose name occurs thirty-four times. On Proverbs xxv, 16, we read (to וְהַקֵּאתוֹ) כן או׳ החיוג ור׳ משה אלרוטי where אלרוטי may denote R. Moses of Ruṭ, and החיוג is doubtless Jehudah b. David Ḥayyuj († *c.* A.D. 1000); the combination of these authorities may indicate that they were contemporaries. In fifteen cases we are told that Abruṭi's reading differs from that of other authorities, but it is impossible to draw from these the principles followed. The MS. is of such interest that it is to be hoped a facsimile may be published.

The purpose and function of the Shofar have baffled many inquirers, for they are nowhere clearly stated in either Biblical or Talmudical treatises. Mr. Finesinger sets out in his essay on "The Shofar" to examine its uses with a view to their bearing on the theories that have been advanced, and comes to the conclusion that "from its earliest times the Shofar has been intimately connected with the life of the people. The outstanding associations connected with it have been those of fear. Thus it was efficacious in driving away evil spirits and forces".[1] This is particularly marked in the Rōsh Hashānā ritual; in this and other uses of the Shofar we have instances of popular over priestly forces. A consideration of this struggle between the advanced ideas of the rabbis and the primitive ideas of the people is reserved for a future paper. Dr. Cronbach in his essay on "The Psycho-analytic Study of Judaism" (pp. 668–740) treats of the Shofar from the standpoint of the psycho-analyst, and his treatment is of peculiar interest since

[1] See Cronbach's Essay, p. 685.

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he has had no special training in psycho-analysis and so writes as a layman in the evaluations expressed, though he has submitted his work for criticism to a number of experts.

Mr. Hans Lichtenstein, of Tel-Abib, has re-edited the Megillath Taănīth, giving the Aramaic and Hebrew with an elaborate *apparatus criticus* and commentary on each section. In his Introduction he deals with its history, language, and historic worth, together with some account of the MSS. and printed editions. The last edition, published at Jerusalem in 1908, though lacking in critical matter, contains rich material by way of exegesis and is well worth study in conjunction with the present essay. The only English translation of the whole Megillah (London, 1922–3) should be added to the copious literature on pp. 309–316. Since Zeitlin's study, *Megillath Taănīth as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Philadelphia, 1922), the tractate has been studied from various points of view,[1] and the results obtained have generally been incorporated in Lichtenstein's commentary.

The articles on Homiletics in recent issues of the *Annual* have proved of great interest to the general reader, and in the volume now under notice there is an appreciation by Professor Israel Bettan of the sermons of Ephraim Luntshitz, chief rabbi of Prague, who died in 1619, and who is known to Biblical scholars from his commentary on the Pentateuch entitled כלי יקר, published in 1602, which attained great popularity.[2] He was the Frank Buchman of Judaism, rebuking both rabbis and laity for their spiritual laxity, and his half-dozen volumes of sermons show that, although he had imbibed but little culture outside Jewish sources, he was a moral reformer of fearless courage—"the sole aim in all my literary endeavours, whether in the written or spoken word, has always been to expose the godless men." The preacher will

[1] For the latest use made of it, see *Talmudic Judaism and Christianity*, London, 1933, by the Rev. Canon Lukyn Williams.

[2] Reprinted in the Warsaw edition of מקראות גדולות.

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find some good advice in these sermons—to be no juggler with texts, to avoid novel interpretations, to speak to the people and not at them, to maintain a high spiritual character since his hearers will not trust him if there is no conviction behind his messages. On the methods of Jewish education in his day he sheds a dismal light and suggests improvements which, if they did not affect closely his own generation, were fruitful in after years. The technique of his preaching is analysed, and the independent originality of his art is well drawn out by Professor Bettan, whose warm appreciation of Luntshitz seems not to be misplaced.

The Jews of Tangier have an interesting history which Mr. Toledano, of Cairo, outlines in an article written in flowing and easy Hebrew (היהודים בטאנגיר). Vicissitudes under changing rulers have been a marked feature of a community which in recent years has suffered diminution owing to emigration to Europe and America.

Articles of a highly technical character which will appeal to specialists in various branches of Hebrew lore are those by Edmund Stein ("Die Homiletische Peroratio im Midrasch"), V. Aptowitzer ("Untersuchungen zur Gaonäischen Literatur"), and a Responsum on the question of women's participation in the religious service of the synagogue, written in 1893 by Lector Meir Friedmann, which has some historic value. A Bibliography (pp. 525–603) of the Russian-Jewish historical periodical *Evreiskaia Starina* has been compiled with meticulous care by A. G. Duker, of New York, whose introduction and notes add value to his labours. The psycho-analytic study by Dr. Cronbach, mentioned above, will appeal to medical men; whilst musicians will find interest in the history and melodies of the Ḳōl Nidrē as analysed by Dr. A. Z. Idelsohn.

758. A. W. Greenup.

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ASIATIC MYTHOLOGY. By J. HACKIN and others. With an introduction by P. L. COUCHOUD. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 10$, pp. 460, ills. 354, pls. (in colour) 15. London: George Harrap, 1932. 63*s*.

This is a work intended to bring to the popular attention the mythologies of Asia. It is produced by several writers, each authoritative in his own field. In it is given "a detailed description and explanation of the mythologies of all the great nations of Asia". The writers of the various articles are: Messieurs Clément Huart for Persia; J. Hackin for the Kāfirs, Lamaism, and Central Asia; Raymonde Linossier for Buddhism in India; H. de Wilman-Grabowska for Brahmanic Mythology; C. H. Marchal for Indo-China and Java; Henri Maspero for Modern China; and Serge Eliséer for Japan. The book is well and abundantly illustrated with fifteen plates in colour and 354 other illustrations. An introduction that does not suffer from lack of enthusiasm is contributed by M. Paul-Louis Couchoud, in which he expresses the opinion: "As for Japanese Buddhism, it is, I verily believe, the most exquisite blossom of religion upon this earth," an opinion scarcely strengthened by M. Eliséer's contribution. The introduction might have been more valuable if it had dealt with the various articles on the lines of comparative mythology.

If "collaboration was necessary" for the compilation of this work, equally would it be necessary for its complete review. I can only say that, taking the work of Messieurs Maspero, Hackin, and Eliséer as indicative of the rest, it is a book of outstanding value for the general reader. The major part is devoted to Buddhist mythology and its influence on the native mythologies of India, Tibet and Central Asia, Indo-China and Java, China, and Japan. The article by M. Henri Maspero especially deals with this influence on the national cult or cults of China. He will not allow that "the Chinese have three religions". He says "the Chinese are no more capable than ourselves of believing in three distinct

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religions at once—of believing, for example, as Buddhists that there is no supreme God governing the universe . . . and again as Confucianists that the supreme power that rules the world is the impersonal Heaven, impersonal though endowed with consciousness ". Nevertheless, that the Chinese found no difficulty in " three religions " is evident from their imperial relations and adoption of all three. This, however, is a minor point, " the Taoist religion having undertaken the care of the ancient animistic notions of the common people, Confucianism its governmental cult, and Buddhism especially its relation with the future fate of the individual." But M. Maspero has wisely shown that there is such a dominating feature as a popular religion, a gradual syncretism or even creation of popular religion according to the needs of the individual or community, and that this religion, a complex chiefly of Taoist and Buddhist ideas, is the real religion of China. His description, especially of Taoist influences, is very useful.

662. W. E. SOOTHILL.

CATALOGUE GÉNÉRAL DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Les filtres de gargoulettes de l'Égypte Musalmane. Par M. PIERRE OLMER. 14 × 10, pp. viii + 124, pls. 79. Cairo, 1932.

The gargoulettes are vases or bottles of porous unglazed earthenware used for cooling water, and their filters or strainers, consisting of a disc of perforated clay set in the neck or between the neck and body in order to protect the contents from impurities, constitute their principal and often their only decoration. The filter, which would have been visible to the drinker when the bottle was used, is cut and pierced in such a way as to produce ornamental designs, sometimes elaborate. The Museum possesses some hundreds of artistic filters of this kind and the Catalogue describes and depicts about two hundred of the best of them.

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Simple as is the mode of decoration of the humble material, it is extremely effective ; many of the designs are delightful and the execution is generally most skilful. Geometrical motives are the most usual, sometimes inscriptions or heraldic emblems form the principal features, or animal or even human figures, generally crudely drawn. The patterns sometimes resemble filagree or cut metal work or even lace. It does not appear that the same design has ever been found repeated exactly. In the examples shown, at any rate where there is some repetition, it is always accompanied by considerable variations of detail, as if the craftsmen following the same general idea had worked it out according to their fancy. Part of the charm of the filters consists indeed in their apparent freedom and spontaneity. It can hardly be doubted that they were made in Egypt and represent Egyptian popular art.

In his preface Professor Wiet pays a well-deserved tribute to M. Olmer for his work of arrangement. The filters have been grouped according to their motives, showing the family likenesses that exist and at the same time the great individual diversity. With the aid of some pieces brought to light by Husain Effendî Rashid, M. Olmer has been able to establish the date of some of the filters, and though he abstains wisely from attempting a general determination of the dates of all the series, he is able to show in a convincing way that it covers the Islamic period from at least as early as the Tulumid time (third/ninth century) down to the reign of the Mamluks (ending in the tenth/sixteenth century).

N.R. 26. R. GUEST.

LE DICTIONNAIRE ALBANAIS DE 1635. Ed. by MARIO ROQUES. Bibliothèque de l'École Nationale des langues Orientales Vivantes. Tome xi, 8 × 5½, pp. 60 + 16 + 224. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1932.

There are two nations in Europe who are the despair of the philologists. Their relation to their fellows is a complicated

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one, and their language cannot be classed among those hitherto sufficiently well known. The Basques in the strongholds of the Pyrenees, and the Albanians (or Shkipetars, as they call themselves) of the Balkans. The latter were practically unknown until about the middle of the last century, when von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien* first drew the attention of the learned world to their culture. Since then a large number of scholars have endeavoured to solve the linguistic problem. It is unnecessary to state that they have no literature. Indeed, until to-day no proper alphabet has been evolved which would reproduce satisfactorily such sounds as are peculiar to the Albanian tongue, but which also occur in Bulgarian and Roumanian.

They are divided roughly into two sections: the Catholic Gegs in the north, and the Greek orthodox in the south, but of these a large proportion is Mohammedan. The student's task has been to discover older documents. Very little has come to light which could help to trace the language back to some more archaic stage. The Roman occupation of the Balkans has left a deep impression on the Albanians also, but the Latin words have been so completely assimilated that the ingenuity of modern scholars was required before their origin could be discovered. The search for older documents has begun comparatively recently, and Professor Roques is the first to have collected all the available information relating to such literary monuments. A minute description of these is contained in his interesting *Recherches*. Seventeen numbers, written more or less in the Geg dialect, have been fully recovered, and this success is due, almost exclusively, to the activity of the Catholic clergy and missionaries. The documents date from the end of the fifteenth century and extend to the eighteenth. Most of them were printed in Rome and are the work of two or three men like Buzuk, Budi, and Peter Bogdan.

Among them is a dictionary, Latin and Albanian, which composes the second volume. Professor Roques had the

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excellent idea of reproducing the text in facsimile. Now Albanian has peculiar sounds, which some of the older writers have endeavoured to represent by peculiar and unstandardized forms, it would have been a sheer impossibility to reprint this book exactly, unless it had been done photostatically, thus affording a clear picture of the original. In the introduction he gives a fuller description of this work, undertaken by the Bishop, Franciscum Blanchum. (The name is the equivalent, in Italian, of the Albanian *berdzǎ*, meaning "white", and he came of a family which has given many priests and bishops to the Albanians.) While in Rome, during 1635, he published his *Dictionarium*. Though often reprinted, it is not a real dictionary, being rather a collection of words, or of groups of words, together with some proverbs and sayings. Alphabetical order is not strictly observed, and occasionally a Latin word is translated into Italian as well as into Turkish, since the Dictionary was intended for the use of Albanian priests. Described as very ignorant, they were nevertheless expected to read the liturgical offices in Latin.

In the course of his long introduction, Professor Roques promises to work up the whole material into a second volume, and further, to evolve a proper dictionary, systematically arranged and fully annotated. His is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of a language which has been identified successively with that of the ancient inhabitants of the Balkans, as well as Thracians and others. Now that a clear light has been cast upon these linguistic curiosities, some attempt might be made, perhaps, to connect them more closely with one or more of the languages which have recently been discovered in Asia Minor. Possibly the problem of interrelationship, before the Greek invasion, between the nations of the Near East may be elucidated afresh. A search, too, might now be made among the archives of the Orthodox Churches for similar ancient documents exhibiting the *Tock* dialect, written in Greek characters, under the influence of the Orthodox Church.

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All students of the Albanian language and of related subjects will appreciate Professor Roques' invaluable work.

M. GASTER.

764.

HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE: SINOLOGICAL INDEX SERIES, Nos. 2–4, 6–10. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Supplement Nos. 1–3. $19 \times 13\frac{1}{4}$. Peiping: Yenching University, 1931–2.

No. 1 of this series, an index to the 說苑 *Shuo yüan*, has already been out of print for a year or more, and No. 5, containing the works of 崔述 Ts'ui Shu with an index, has not yet appeared. The whole series is issued under the direction of an editorial board comprising Professor 洪業 Hung Yeh (William Hung) and four associates. In his pamphlet, "Indexing Chinese Books," Professor Hung gives some account of his method, which he calls 庋頡 *kuei-hsieh* (Pekingese, *chi-chieh*), and which is based on 王雲五 Wang Yün-wu's well-known "Four-Corner System". It can be mastered, so we are assured, "in a few minutes"; but this, I am afraid, is a sanguine estimate. The tables enclosed in each volume are by no means easy to understand, and no explanation is added in English. The books are intended primarily for Chinese who are not accustomed to romanization; but the convenience of foreigners is consulted by the inclusion of an auxiliary index arranged alphabetically under the romanized forms of the initial characters, and there is also one arranged according to the number of strokes.

The volumes under review are of very unequal value. No. 2 is a concordance to the 白虎通 *Po hu t'ung*, a Han compilation of 44 essays on points of Confucian doctrine, which has never been translated into English.

No. 3, 考古質疑 *K'ao ku chih i*, a critical study of antiquities, is a work of minor importance, and it is rather a pity that time should have been spent on it when there are so many works better worth indexing.

The same objection applies, though with less force, to No. 4,

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歷代同姓名錄 *Li tai t'ung hsing ming lu*, a manual of eminent persons of different dynasties bearing the same name which was compiled in 1871 in order to prevent mistakes of identification. There is no copy of it in the British Museum library.

No. 6, the 儀禮 *I li*, was well worth doing, though it is more accessible to Western readers than many other works owing to the translations by de Harlez, Couvreur, and Steele. Included is a separate index to the book-titles quoted in the commentaries of 鄭玄 Chêng Hsüan and 賈公彥 Chia Kung-yen.

For the librarian, at any rate, No. 7 is by far the most valuable index published in this series. The 四庫全書總目 *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, which is a catalogue *raisonné* of the great collection of books formed by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, suffers like other Chinese works of reference from a cumbrous system of arrangement. Now at last the student has at his disposal two complete indexes which make it an easy matter to find any author or book required within a minute or two. One may feel a little regret, however, that a further index of the authors' *hao* (pseudonym, literary name or sobriquet) was not compiled at the same time.

No. 8 is an index to the authors mentioned in 嚴可均 Yen K'o-chün's 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 *Ch'üan shang ku san tai ch'in han san kuo liu ch'ao wên*, that is to say, pre-T'ang literature, a work in 741 sections, compiled in the first half of last century, which I have not seen.

No. 9 is an index to 33 collections of Ch'ing dynasty biographies; a list of their titles, authors, and the editions referred to appears at the beginning of the volume. For the sake of completeness, the 貳臣傳 *Êrh ch'ên chuan* (biographies of officials who served under both the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties) and 逆臣傳 *Ni ch'ên chuan* (rebellious officials) might have been included. The volume contains over 46,000 entries, and almost any person of distinction during

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the Ch'ing dynasty should be found here; but those who have not mastered the *kuei-hsieh* system will have a wearisome job wading through nineteen or twenty pages of three columns each in search of a particular 李 Li or 張 Chang.

No. 10 is the most ambitious of all the indexes published so far. It is in four volumes, and contains all the authors and titles mentioned in twenty historical bibliographies: these include all the bibliographical sections in the dynastic histories, besides a number of non-official works. Under each author will be found the titles of his works, with full references. Here, again, familiarity with the *kuei-hsieh* system will save a good deal of time, for some of the commoner surnames occupy twenty pages and more.

Supplement No. 1 (48 × 33 in.) is a volume of 24 chronological charts showing the Chinese dynasties, with names of sovereigns, etc., followed by a complete index.

Supplement No. 2 is a very short work entitled 諸史然疑 *Chu shih jan i*, critical notes on certain points in the earlier dynastic histories by 杭世駿 Hang Shih-chün. This has been re-edited and indexed.

Supplement No. 3, a bibliography of works published by Imperial command during the Ming dynasty, entitled 明代勅撰書考 *Ming tai ch'ih chuan shu k'ao*, has been edited with an index in the usual way from the manuscript of 李晉華 Li Chin-hua, who was able to draw on the unpublished 實錄 *Shih lu* or official records of the dynasty.

This series is confessedly an experiment, only made possible by a generous grant from the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. If it proves a financial success, we may hope that some publishing house will continue the good work. Thanks to Sir Everard Fraser and Sir James Stewart Lockhart, we already have an excellent concordance to the *Tso Chuan*; but the appetite grows by what it feeds on, and students will not be content until they are provided with a similar key to the hidden treasures of the standard histories.

716. LIONEL GILES.

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THE MUSLIM CREED: Its Genesis and Historical Development. By A. J. WENSINCK. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 304. Cambridge: University Press, 1932. 15*s*.

Professor Wensinck calls his book a study of the historical development of Muslim dogmatics, consisting for the most part of translations of, and commentaries upon, the creed in its various forms. It is, however, more than that, for in its five introductory chapters there is a systematic and fairly comprehensive statement of the main teachings of Islam together with such account as is indispensable in this connection of the Murjīs, Khārijīs, Mu'tazilīs, and other adherents of the various forms of these teachings; the whole forming a valuable contribution, for which Professor Wensinck's reputation is a guarantee, to our knowledge of this complicated subject.

The author begins at the beginning, with the Qur'ān, and shows that although belief in Allah and the Apostle were demanded in it, no demand was made for a declaration by the Muslim of that belief. In fact no formal creed is to be found in the Qur'ān, which was not a systematic treatise on the theology of Islam nor on any other aspect of it, since Muḥammad was neither a theologian nor even a legist. Professor Wensinck finds the earliest formula of the *shahāda* in the *ḥadīth*, dating from a time when religious shibboleths had begun to assume political importance, and he differentiates the short formula of the *shahāda*, intended for the identification of the believer in a non-believing world, from the creed, which is longer and was intended for the use of believers who regarded themselves as orthodox against other believers whom they regarded as schismatics.

Controversial matters are not dealt with in the work, but the author is on controversial ground in discussing the long-debated question whether Muḥammad claimed that Islam was to be a universal faith. Professor Wensinck holds that the weight of the evidence is in favour of a negative answer to the question, and it is a point of view that appears

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to be growing more acceptable, but there is still considerable argument, which must be explained away, on the other side.

Another matter into which further research would be desirable is that of Free Will and Tradition. According to the author (p. 51), "Tradition has not preserved a single *ḥadīth* in which *liberum arbitrium* is advocated." That is undoubtedly true, and it would be equally true to say of the Koran that it does not *advocate* the exercise of Free Will. There are, however, *ḥadīths*—the famous one which declares that all children are born in the *fiṭra* but that their parents turn them from the true path to Judaism, Christianity, or Zoroastrianism, is a case in point—which envisage the possibility of the exercise of Free Will, and it would be interesting to know at what date they first appeared. The point would decide when, and possibly how, determinism came to be associated with orthodoxy in Islam.

The main part of the translations in the book are of the treatises contained in a volume published at Hydarabad in 1321. They are the *Fiqh al-Akbar* of Māturīdī, the *Waṣīya* attributed to Abu Ḥanīfa, and four other works of varying importance. From collations with manuscript sources Professor Wensinck is able to provide a number of variants on the printed texts and so make comprehension easier.

Some misprints require correction. Three noticed are *snuan* for *sunan* (p. 104, n. 2), *taighyīr* for *taghyīr* (p. 107), and Ṣīrāṭ for Ṣirāṭ (pp. 232 f.).

696. R. LEVY.

FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF SKANDASWĀMIN AND MAHĒŚWARA ON "THE NIRUKTA". By LAKSHMANA SARUP. 10 × 7, pp. xvi + 140. Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1928.

The book under review purports to be, according to the name given by the editor, the commentary of Skanda and Mahēśwara on *The Nirukta*, and contains an explanation

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of chapter i only of *The Nirukta*. The portion so far published contains six out of the seven *pādās* of the introduction to *The Nirukta*, dealing with the principles of grammar and exegesis.

The Commentaries on *The Nirukta* by Dēvarājayajvan and Durgasimha have already been published. In the commentary of the former there is a reference to the commentary of Skandaswāmin, and Dr. Sarup refers in his introduction to *The Nighantu* and *The Nirukta* to the commentary of Skandaswāmin. The latter, which has not as yet seen the light of day, is said to be in the possession of one of Dr. Sarup's friends. There is, further, the commentary of Ugra; also the commentary of Barbaraswāmin, referred to in the commentary under review. Neither of these is extant. We are indeed grateful to the present editor for having brought to light the present commentary.

Of the previous commentaries on *The Nirukta*, that by Durga is the most important, being the latest in point of time, and the most elaborate. It represents the fullest development of the traditional interpretation of the text. Though not so extensive, the present commentary is lucid and serviceable (अल्क्लेशेनाभ्याससिद्ध्यर्थं मल्पग्रन्था वृत्तिःक्रियते, p. 4, line 5). The commentator is careful to insert illustrative quotations from the Vedas wherever Durga is content with extra-vedic examples. This is as it should be, since *The Nirukta* is a Vēdāṅga, intended to elucidate the meaning of the Mantrās. The work of a scholar, the commentary shows originality in the explanation of passages not commented on at all by Durga, and provides variorum notes, incorporating the researches of others. At some points it criticizes the explanations given by Durga (अतोऽपव्याख्यानमेतत्, p. 12, line 19).

The commentary breathes freshness of thought, and displays considerable ingenuity in the way in which the text is interpreted so as to satisfy all schools of thought. General aphorisms (लोकन्याय) are adroitly quoted as a means of

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driving home the explanations offered. The commentator would appear to be a strict grammarian and a follower of Paṇini's school, to judge from the frequency with which he quotes the rules of Pāṇini and passages from the Mahābhāshya.

Dr. Lakshmana Sarup has been at some pains to suggest readings in footnotes wherever the MS. reading gives no intelligible meaning. Some errors in printing have crept into the present edition, e.g.

(1) p. 5, line 6 : आवन (आहन).

(2) p. 37, line 5 : त्वद्वि (त्वाद्वि).

(3) p. 58, line 9 : नचेतौ (नचैतौ).

(4) p. 94, line 11 : द्वर्थःकेचि (द्वार्थाःकेंचि) ; etc.

There are errors in punctuation, e.g.

(1) p. 6, line 1 : तत्प्रदर्शनं निघण्टुशब्दस्य ? The question mark should be after तत्प्रदर्शनं (तत्प्रदर्शनं ? निघण्टुशब्दस्य).

(2) p. 58, line 5 : सिन्धवःस्यन्दन स्वभावाः ॥

No space should be allowed between स्यन्दन and स्वभावाः, as both of them form a single compound word (सिन्धवः स्यन्दनस्वभावाः).

(3) p. 102, line 7 : इति ? तदपिन ॥. Here the question mark has no significance at all (इति तदपिन) ; etc.

Small type has been used for large type in certain places :—

1. Page 8, line 10 तद्यान्येतानीति.
2. Page 8, line 11 चत्वारि पदजातानि.
3. Page 8, line 12 नामाख्यातेचोपसर्गनिपाताश्च.
4. Page 13, line 5 वचनं . . . औदुम्बरायणः.
5. Page 25, line 1 षड्भावविकाराः.
6. Page 36, line 2 प्राङ् रिमे.
7. Page 37, line 6 सर्वे विधयश्छन्दसिविकटप्यन्ते.
8. Page 112, line 11 "हि गतौ" ; etc.

The above should be in large type.

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Large type has been used for small type :—

(1) Page 13, line 16 : (पद्चतुष्टं)तत्(नोपपद्यते).

(2) Page 33, line 1 : भावभेदा एतेषामेव ; etc.

The above should be in small type.

Wrong *sandhi* occurs in certain places. This could easily have been corrected.

(1) p. 57, line 6 : एते लौकिक उदाहरणे (के उदा).

(2) p. 57, line 6 : वै दिके ऽपि (के अपि).

(3) p. 64, line 2 : एते लौकिक उदाहरणे (के उदा) ; etc.

In the above instances, the words लौकिके, etc., are in the dual number and end in ए, and they are subject to प्रकृतिभाव ॥.

Dr. Sarup gives the authorship of the present work to both Skandaswāmin and Mahēśwara on the title-page, but in the introduction he rejects the hypothesis of these two commentators being identical, and ascribes the authorship to Mahēśwara alone. This shows that he is undecided as to the authorship. The general trend of the colophons in A, B, and C lends weight to the supposition that Skanda may have been the sole author. A, B, and C are agreed upon the authorship of the first *pāda* of the sixth chapter, all of which ascribe it to Mahēśwara. All the rest, where they mention the author, are also unanimous about their having been written by Skandaswāmin, except C, where only some chapters and *pādās*, besides the first *pāda*, are attributed to Mahēśwara. But A, B, and C, it may be noted, are not at variance with regard to the authorship of any particular *pāda* or chapter. It may also be noted that all the colophons in MS. D give the authorship entirely to Skandaswāmin. The statement of Dr. Sarup that MSS. B and C are against the authorship of Skanda is not supported by the colophons given by him.

The above facts raise a strong presumption that Mahēśwara might have inserted the first *pāda* of the sixth chapter, which was lost, from a commentary by Skandaswāmin. Or it may

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be that "Maheswara" is misspelt as "Māhēśwara", in which case Māhēśwara and Skandaswāmin are identical persons. This supposition, however, leads to chronological difficulties, which can be got over only by the supposition that there were two Skandaswāmins, one prior to Dēvarājayajvan and the other later than Durga. There is another point which requires to be cleared. In the "Introduction to the Nighantu and the Nirukta" (page 50) Dr. Sarup concludes from the silence of Dēvarājayajvan that Durga followed him in point of time. This assumption may be wrong. Most of our difficulties will vanish if we make Durga anterior to Dēvarājayajvan, and accept the existence of two Skandaswāmins prior to him. Thus the chronology may be either Skanda—Durga—Skanda—Dēvarājayajvan, or Durga—Skanda—Skanda—Dēvarājayajvan. The commentary by Dēvarājayajvan refers to a Bhāshya and a Vyākhyāna both by Skandaswāmin. The authors of the Bhāshya and Vyākhyāna may be two different persons both going by the name of Skandaswāmin. The above is only a surmise, and until fresh evidence is forthcoming we cannot settle the authorship of the present work.

There is no ground for the supposition of Dr. Sarup that the present work is a *tīka* or commentary on Skandaswāmin's Bhāshya on *The Nirukta*. The Pratīkās quoted by the present commentator are all taken from Yāskā's Bhāshya; and the author says that he is explaining Yāskā's work. (. . . इति भगवतोयास्कस्य भाष्यम् ॥ तस्य . . . अल्पक्लेशेनाभ्याससिद्ध्यर्थं मल्पग्रन्थावृत्तिःक्रियते, p. 4.) There is no reference to Skandaswāmin's Bhāshya anywhere in the book, which shows that he did not utilize the Bhāshya of Skandaswāmin in his present explanation of Yāskā's *Nirukta*. One who had referred to Durga and Barbaraswāmin would surely have mentioned Skanda also, if he had made use of his Bhāshya.

The editor has omitted to discuss the subject of the proper title of the work, variously mentioned in the colophons.

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He could also have added a note on Barbaraswāmin, a new name needing explanation.

637. V. ANNAPPA SASTRI.

DIE CHRONIK DES IBN IJÂS IN GEMEINSCHAFT MIT MORITZ SOBERNHEIM. Herausgegeben von PAUL KAHLE und MUHAMMED MUSTAFA. Vierter Teil, A.H. 906–921 (A.D. 1501–1515). Bibliotheca Islamica 5.d. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxix + 502. Istanbul, 1931. RM. 30.

The importance of this historical work has long been recognized, and an edition has actually been published in 1312–12 (1893–4) by the Khedivial Library, as it seems from one single manuscript, which upon closer examination proved to be defective in various respects. Like most of the many manuscripts of the work, it does not contain a detailed account of the reign of the Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī, the last of the Cherkes Dynasty before the Turkish conquest of Egypt. That the chronicle enjoyed great popularity is proved by the great number of manuscripts which have been preserved and which have been enumerated by Kahle in his introduction, pp. 3–16. What is more important for establishing the text, is the fact that of several volumes the autograph of the author has been discovered in the libraries of Constantinople. This was very fortunate, because upon investigation it became evident that the copyists of many manuscripts had taken great liberties with the text of the author, and had abbreviated it in accordance with their whims, as they may have thought portions too unimportant to copy. Though for the volume in question no autograph copy was available, yet the two manuscripts utilized were sufficiently close to the diction of the autograph copy, to be regarded as very adequate substitutes.

For this reason the editors were right in printing the text as they found it in their originals, and not applying their hand

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to the correction of the author's language—an object of special study. The method of Ibn Iyās (to use the spelling customary in English) is to record in chronological order all the events which came under his notice during the time which he records in this volume. He was born in 852 (1448) and died in 928 (1522), and was in the prime of life when he wrote down his account. He does not appear to have had an official position, but was of a well-to-do family (*min Abnā' an-Nās*), as he himself states.[1] He seems to have made it his business to go about town and record everything which came to his hearing. The times were stirring and revolutions and risings were the order of the day, with oppressions of the people. He describes vividly the elevation of Qānṣūh to the throne. He objected to the request of the Amirs and the caliph, but they thronged round him so that even his turban-scarf got torn to pieces, until finally, with tears in his eyes, he assented. But we also hear of the Government's inability to balance the budget, and of their demanding payment nine months ahead of the shop rents in the city, most of which was their due, because the Sultan could not pay the soldiers the gratuities customary on his accession. A lively time must have ensued when generals and soldiers took the law into their own hands, levied tribute upon the shopkeepers, and even dared to set the shops on fire! He also records eclipses of the sun and moon, and states that both events took place in A.H. 908 within a few days of each other: and this was considered a wonder. He does not give the exact date of the solar eclipse, but we are able to calculate its date from the lunar eclipse. Moreover, he invariably gives the dates of the rising of the Nile (and its height), according to the Coptic months. In fact, there is such an abundance of all kinds of news, trivial as well as important, as to make this chronicle unique amongst Arabic histories.

The language of the author, as already stated, requires

[1] He mentions the death of his father at the age of 84, on the 13th of Sha'ban, A.H. 918.

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special study, since it indubitably represents contemporary speech, as far as concerned educated circles. Here we get a repletion of wrong cases, accusatives where we expect nominatives, and plurals where the singular is required according to the rules of classical Arabic. Apparently he does not know the plural pronoun الذين as he regularly uses the singular الذي. As a typical example of the confusion in the cases, I merely select two on one page (p. 77), where in line 4 we read للشريف .... اخو الجازاني, while a few lines lower, line 12, we read فلاقاه اخاه الجازاني. At times he spells place-names differently from the classical writers: thus the well-known place Batn Marr is spelt (pp. 22, 36, 37, 6) مرو. Apart from the historical importance of the work, the naïve language of the author affords charm to the perusal of his pages. Instead of trying to give adequate notice to all the important events recorded, I may mention that here we find the earliest records of the arrival of the Portuguese in the Red Sea. The author tells us that after endless work the Firanj had managed to pierce the dam, separating the Mediterranean from the Indian Sea, and were now guilty of such destruction in the Indian Sea, that many Indian wares had become very scarce in Egypt. Expeditions were equipped, and towers were built near Jidda to prevent further damage, but all of little avail.

As the volume had already assumed large proportions, and as it is hoped that the subsequent volumes will be published quickly, the much-wanted index is lacking, and there is no glossary of words which are not found in the dictionaries. It would be very valuable to have one index for several volumes, dealing with closely connected times, and it should contain all references to Names and Subjects. Most typographical errors are corrected in a list (pp. 492–501), and it is at times difficult to distinguish between errors and the author's peculiar language. Thus on p. 4, line 2, I should

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like to read مزق طوق كلوطته, as I do not know the word مطوطة. Further, he uses اوعد with the meaning وعد "to promise", the former according to purists meaning "to threaten". Sable-fur is spelt صمور instead of زمور, but all this will no doubt be explained in the vocabulary which is to accompany a later volume. The Constantinople type is very pleasing, and considering the bulk of the work—this volume requiring approximately the same number of words as two or three volumes of the *Annals of Tabari*—printer's errors are relatively few. For so large a book the price is small, and students will be able to buy it without great sacrifice. We must hope, too, that the editors will soon be able to publish the following volumes, one of which (describing the first years after the Turkish conquest) is already in the printer's hands.

Interesting is the difference he notices between the outer appearance of the ambassadors (*qāṣid*) of the Othmanli Sultan, and those of Shāh Ismā'īl aṣ-Ṣūfī [*sic*]—the latter caused a mild surprise by their coarseness and by wearing red caps (*ṭarāṭir*) on their heads, while the Turks are said to have come in neat clothing. The excitement in Cairo, as soon as the news of the inroads of the Persians or Turks became known, is most vividly described.

N.R. 3. F. KRENKOW.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA. By D. R. BANAJI. 10 × 7, pp. xxi + 412. Bombay: Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., [1933].

Mr. Banaji has given in this book, for the first time, a general account of slavery as it existed in British India between 1772 and 1843. He shows, first, the sources from which it sprang, and the forms in which it flourished under the protection of Hindu and Muhammedan Law, and goes on to give the history of the British Government's efforts to deal with the situation, and the final abolition of slavery in 1843.

A. 180.

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THE NAKED MOUNTAIN. By ELIZABETH KNOWLTON. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 335, pls. 24, and plan. New York and London: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1933.

A vivid and straightforward account of the work and adventures of the German-American Expedition, which attempted the ascent of Nanga Parbat in the summer of 1933.

A. 188.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

THE UNĀDISŪTRAS IN VARIOUS RECENSIONS. Part II: With the Prakriyāsarvasva of Nārāyana. By T. R. Chintamani. Madras: Madras University, 1933.

THE MADURAI CHRONICLES OF THE TAMIL ACADEMIES. By T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. Madras: Mylapore Press.

ĀDARSHA SĀDHU: AN IDEAL MONK. By A. J. SUNAVALA. London: Cambridge University Press. Reprinted from *Vijaya Dharma Sūri.*

ERANOS-JAHRBUCH, 1933. Yoga und Meditation im Osten und im Westen. Articles by Dr. ERWIN ROUSSELLE, Prof. HEINRICH ZIMMER, Dr. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, Dr. C. G. JUNG, and others. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag. 1934.

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OBITUARY NOTICE

Henry Cousens

Henry Cousens was well known for his work among the monuments and antiquities of Western India. Born in 1854 he joined the Archæological Survey of Western India in 1881, was promoted Superintendent ten years later, and retained that post until his retirement in 1910. For the first twenty years of his official service he was engaged exclusively on the cataloguing and surveying of the monuments in his charge, and during this period made many fine series of architectural drawings, he himself being a first-class artist and draftsman. Most of these drawings were subsequently published either by Mr. Cousens himself or by the late Dr. James Burgess. Later on, when the work of the Archæological Department was given a wider scope and the preservation of ancient monuments and the exploration of buried remains were included among its duties, Mr. Cousens did much valuable work in repairing the historic buildings of Ahmadabad, Champanir, Bijapur and many other famous sites in Western India; and he also carried out excavations on the sites of Brahmanabad and Mirpur Khas in Sind. Among the books of which he was the author are the following: *The Antiquities of the Town of Dabhoi in N. Gujarat* (with J. Burgess), 1888; *Bijapur, A Guide to its Ruins*, 1889; *Notes on the Buildings and other Antiquarian Remains at Bijapur*, 1890; *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H.H. the Nizam's Territories*, 1900; *The Architectural Antiquities of N. Gujarat* (with J. Burgess), 1903; *Portfolio of Illustrations of Sind Tiles*, 1906; *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, 1916; *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, 1926; *The Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, 1926; *The Antiquities of Sind*, 1929; *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, 1931; *Somanātha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāṭhiāwād*, 1931.

JOHN MARSHALL.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

10*th May*, 1934

Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.A., in the Chair.

The proceedings commenced with the reading and confirmation of the minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting.

Report of the Council for 1933-4.

We have first to call attention, with the deepest regret, to the irreparable losses which not only this Society has suffered since last May, by the death of the following :—

Professor A. A. Bevan.
Mr. Henry Cousens.
Dr. Robert Halliday.
Dr. H. Hirschfeld.
Mrs. Jessie Payne Margoliouth.
Dr. H. Ballou Morse.
Prof. Dr. Serge d'Oldenburg.
Mr. Guy Le Strange.
Professor R. Ramsay Wright.

Their learning covered such a wide and varied field and their work has borne such important fruit for all Oriental Students, that it would be difficult to estimate the loss to Oriental Scholarship which has thus been exacted. Obituary notices of most of them have appeared in the *Journal*, the remainder will follow.

The Council further regrets to have to report the death of the undermentioned Members during the past session :—

Mr. Edgar E. Harrison
Rev. E. S. Hunt.
Mr. G. R. S. Mead.
Lt.-Com. V. L. Trumper.

The following Members have resigned :—

Mr. J. Allan.
Pt. G. N. Asopa.
Miss Glynne Bateson.
Pt. Sahityacharya C. B. D. Chaturvedi.
Mrs. C. H. Clarke.
Mr. S. E. Lucas.
Sir J. Macleod.
Mr. N. E. Parry.

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The following have taken up their election :—

As Resident Members

Mrs. M. F. Bailey.
Mr. W. B. D. Doxford.
Dr. G. W. Evans-Cross.
Mr. V. B. Harrison.
Miss M. E. Middlemore.
Mr. E. L. Norton.
Mr. S. T. Sheppard.

As Non-Resident Members

Rai Sahib B. R. Beotra.
Mr. B. L. Bhargava.
Mr. V. Bhattacharya.
Mr. K. Bose.
Miss M. Butes.
Mr. S. K. Chakravarti.
Rai Govind Chandra.
Pandit R. S. Derashri.
Dr. Kai Donner.
Mrs. N. Griffith.
Mr. K. L. Gupta.
Mr. Q. I. Hussain.
Mr. S. Hussain.
Dr. K. C. Khanna.
Mr. A. B. Khaparde.
Mr. A. F. Kindersley.
Mr. M. Krishnamachariar.
Pandit B. B. Lal.
Wing-Com. R. T. Leather.
Mr. C. L. Mathur.
Mr. W. B. Mazoomdar.
Mr. E. W. Mead.
Mr. G. S. Mishra.
Mrs. Z. Morad.
Mr. A. N. Narasimhia.
Mr. K. S. Nigam.
Mr. B. P. S. Pandit.
Pandit S. S. Pathak.
Mr. A. G. Rajput.
Mr. H. H. Rizvi.
Rev. J. Robson.
Mr. S. C. Sarkar.
Mr. H. W. Sawyer.
Mr. P. C. Seth.
Mr. V. Sevian.
Mr. S. H. Sharma.
Pandit B. B. L. Shastri.
Sirdarni Harbans Singh.
Rajkumar R. Sinh.
Mr. G. M. Talaiver.
Rev. W. S. Urquhart.
Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah.
Mr. J. L. Verma.
Pandit R. B. Vidyavagisa.
Mr. J. A. Waites.
Mr. A. D. Waley.
Rev. W. Wilson-Ward.

As Associates

Miss Bodé.
Miss H. F. Carey.
Miss R. S. Harris.
Mr. J. S. Lincoln.
Mrs. G. C. M. F. Young.

As a Resident Compounder

Miss U. H. Blackwood.

As Non-Resident Compounders

Mr. C. J. Shah.
Capt. the Rev. J. M. Menzies.

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Under Rule 25*a* 35 persons ceased to be members of the Society owing to non-payment of their annual subscriptions. Last year their number was 57.

The total number of Members is now 758 as against 743 at the same time last year.

World economic affairs have made themselves adversely felt upon memberships ever since 1924.

Below are a few figures which show the trend of the Society's income thus affected up to the end of 1933 :—

	Average 1924–1928.	*Average* 1929–1933.	1932.	1933.
	£	£	£	£
Total Income	*3,277*	*3,200*	*3,266*	*2,618*
Chief details :—				
Resident Subscriptions .	288	277	252	255
Non-Resident Subscriptions	962	889	806	770
Government of India Grant	315	273	210	210
Journal Subscriptions .	441	500	515	460
Rents	671	629	749	598

The payments for the year 1933 come to £3,000.

The Leasehold Redemption Fund was represented by £329 17*s*. 6*d*. of 3½ per cent War Loan on 31st December, 1933.

An attempt was made to attract more members by increasing the size of the *Journal*. But, though the standard of the contents was kept as high as ever, the desired result was unhappily not attained. In the interest of economy and a balanced budget, it has now been decided to reduce it somewhat so as to curtail the cost of printing.

To turn to the activities of the Society.

Lectures.—The following lectures have been delivered during the past session, almost all of which were illustrated by lantern slides.

"The Indus Civilization," by Mr. H. Hargreaves.

"Across the Libyan Desert," by Mr. W. B. K. Shaw.

"Recent Discoveries in Persepolis," by Dr. Ernst Herzfeld.

"Sir Anthony Sherley," by Sir Denison Ross.

"On the Track of Ancient Architecture in Western Turkestan," by Dr. Ernst Cohn-Wiener.

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"The Evolution of the Ancient Siamese Government and Administration," by Dr. Quaritch Wales.

"Excavations at Arpachiyah (near Nineveh)," by Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan.

"The Houston Flight over Mount Everest," by Col. Stewart Blacker.

"Dead Cities of Northern Bengal," by Mr. H. E. Stapleton.

"An Unpublished Diary of a Journey to the East," from a unique MS. in the British Museum, being Cassuto's travels in the Near East in 1733–4, by Mr. J. Leveen.

At the last Anniversary General Meeting held on 11th May, 1933, Mr. S. M. Mackay made a valuable suggestion while seconding the adoption of the annual report, as representing Members living abroad. He called attention to the fact that the work and activities of the Society are known to so few people, comparatively speaking, in the dominions and abroad. He said that it was the experience of himself and most of his friends that "one has to go far out of one's way to keep in touch with Orientalism".

In order to remove this reproach as far as possible, we have asked some of our Foreign Extraordinary Members to help us. We have also communicated with the principal Universities and Oriental Publishers and Booksellers in China, Egypt, India, Japan, Iraq, Persia, Siam, and Turkey. We hope to get into closer touch with many others, including all in the Dominions. We have also put before the Professors and Teachers of Oriental Subjects in every University and College in the British Isles the advantage which might be obtained for Oriental research by themselves and their students from the free use of the Library of the Society. Similar information is given yearly to all young Officers of the Indian Civil Service on first posting to India; they are all invited to join the Society. Invitations have been sent to the Staff of the Indian Archæological Survey Department, and a few other Oriental or Archæological workers. Also, in order to spread information about the Society, its functions and activities,

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without delay to even a wider circle, certain British Members living in different parts of the world have been asked to act as Local Representatives for the regions in which they reside. Many have accepted and have been supplied with the necessary information and literature which will be kept up to date.

On 8th March, 1934, a Special General Meeting was held to consider certain alterations in the Rules of the Society, which are calculated to make membership more popular. These alterations have given the Council power to reduce the annual subscription in the case of certain classes of Resident Members who are Ministers of Religion, Teachers of certain subjects within the scope of the activities of the Society, or Officials in Museums or Libraries. They also tend to remove some of the existing restrictions on the borrowing of books from the Library by Non-Resident Members in the British Isles and to regularize the status of Library and Student Members. These latter are now termed Associates, as they do not enjoy all the rights which appertain to Members. A reprint of the Charter and Rules has been issued to embody these regulations and to make them quite clear. A copy has been sent to every Member.

As foreshadowed in the last annual report, the first of the Decade Indexes, that for the period 1920–9, was published during the year. It was circulated with each copy of the *Journal* for January, 1934, and the necessary saving effected in the cost of printing the *Journal*. These Decade Indexes are designed to continue the reference facilities which had been provided by the Society's *Centenary Volume*. That volume was compiled to cover the period from the formation of the Society, in 1823, to 1923. Work on the next Decade Index, for 1930–9, is kept up to date, and it is hoped to be able to publish each such Index in the first or second year of each period.

The Society's Universities' Prize Essay Competition produced some of the best work which has been seen by the

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examiners for some years. The subject set was "The Advantages derived by India and England from their Mutual Relations". The Prize and Diploma were finally awarded to Mr. Richard Seddon, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. The next essay, however, was of such high merit that the Council decided it must not go unrecognized. A special prize was therefore given to Mr. A. J. Mackenzie, of Edinburgh University. The subject for the next Essay, which is returnable by 15th October next, is "The Importance of Physical Features of India for the Understanding of her History".

Two new volumes of original work have been published by the Society during the past year; three more are in the press approaching completion, while another is to be published shortly.

The printing of the *Library Catalogue* is now in hand. Some of the batches of cards are already finally proofed, while others are being printed or checked in first and second proof. It is hoped to be able to keep the cost of the complete printing within the sum promised to the Carnegie Trust. The correction of proofs of the cards beginning with the second half of the alphabet will not be nearly as expensive as that of the first half. The latter will have included many of the former cross-references, and will thus have been checked already. The thanks of the Society are again due to Mrs. Cardew for her care in the matter and to several members for their help in reading proofs, especially Mr. Ellis and Dr. Randle.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. G. A. Yates, of St. John's, Cambridge, for ready and valuable help to the Editor of the *Journal*, and to Miss U. Blackwood for undertaking to compile a complete list of every article published in the *Journal* since its inception. This will present these papers in a different form to the *Centenary Volume*, and will include some of the early writings which are not shown therein.

The Society's Library is being used more and more by research scholars, the number of such students being 609

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for 1933, against 535 for 1932. In January, 1934, there were 76, an average of more than two a day, whereas for January, 1932, the number was 46. We lent 87 books to the National Central Library for the use of research students and scholars in different parts of the country, and 15 were borrowed by us for the use of our Members.

The number of books borrowed from the Library by our own Members was well over 700, or about two for every week-day, though this includes those used for review purposes.

Certain annual changes are made in the constitution of your Council, in accordance with the Rules of the Society. This year, under Rule 29, both the President and the Director retire, as also do the Senior Vice-President by the terms of Rule 30, and four of the Ordinary Members under Rule 32. Your Council recommends for the next session that Professor Margoliouth should be President; Sir Denison Ross, Director; Sir Edward Maclagan and Dr. Barnett, Vice-Presidents; and Dr. Gaster, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Moule, and Professor Nicholson to take the place of the four retiring Ordinary Members. In addition to the above, Professors Dodwell and Storey find that their duties clash with the usual meetings of Council, and have placed their resignations in the hands of the President. The names of Mr. Oldham and Dr. Randle are recommended by your Council to take their places.

The following Honorary Officers are recommended for re-election under Rule 31: Mr. Ellis as Hon. Librarian; Sir James Stewart Lockhart as Hon. Secretary; Mr. Perowne as Hon. Treasurer.

The accounts of the Society have been audited professionally by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., Ltd. They were then examined by a board of auditors, which includes Sir Nicholas Waterhouse and the two hon. auditors whom you elect annually, one to represent the Council and one to represent the Members. They met on 22nd March, 1934, and the Hon. Auditors reported as follows:—

"We have gone through the accounts with Sir Nicholas

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Waterhouse, who has explained them very clearly. They are, as usual, in excellent order.

"We would invite attention to the fact mentioned by the Professional Auditors that the 'Cash balance at 31st December, 1933, includes £421 17*s.* 3*d.* received on account of compounded subscriptions, viz. £132 16*s.* 3*d.* formerly invested in Treasury Bonds, which have been redeemed, and £289 1*s.* received on account of such subscriptions between March, 1929, and December, 1933. Under Rule 21 all such receipts must be invested. We would suggest that an attempt be made to ascertain how much of the investments aggregating £3,612 0*s.* 7*d.* consists of receipts on account of compounded subscriptions and how much is derived from legacies, donations, etc.' Signed, E. A. Gait and L. C. Hopkins, Hon. Auditors."

The rule to which the Hon. Auditors intended to refer (Rule 22) states that "All payments made in composition shall be credited to capital". The reason why the payments in question, though credited to capital, have not yet been invested, will be explained by the Hon. Treasurer in his address to the Society.

Under Rule 81 the Honorary Auditors retire, but are eligible for re-election.

The following are recommended by your Council to act as Hon. Auditors for the Session 1934–5 :—

Sir Edward Gait, for the Council.

Mr. C. N. Seddon, for the Members of the Society.

And Messrs. Waterhouse & Co., who kindly make the yearly audit at a considerably reduced fee, are recommended as the Professional Auditors.

The lease of the dwelling flat at the top of the Society's premises came to an end on 25th March, 1934. It had been let for twenty-one years, but the original lessee had sublet it with the permission of the Council. It has now been let again as from 25th March, 1934, to the present tenant for three or seven years.

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In accordance with the general trend of property in the neighbourhood, and acting upon the advice of the Society's Surveyor and the Hon. Solicitor, the rent has been reduced by the amount of the rates. It is confidently expected, however, that the amount now payable in rates will be subjected to an abatement at the next Quinquennial Revision in 1935.

One of the four rooms, No. 8, on the second floor, has been empty for some time, since it was vacated by the Guild of Singers and Players. The Guild unfortunately felt the financial crisis so acutely that it had to be disbanded.

It has been noticed that some parts of the structure of the premises have shown signs of deterioration. The Council therefore directed that a proper survey should be made by a professional surveyor. His report has shown that certain structural repairs are urgently necessary, and should be carried out during the Summer Vacation. This can be done at the same time as the external decoration, which is also due then. The latter, as a necessarily recurring charge, is allowed for in the annual budget, but the funds for the above-mentioned repairs will be an additional charge upon the income of the Society. Unfortunately there are one or two other structural repairs which must be carried out in succeeding years, though not essential at once.

The President then called upon the Hon. Treasurer for his annual statement on the resources of the Society.

The Hon. Treasurer said :—

Luckily I am only allowed a few minutes in which to report on last year's accounts to you. I say luckily as you might otherwise be depressed by last year's figures. Candidly they are not bright, and for the first time for many years we have only had what we might call our ordinary income upon which to rely and nothing to counteract the steady fall which has been going on in that income for the last two or three years.

Our total receipts for last year, excluding the balance carried forward, were £2,638 14*s*. 5*d*. only, the whole of it

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ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	255	3	0			
Non-Resident Members	770	8	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	39	0	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	26	8	4			
				1,090	19	4
RENTS RECEIVED				598	8	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	210	0	0			
,, Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
,, Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
,, Hong Kong	25	0	0			
				295	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				5	5	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	462	4	11			
Additional Copies sold	39	14	9			
Pamphlets sold	9	1	4			
				511	1	0
DIVIDENDS				83	0	10
INCOME TAX RECOVERED FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1932				5	17	5
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				1	4	6
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES					11	4
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				4	4	10
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT				21	0	8
SALE OF OLD BOOKS				9	9	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				12	12	6
				2,638	14	5
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1932				973	6	2
				£3,612	0	7

INVESTMENTS.

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1*s*. 10*d*. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1*s*. 1*d*. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

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PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1933

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	502	3	1			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	41	2	2			
Gas and Light, do.	47	18	8			
Coal and Coke, do.	35	13	3			
Telephone	14	0	8			
Cleaning	5	18	0			
Insurance	35	6	6			
Repairs and renewals	29	18	9			
				712	1	1
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND				30	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES				778	17	9
PRINTING AND STATIONERY				45	9	2
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	1,056	2	5			
Postage	70	0	0			
				1,126	2	5
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE				120	14	4
GENERAL POSTAGE				59	9	0
AUDIT FEE (including Taxation work)				5	16	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas	22	5	2			
Lectures	22	1	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	19	1	2			
Other General Expenditure	57	3	11			
				120	11	3
				2,999	11	6
BALANCE OF CASH IN HAND AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1933						
At Bank on Current Account	325	15	6			
At Post Office Savings Bank	270	13	5			
Cash in Hand	16	0	2			
				612	9	1
				£3,612	0	7

NOTE: £250 of this £612 9*s.* 1*d.* represents the unexpended balance of the Grant received from the Carnegie Trust and there is £421 17*s.* 3*d.* due to be invested on Compounded Subscriptions Account.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { E. A. GAIT, Auditor for the Council.
L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Society.

22nd March, 1934.

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SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1933. Jan. 1.			1933. Dec. 31.		
Balance . .		230 12 5	Binding 10 Vol. XV		1 0 0
Sales (net) . .		45 17 8	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		276 15 1
Interest on Deposit .		1 5 0			
		£277 15 1			£277 15 1

Asiatic Monograph Fund

Jan. 1.			Dec. 31.		
Balance . . .		124 13 3	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		139 3 4
Sales (net) . . .		14 10 1			
		£139 3 4			£139 3 4

Summary of Special Fund Balances

Dec. 31.			Dec. 31.		
Oriental Translation Fund . . .	276 15 1		Cash at Bank—		
Asiatic Monograph Fund . . .	139 3 4		On Current Account .	165 18 5	
		£415 18 5	On Deposit Account .	250 0 0	
					£415 18 5

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Jan. 1.			Dec. 31.		
Balance . . .		306 0 5	Balance represented by £329 17*s.* 6*d.* 3½% War Loan . .	336 10 11	
Transfer from General Account . . .		30 10 6	Cash at Bank . .	11 10 10	348 1 9
Dividends to be Re-invested . . .		11 10 10			
		£348 1 9			£348 1 9

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

1933. Jan. 1			Dec. 31, 1933.		
Balance . . .		160 10 3	Printing 500 and Binding 100 Vol. XIII .		103 9 6
Sales . . .		23 19 7	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		99 0 4
Dividends . . .		18 0 0			
		£202 9 10			£202 9 10

Gold Medal Fund.

Jan. 1.			Dec. 31.		
Balance . . .		50 3 5	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		59 18 5
Dividends . . .		9 15 0			
		£59 18 5			£59 18 5

Universities Prize Essay Fund.

Jan. 1.			Dec. 31.		
Balance . . .		137 11 10	Balance Carried to Summary . . .		158 7 2
Dividends . . .		20 15 4			
		£158 7 2			£158 7 2

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SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	99	0	4	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . .	317	5	11
GOLD MEDAL FUND .	59	18	5				
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND . .	158	7	2				
	£317	5	11		£317	5	11

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s.* 2*d.* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, *Professional Auditor.*
Countersigned { E. A. GAIT, *Auditor for the Council.*
L. C. HOPKINS, *Auditor for the Society.*

22nd March, 1934.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
1933. Jan. 1.				1933. Dec. 31.			
BALANCE . . .	5	16	10	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT . .	7	16	2
DIVIDENDS . .	1	9	4				
DONATION . . .		10	0				
	£7	16	2		£7	16	2

INVESTMENT—
£49 0*s.* 10*d.* 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . .	258	12	3	10% COMMISSION ON 1932 SALES . . .	4	4	10
DIVIDENDS . . .	199	13	2	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—Bursaries .	100	0	0
SALE OF BOOKS . .	31	16	5	FEE FOR RECOVERY OF INCOME TAX . .	3	13	0
INCOME TAX RECOVERED FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1932 .	44	17	0	Dec. 31. BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	427	1	0
	£534	18	10		£534	18	10

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14*s.* 7*d.* New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s.* 3*d.* South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal–Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s.* 3*d.* India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3 per cent.
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18*s.* 4*d.* 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, *Professional Auditor.*
Countersigned { E. A. GAIT, *Auditor for the Council.*
L. C. HOPKINS, *Auditor for the Society.*

22nd March, 1934.

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being ordinary income, though of this amount £39, representing compounded subscriptions, is, according to our rules, credited to capital. As against these receipts our similarly classed payments for last year amounted to £2,999 11*s*. 6*d*., leaving a deficit of £360 17*s*. 1*d*., to which we must add the £39 credited to capital, thus the real deficit on the income account for the past year is £399 17*s*. 1*d*., which is more than we anticipated.

This shrinkage in our income is a serious matter, coming as it does on the top of previous deficiencies, for it means that we are making a heavy inroad upon our small capital reserves.

Comparing the accounts for 1933 with those of 1932 and taking the receipts first, there is only a drop of about £27 under the head of subscriptions which we shall hope to more than recover this year with its better conditions. Our rents have, however, dropped more than £150, a fall anticipated in my last year's observations. Our donations are about £190 less and our *Journal* Account £116 less, the larger part of the latter is owing to the smaller number of copies sold. The other items are almost all more or less of a fluctuating nature and need no comment. The net result, however, is that our receipts for last year applicable for income were £2,599 14*s*. 5*d*. (allowing for the £39 capital item) as against similar receipts for 1932 which amounted to £3,094 8*s*. 5*d*., showing a difference of £494 14*s*.

On the payments side, however, you will be glad to hear that we have been able to set off some of that deficit, as our payments for 1933 were £216 4*s*. 4*d*. less than in 1932, chiefly arising from a lesser expenditure on the Library and *Journal*. I need not trouble you with the exact figures showing the difference, as you can compare them for yourselves.

The net result of the accounts is that the balance of £973 6*s*. 2*d*. brought forward from 1932 (the details of which I explained in my statement last year) has now been reduced to £612 9*s*. 1*d*. as on the 31st December last. You will observe that there is a note by the Accountants as to this balance,

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stating that after setting aside the £250 Carnegie balance in hand, which you will remember is earmarked for the *Catalogue*, which we hope now very shortly to see in print, there is a sum of £421 17*s*. 3*d*. (some £60 more than the total balance we have in hand) which is due to be "invested". Incidentally there is also a liability out of that balance of a further sum of £40 earmarked for a special purpose, thus making our earmarked funds £100 more than our balance. Our Rules, already mentioned in the Report, say that our compounded subscriptions, after deducting one year's subscription, must be "credited to capital" and a strict account of this has always been, and continues to be, kept. Investment is implied but not enjoined.

I gave my reasons last year why at that time it did not seem advisable at the moment to invest any of the apparent balance in hand, and to-day those observations hold good, not only for the reasons then advanced, but also because in view of the big deficit last year and no present prospect of much increase in income as income, it seems rather useless to invest moneys which may have to be realized again in a few weeks or months at a loss while we have in front of us an immediate expenditure of some £100 on urgent repairs to our premises and about another £100 on outside painting, as you have already heard, together with some other rather unforeseen expenditure for which provision will have to be made. Pending the deficit in revenue being converted into a credit balance, therefore, it seemed better to place any temporary unneeded balance in the Post Office Savings Bank, where one receives a safe 2½ per cent interest, with ability to withdraw without loss, even if without profit, at a moment's notice.

All other points having a bearing on our general financial position, including the question of membership, have been adequately dealt with in the Council's report, which has been circulated to you and will fill in any gaps in my few sketchy remarks.

With regard to the special funds, I have no observations

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to make, as they all speak for themselves, except perhaps the Forlong Fund, where the large balance carried forward at the end of the year is, I understand, likely to be absorbed or nearly so in the immediate future.

In conclusion, let me add that we are still struggling with adversity, and in anticipation of no probable improvement for the present year we have reluctantly decided that the *Journal* must be somewhat reduced and the Library expenditure curtailed. Let us hope our crisis will be only a temporary one.

You have already heard the Report of the Auditors as to the excellent order in which the accounts have been kept, all of which is due to the painstaking care of Mrs. Davis, our ever-ready Assistant Secretary, to whom also I add my tribute for the great help always given to me with such a willing spirit and with a smile on her face which makes it a real pleasure to ask for information from such a source.

The President then said: "Ladies and Gentlemen, you heard the able remarks of the Hon. Treasurer, which might certainly be more exhilarating, but which are most clearly described. You have the Draft report of the Council before you, and I only have to ask you to consider it as a whole and take it as having been read. Therefore, if you finally desire to accept it, you will be accepting it as a whole, that is to say you will also accept the Council's recommendation for making up the Members of your Council, the Honorary Officers of the Society, the Honorary Auditors, one to represent the Council, and one to represent yourselves, together with the Professional Auditors. I shall presume that, if the Report is adopted by you after it has been duly proposed and seconded, all these details will be accepted with it. After this short explanation I shall call upon Sir William Foster to propose the adoption of the Report."

Sir William Foster said: "Sir Edward Maclagan, Ladies and Gentlemen, I understand that the Report of Council for the year must be proposed by a Member of Council and seconded by a Member of the Society. The Rules of the

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Society do not, however, call for any speech, nor do I propose to keep you for many minutes. To me the outstanding feature of to-day's proceedings is that, as I understand, it is the last time that we shall see Sir Edward Maclagan in the Chair for the present. I would therefore ask you to join with me in expressing our heartfelt regret at losing him and to ask him to accept our warmest and best thanks for all the work that he has so ably carried out on our behalf, and for the kindly way that he has dealt with us in making our Meetings so pleasant and yet so adequate.

"With these few words I beg leave to propose the adoption of the Report."

The President called upon Mr. Oldham to second the adoption.

Mr. Oldham said he would like to associate himself with the remarks made by Sir W. Foster in respect to the impending retirement of Sir Edward Maclagan from the Presidentship. He wished to congratulate the Society upon the devotion of the staff—adding, if he might venture to do so, the name of their invaluable Hon. Treasurer—to all of whom was so largely due the fact that the Society had been able to win through a critical year. He then begged to second the adoption of the Report.

The President rose and said: "Ladies and Gentlemen, you have heard the Adoption of the Council's Report for the last Session proposed and seconded; I have explained the different conclusions which it contains. I will now put the Adoption of the Report to this Meeting. Will you signify in the usual way if you accept it. Carried unanimously."

"I now wish to perform a duty which will give me the greatest pleasure as I hope it will to you. As you know, the Society offers an Annual Prize to the Universities for an Essay on some Oriental subject. The last competition was won by Mr. Richard Seddon, the son of one of our Members. The Prize consists of a sum of money and a diploma. The cheque has been sent to the winner, but owing to his absence

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from England, I now propose to present the diploma to his father who may wish to send it to his son. Mr. Seddon, I have much pleasure in presenting to you your son's diploma."

Mr. Seddon said: "I thank you on behalf of my son, who is away in Bagdad, so that he cannot have the pleasure of accepting it in person. I shall probably not send it out to him there, however, as I think he would prefer that it be kept safely at home until he comes back."

The President then spoke.

He said: I do not propose to detain you long, as most of what I could usefully say has already been said in the Printed Report and in the statement made by the Honorary Treasurer.

The financial position is not cheerful. Our income has been decreasing, and we are confronted this year with the expectation of abnormal expenditure. We have to leave undone many things we should like to have done, and we have to do several things we do not in the least wish to do, such as making the front stairs—at considerable expense—safer for ourselves and our visitors. Our Council has made special inquiries into the financial position, and their proposals ought to have some effect on our finances. We have had quite a number of new Resident Members lately, and the Resident Members are those whom we love most, their subscriptions being the highest. We trust, too, that the reduction of the Income Tax may induce some more residents of this country to join and subscribe to our Institution.

We have lost by death during the year several distinguished members and honorary members; some in distant parts of the world, others near (some very near) to ourselves. Their names are mentioned in the Report, and we greatly feel their loss. But we may say with the poet that, though much is taken, much remains. I do not know if the Society appreciates the distinguished character of its Council and the admirable way in which the Council serves the Society. I think there can be few Councils in London where the members attend with greater regularity, in spite of the fact that many live

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at some distance from town, and few in which opinions are given more considerately and concisely, and whose business is got through more smoothly. Some years ago I was on the Lake of Geneva, and I took the opportunity of paying my respects to an old and distinguished previous President of our Society who lived there. He asked me: "How is the Society getting on? Do the Council quarrel as much as they used to do?" I assured him the Council never quarrelled, and I can assure the Society that during the nine years I have known the Council, I have never encountered the smallest touch of acerbity in its proceedings, not a word spoken in anger. That is a record which most other Societies would envy, and I personally am most grateful to the Council for their considerate behaviour both to themselves and to their President, during the two periods in which I have held the President's office.

I am thankful also for the work done for us by our officers, honorary and otherwise, and I take the opportunity, in laying down the Presidency of the Society, to express to them my grateful thanks for all they have done. To the discerning counsel of Sir James Stewart Lockhart, the unfathomable erudition of Mr. Ellis, and the financial acumen of Mr. Perowne the Society owes much; to its permanent staff it owes even more. We appreciate, more than we can say, the friendly and successful devotion with which Colonel Hoysted edits our *Journal* and organizes our lectures; the skill and diligence with which Mrs. Cardew supervises and catalogues our multifarious library; and the cheerful assiduity with which Mrs. Davis compiles the lugubrious records of our financial decadence.

The Society is to be congratulated on the selection which it has made for the Council for the ensuing year, and more especially for the appointment of Sir Denison Ross to the post of Director. When he was in the East Sir Denison Ross made all Asia his province, and since he returned to this country he seems to have conquered all Europe. We

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shall be fortunate to have as our Director a scholar with such extensive learning and such wide personal interests.

As regards the Presidency, it is not easy to lay down any general principle upon which the Society should select its President. It has been a common practice to elect some one who has held official posts, and who though a friend to scholarship is not a scholar himself, and in pursuance of this practice the Society was good enough to make me President soon after my return from official work in India. The Society might have said as Dido does in the Aeneid—

Ejectum litore, egentem
Excepi et regni demens in parte locavi.

In many cases the Society has secured a President who was both a scholar and an official, and not a few of our most distinguished Presidents belonged to this class. But it has not till now selected one whose claims to distinction are those of pure scholarship without any taint of officialdom. The Society has now, I am glad to say, elected as its future President one whose claims as a scholar are of unrivalled eminence and—I may add, as a lifelong supporter of the Society—are incontestable, and I know how greatly we appreciate the fact that our old and much loved colleague, Professor Margoliouth, will now preside over our destinies. I was reading lately an account of the situation which arose at the birth of our elder sister, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1784, when Warren Hastings declined to accept the Presidency in the presence of so distinguished a scholar as Sir William Jones; and without asking the Society to press too far the analogy between its retiring President and Warren Hastings, I venture to quote Hastings' letter to the Bengal Society as expressing—in the rotund phraseology of his time—very much the feelings with which I now hand over the Presidency of the Society to Professor Margoliouth. "I have not," he said, "the leisure requisite to discharge the functions of such a station, nor, if I did possess it, would

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it be consistent with the pride which every man may be allowed in the pursuit or support of the objects of his personal credit, to accept the first station in a department in which the superior talents of my immediate followers in it would shine with a lustre, from which mine must suffer much in the comparison and to stand in so conspicuous a point of view the only ineffective member of a body which is composed of members with whose abilities I am, and have long been, in the habit of intimate communication, and know them to be all eminently qualified to fill their respective parts in it. On these grounds I request your permission to yield my pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the institution, and is most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation." "I am at the same time," he adds—and here I cordially echo him—"earnestly to solicit your acceptance of my services in any way in which they can be, and I hope that they may be, rendered useful to your Researches."

Notices

On account of the summer vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Books sent to India by V. P. P. (Value Payable Post) may not be sent at Book Post Rates on account of the Customs Regulations. Consequently, it is cheaper, in most cases when speed is not imperative, to send payment in advance.

The congratulations of the Society are offered to Professor Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, on the occasion of the conferment upon him, by His Majesty the King, of an Honorary C.I.E.

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270 1921 *GURNER, Cyril W., I.C.S., *United Service Club, Calcutta, India.*

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480 1933 *Nigam, K. S., B.A., *c/o N. P. Nigam, Bhopal, India.*

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1902 †SASSOON, David S., 32 *Bruton St., W.* 1.
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590 1934 *SAWYER, W. H., 32 *Morland Avenue, Croydon.*
1932 *SAXENA, R. C., M.D., B.S., F.R.H.S., M.H.A., *Jaunpur, U.P., India.*
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HON. 1923 SCHEIL, Père Vincent, O.P., *Prof. d'Assyriologie à l'École des Hautes Études, 4 bis, rue du Cherche Midi, Paris.*
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650 1932 *Srivastava, Kalika Prasad, B.A., LL.B., *Civil Judge, Datia State, India.*
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The Combat of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Mōt

A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Shamra

THE SECOND TABLET

Transliterated from the Cuneiform Original with Introduction, Provisional Translation, Argument, and Commentary

BY THEODOR HERZL GASTER, B.A.

INTRODUCTION

THE present study continues that published by the writer in *JRAS.*, October, 1932. It comprises the transliteration, provisional translation, and commentary of the Second Tablet of the Ras-Shamra Epic as published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, October, 1932.

Text

The title "Second Tablet" is a title of convenience and does not imply that the present text immediately follows that already published. The correct order of the tablets is not yet determined, nor can anything usefully be said upon this head until the complete text is to hand.

More than a quarter of the tablet is broken away and it is consequently by no means easy to determine the sequence at all points. The writer believes, however, that the Argument which he has drawn up after close study represents pretty approximately, if not exactly, the action of the poem.

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Contents

The present tablet has for its central theme the defeat of the god Mot, spirit of blight and aridity, by the goddess 'Anat and the subsequent restoration of Aleyan-Ba'al, god of vegetation and fertility, who had previously been displaced. Sanctuaries and coverts are erected to him and to the other gods and they are regaled at a public feast.

Interpretation

The interpretation of the text has been a far more arduous task than in the case of the First Tablet. The divergences from Virolleaud are especially to be noted, since these almost invariably affect points where the study of Comparative Religion and Myth, and not only of Philology, is able to cast light upon passages left somewhat obscure in that scholar's edition.

(i) In *Archiv Orientální*, v, pp. 118–123, the writer has assembled material to show that this poem is in reality the myth of a ritual drama or pantomime enacted at the autumn harvest festival when the season of drought and aridity gives place to that of the rains (*shita*). This drama or pantomime, which has world-wide parallels, represents the Combat of Summer and Winter, Blight and Fertility, etc., it being remembered of course that in Syria it is Autumn–Winter (the Rainy Season) rather than the dry period of Summer that represents the season of life and vegetation. Aleyan-Ba'al represents the genius of the rainy season, whilst Mot represents that of the Drought. This is definitely stated in the text itself, and is further supported by the fact that their very names indicate this antithesis, Ba'al being connected with Arabic بعل and Mot with Arabic مَوَات, meaning "fertilized soil" and "arid soil" respectively. The discomfiture of Mot thus indicates both the removal of the drought and also what in European custom is termed "The Expulsion of the Death", whilst the restoration of Aleyan-Ba'al indicates the advent of the "rainy season" (*shita*)

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when the soil is moistened for ploughing. The Combat belongs, indeed, to the regular pattern of harvest-rites upon which Frazer, Mannhardt, and recently Professor S. H. Hooke have thrown so much light. The manner in which Mot is discomfited and pursued into the streams, whilst his royal garments are torn from him, corresponds exactly with the treatment meted out to the death in the European pantominic drama (vide *Archiv Orientální*, loc. cit.).

(ii) The installation of Aleyan-Ba'al as king and the entertainment of the gods at a banquet also belongs to the same "ritual pattern". In primitive thought, the king represents and typifies the genius of the group whose life is considered to be vouchsafed in annual or periodic leases. When the lease comes to an end the group is "in eclipse" and the king has lost his powers. A new king must therefore be appointed, or alternatively, the old king must be re-invigorated. Hence, at those harvest festivals, the rites of which are indeed designed to furnish the new lease of life, the coronation of a sovereign is an essential element. As Frazer has shown, this survives in the Kings (or Queens) of the May in European custom, and Hans Schmidt has made out a very plausible case for assuming such a rite as an original element in the Hebrew New Year festival, as it was at the Zagmuk of Babylon. Indeed, the sovereignty of Yhwh is to this day especially stressed in the Jewish New Year liturgy, and in my previous article (*JRAS*. 1932, p. 891, n. 103) I hinted at the survival of a septennial coronation in the ritual of the Hebrew Autumn-Harvest feast of Asif.

(iii) During the few days at the end of a life-lease, when the group and its normal king are "in eclipse" and the new life not yet procured by the elaborate gamut of fertility rites, it is often the custom to appoint a temporary king to hold sway. The writer believes that this institution will explain the otherwise obscure passage in the First Tablet, where, after the banishment of Aleyan-Ba'al, the high god El asks the goddess Asherat to appoint a king, and she duly

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appoints one Ishtar-'ariṣ. The words used in connection with his enthronement are: בל נמלך ידע ילטן (*I AB.* i, 20). In this sentence ידע seems to mean "one marked out", and is the same word as is employed in Deut. i, 15 (where it does not mean "knowledgeable") in connection with the election of "captains" over Israel. The baffling word ילטן may be connected with the Ethiopic ወለጠ "act as substitute" and the sense will be: "Certes, we will appoint as king one duly marked out; he shall serve as substitute (deputy)."

(iv) The banqueting of the gods also belongs to the ritual pattern of harvest festivals, and has its most striking parallel in the Theoxenia which was a cardinal feature of such ceremonies in the Phrygian Attis-cult. The object of it is to enter, through the Oriental method of commensality, into a bond of union with the gods who control natural phenomena. In our own text these gods are indeed specified as "the gods of bulls, the goddesses of cows; the gods of wells; the goddesses of cisterns; the gods of thrones; the goddesses of tribunes", and so forth.

(v) Of especial interest is the fact that in connection with the festival certain "coverts" or "booths" are erected for the gods. The technical name for such a covert or booth in the language of Ras-Shamra is מצלל, which is cognate to the Aramaic מטלל (lit. "shady retreat"). Now the word מטלל is the regular rendering, in the Targumim of the Hebrew Scriptures, of the word סֻכָּה "booth, tabernacle", and it is hence no far cry to assume that this ancient Syrian Festival of מצללם was the prototype of the Hebrew "Feast of Sukkoth." by which the autumn-harvest festival was called. We thus arrive at an explanation of this term, and are able to see that the current view which refers it to the erection of the bridal bower in connection with the primitive "sacred marriage" is sadly mistaken.

(vi) Over and above the recognition of the fact that the

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poem represents the myth of a ritual drama, the writer believes that he has been able to advance in its interpretation in regard to several allusions, mythological and otherwise, by the comparison of other Semitic texts which had escaped the notice of the French editor. Many of the incidents of the poem, such as the opening up of the sacrificial pit in Column I, and the libations of honey there prescribed, only become intelligible when studied in the light of parallel material drawn from Comparative Religion. Moreover, there are a large number of passages in which treatment from a different philological angle seems to throw light upon what was previously obscure. It should be pointed out, however, that a study of this kind is necessarily tentative and depends very much upon guesswork. This is especially so in the present case where only a small portion of a large text is yet available. Modifications will, no doubt, become necessary when the complete material is to hand, just as they have already become necessary in the case of the First Tablet, where much of the writer's commentary must now be rewritten. *Dies diem docet*, and the writer hopes that readers who might be inclined to be over-critical will remember these limitations before condemning what may subsequently appear to have been hazardous and wide of the mark.

In conclusion, the writer feels that he should again express appreciation of the pioneer edition of Virolleaud. Although he has differed from it in more cases than he has followed it, the writer has throughout this study been conscious of the debt which all students of the subject must owe to the French scholar.

Note on Transliteration

The sign 𐎘, previously transliterated as ḫ, is here represented by ḫ, since it corresponds most frequently to Hebrew and Aramaic ח. I hope later to show that 𐎘 represents in reality a proto-Semitic palatal resembling the German *ch*-sound

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in "ich", etc., later absorbed variously into laryngal ح, خ, and ع or into velar غ. Words exhibiting ⊀ seem to appear variously in the Semitic vocabularies now with ע and now with ח, suggesting that these are but variant approximations to an originally distinct sound.

ض represents the sign ⊠ which was not originally recognized and has since been discovered by Virolleaud. It represents indiscriminately ص or ض, but usually the latter.

I do not accept Virolleaud's assumption that ⊠◄ represents *f*, but read it simply as the two letters פע, as also do Ginsberg and Albright.

TEXT AND PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION

Note

The Translation is entirely provisional, since no definitive rendering is possible until the complete text is to hand. It does not attempt to do more than to give the meaning of the words separately and literally. In cases of doubt I have preferred caution to adventure and have marked the word in question with a query. Suggestions as to the sense will be found in the Commentary, but it did not seem to be advisable to embody them in the translation.

For the general sequence of the poem reference must be made to the Argument, although it must be understood that the fragmentary state of the text renders this largely conjectural.

Column I

(*Gap of about* 12 *lines*)

(b) מצלל[1]	אל	משב[1]
a covert	, of El	A sanctuary
רבת	משב	בנה[2]
of-the-Queen	a sanctuary	, of-his-sons
משב	אשרת ים[3]	15
a sanctuary	, Ašerat of the Sea	
כנית[4]	כלת	
The Lady Glorious	, of-the-Bride	

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אר[6] בת פדרי[5] משׁב
of-light a mansion, of the City-god a sanctuary

בת רב טלי[7] מצׁלל
a palace, of the God of the Demesne a covert

דר יעב בת ארצי[7] משׁב
a temple shall be grandly upreared a house , of the Soil-god a sanctuary

רגמם[9] משׁנ[8] אף 20
of messages (as) a reporter Moreover

מע[11] שׁסכן[10] ארגמך
, I pray ; pour libations , I despatch thee

ים אשׁרת רבת מגן[12]
, Asherat of the Sea of-the-Queen (unto) the protégé

אלם קנית[14] מעׁץ[13]
! of the gods of-the-Mistress (unto) the favourite

למפחם עלי הין[15]
unto the bellows go up (So) Hiyân

מצבטם חׄסס בד 25
[take] the pincers O Ḫasis in (thy) hand

ישל כסף יצק
be made to flow silver be founded

כסף יצק חׄרץ ח[16]
of silver yea, be founded ; gold

יצק חׄרץ לאלפם[17]
be founded of gold ; by the thousandfold

יצק לרבבת[17] ם
be founded ; by the myriadfold indeed

ותבשׁח[18] חיׄם[18] 30
and . . . . s

רבתם[21] דת אׄל[20] כת[19]
herds (?) of the a ram Cut up

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כת אֹל נבת[22] בכסף
cut up a ram flowing-honey in a silver vessel

שמר[23] חת[24] בדם חרץ
; cause to flow place with (your) hands the gold(en)

כחש אֹל[25] נחת[26]
throne , of El even the seat

בצר הדם אֹד[27] 35
above ; the footstool then

דפר[28] שא בבר
the plank (?) lift up (which is) upon the pit

נעל[29] אֹל דג[(a)] קבל בל
closed O god , fish, receive tribute

עלן יבל הם חרץ
: in our behalf (?) let them bring gold

שלחן אֹל[30] ד מלא
(for) the table of El which is filled

מנם[31] דבכם[32] מסדת[33] ארץ 40
supplementary (with) tributes the yield (?)— of the earth

צע[34] אֹל דקת[35] כאמר[36]
sacrifice (unto) El small cattle as is ordained

סכנת[37] כחות[38] ימנן[39]
? as is prescribed let them bring tribute

דבה[32] ראמם לרכבת[40] 43
over and above that wild oxen manifold

COLUMN II

אחדת פלכה[41] . . . . . .
she seized his disk

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פלך קלת[42] בים . . . . . .
the disc she burned on the . . . . day

נפינה[43] מכס[44] בשרה 5
; she chased him the covering of his flesh

תמתע[45] . מדה[46] בים שנ
she removed ; his robe on the morrow

נפינה בנהרם[47]
she chased him into the streams

שתת חכר[47a] לאשת
she placed the insignia (?) on the fire

חברש[48] לצר[49] פחמם
the crown (?) above the coals

תעפך[50] שר אל דפאד[51] 10
she . . . Bull El of Pʒd

תעצי בני בנות[52]
she favoured (?) Bni-bnwt

בנשא ענה ותפהן[53]
with the lifting of her eye she addressed (him)

הלך[54] בעל אשרת
he has gone " O Ba'al, (and) Ašerat "

כתען הלך בתלת
when she said " he has gone " the Virgin

ענת תדרק יבמת 15
'Anat ? ?

. . . . . בה . . . . . פענם
upon him . . . . . with her feet

[תטט[55] בע]רן[56] כסל
[; she trampled] [with a bl]ade (his) loin

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תשבר עלן פ[נה ת[דע][57]
she smote] [the front ; of his face she [hacked]

תעין[58] [פנת[59] כסלה]
she dismembered the forepart of his loins

אנש[60] דת צרה[61] 20
the obverse part of his hips

תשא גה ותצח אך
she lifted up her voice and exclaimed how

מעי[62] אלאין בעל
did sally forth Aleyan Ba'al

אך מעית בו[תל]ת
how did sally forth The Vi[rg]in

ענת מחצי אמתחין
; 'Anat (saying) he that assaileth me will I engage in combat

בני דת . . . . . צברת 25
(with) my sons ? (with) the throng of . . . . . .

אריי (c) . . . . . כסף . . . . . דת
mine attendants . . . . . silver . . . . . ? . . . . . .

כתען צל[63] כסף . . . . ון
as she spake a bowl of silver and moreover, ...

חרץ שמח רבת אשרת
; (of) gold rejoiced the queen Asherat

ים גם לעלמה . . . . . .
; of the Sea also : [she spake] to her servitors . . . . . .

עין מכשר[64] אפת[ח] 30
the eye propitious : will I open .

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דגי (d) רבת אשר[ת ים]
Sir Fish (of) the Queen Ašera[t of the Sea]

קח רשת בדך . . . . . ת
take a net in thy hands ; . . . . . (and) a

רבת על ידת . . . . . .
mesh upon (thy) hands

במדד אל ים 65
(in) the sea, against El's favourite

35 בים אל דפאד
in the sea El of P3d

הר אל י
? (of) El . . . . . .

אלאין [בעל] . . . . . .
Aleyan [Ba'al]

בתלת [ענת] . . . . . .
The Virgin [ʻAnat] . . . . . .

מה כ . . . . . .
what . . . . . .

40 ואת . . . . . .
and thou (?) . . . . . .

אשר . . . . . .
? . . . . . .

באמ . . . . . .
among the . . . ? . . . . . .

בל ל . . . . . .
not (?) unto . . . . . .

מלך . . . . . .
king . . . . . .

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45 דת . . . . . [לת]
of the . . . . . [? may she re]

בט . . . . . .
. . . . . gard

גם . . . . . .
. . . . . also

48 יש . . . . . .
?

COLUMN III

2 דן . . . . . .
? . . . . . .

דד . . . . . .
? . . . . . .

5 אל . . . . . ינס[66]
let him not ; escape

ן . . . . . יסדך[66]
. . . . . Be thy foundation ?

ן . . . . . דר דר
[established] for age upon age

יך . . . . . ורחד[66]
. . . . . thy ? ? .

יאלם . . . . . ד מלך
. . . . . O gods of ! a king

10 י . . . . . [67] אלאין בעל
then . . . ed Aleyan Ba'al

י . . . . . עדד[68] רכב ערפת[69]
got ready He that chariots o'er the clouds

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ויקלצן[70] ידד . . . . . .
and departed ? . . . . . .

בתך ויופשן[72] יקם[71]
into the midst of hied forth moreover he

שתת אלם[73] בנ פדר
she set of the gods of the sons the assembly

קלת[74] בשלחני . . . . . פ (?) 15
she said on my table ?

אשתינה בכס
I will give her to drink in a cup

שלש[76] בעל שנא[75] דבחם שנ קם
three Ba'al hateth sacrifices two moreover

דבח ערפת רכב
a sacrifice o'er the clouds He that chariots

[ודבח] ודבח בשת[e]
[and a sacrifice] and a sacrifice ?

תדמם[f] ודבח דנת 20
? and a sacrifice ?

לתבט[77] בשת כבה אמדת
may she regard ? ? ancillary (?)

אמדת תדממת ובה
ancillary (?) ? ?

בעל אלאין מעי אחר
Ba'al Aleyan came thereafter

ענת בתלת מעית
'Anat the Virgin came

אשרת ים רבת תמגנן 25
Ašerat of the Sea the Queen afforded protection

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תעצין קנית אלם
showed favour the Mistress of the gods

ותען רבת אשרת ים
and she said the Queen- Ašerat of the Sea

אך תמגנן רבת אשרת ים
how doth she afford protection the Queen Ašerat of the Sea

30 תעצין קנית אלם מגנתם
yea, show favour the Mistress of the gods those twain who protected

שר אל דפאד הם עצתם
Dped El Bull yea those twain who favoured

בני בנות ותען
Bni-bnwt. Then replied (spake)

בתלת ענת נמגן
The Virgin 'Anat We are protected

. . . . . ם רבת אשרת ים
by (?) the Queen Ašerat of the Sea

35 . . . . . ץ קנית אלם
[we are] f[avoured] (by) the Mistress of the gods

. . . . . נמגן הות
we are protected . . . . . (by) the word (of)

. . . . . אלאין בעל
Ba'al-Aleyan . . . . . .

. . . . . רבת אשרת ים
The Queen Ašerat of the Sea

. . . . . [ב]תלת ענת
The [Vi]rgin . . . . . 'Anat

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תשתי [תל]חם 40
give drink, feed with viands . . . . . .

מרעשם [שד][78] ופק אלם
the breast sucking and pour it out (to) the gods

קץ [בחרב מ]לחת[79]
cut [sh]arp with a sword

ין תשתי כ]רפנם[81] [מרא[80]
wine in goblets [make to drink a fatted beast]

עצם[82] דם] חרץ [וככם 44
of trees [the blood of gold and in a cup]

(*Lacuna*)

לן . . . . . ? 52
our (?) . . . . . .

לן . . . . . .
our (?) . . . . . .

COLUMN IV

לרבת]
for the Queen]

ער [מדל[83] אשרת ים
a foal harness Ašerat of the Sea

דת גפנם[85] שת] פחל[84] צמד 5
of bridles place a colt bridle

[נקבנם][87] ירק[86] דת כסף
; [reins] gold of ; silver

אתנתה גפן עדב
of her foal the bridle prepare

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ישמע קדש ואמרר[88]
heard Amurru-cum-Qadeš

מדל ער צמד פחל
he harnessed ; a foal he bridled a colt

שת גפנם דת כסף 10
he placed bridles of silver

דת ירק נקבנם
of gold reins

עדב גפן אתנתה
he prepared the bridle of her foal

יחבק[89] קדש ואמרר
he harnessed (it) Qadesh-cum-Amurru

ישתן אשרת לבמת[90] ער
he set Asherat upon the belly of the foal

ליסמסמת[91] במת פחל 15
comfortably (upon) the belly of the colt

קדש יאחדם[92] שבער[93]
Qadesh ; led them shone

אמרר ككבכב[93] לפנם
Amurru like a star before them

אשר בתלת ענת
The Sacred Place (i.e. Her Holiness) of the Virgin 'Anat

ובעל תבע מרים צפן[94]
and (of) Ba'al came (*or* hastened) (even unto) the lords of the North

אדך לתתן פנם 20
thereupon behold, she set (her) face

עם אל מבך נהרם
toward El (to) the place where flow the streams

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תהמתם אפק[95] קרב
of the twain oceans the horizon hard by

ותבא אל שד תגלי
and came of El the field she found out

שנם[97] אב מלך קרש[96]
of years Father of the King unto the pavilion

ותקל תדבר אל לפענ 25
and spake she pronounced of El at the feet

ותכבדה תשתחוי
and payed him homage she bowed down

יפנהנה כ אל הלם
he gave her word when El thereupon

ויצחק לצב[98] יפרק
and laughed restraint he brake

ויכרכר ישפד[99] לדדם פענם
and snapped, he made to dance (?) upon the footstool (his) feet

וי[צח] גה ישא אצבעה 30
and ex[claimed] his voice he lifted up his fingers

אשר[תי]ם רבת מעית אך
Ašerat [of the S]ea O Queen art come how

אלם קנית אתית אך
of the gods O Mistress art arrived how

ותעת[101] רעבת[100] רעב
and hast been wandering Thou art very hungry

ועס[ת][103] עמאת[102] עמא הם
and roaming at large thou hast been roving blindly yea, verily,

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לחם הם שתים לחם 35
viands ; set for them behold viands

בשלחנת לחם שת . . . . . .
on tables viands (and) drink . . . . . .

בכרפנם יין בכם חרץ
in goblets wine in a cup of gold

דם עצם הם יד[104] אל מלך
the blood of trees behold the hand (it is) of El the king

יתצצך אהבת שר תעררך[105]
which clasps thee (it is) the love of Bull that would stir thee

ותען רבת אשרת ים 40
then spake in answer the Queen Ašerat of the Sea

תחמך אל חכם חכמת
(he) sendeth thee word O El wise (who) wisdom

עם עלם חית חצת[106]
together with eternity of living hast gotten as a portion

תחמך מלכן אלאין בעל
sendeth thee word our king Aleyan-Ba'al

שפטן ואן דעלנה[107]
our judge and none (is there) who is beside him

כלנין[108] נבל כסה[109] 45
, our liege (?) we bring tribute a cup for him

כלנין נבל כסה[109]
our liege (?) we bring tribute a cup for him

אני ליצח שר אל אבה
behold, now they exclaim O thou Bull El his sire

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יצח	דיכננה [110]	מלך	אֹל
they exclaim	who enthroneth him	the King	(even) El

וצבת	אלת	ובנה	אשרת
and the throng of	Allat	and her sons	yea, even Ašerat

לבעל	בת	אֹן	ון	אריה	50
for Ba'al	house	there is no	behold	her attendants	

אשרת	כבנ	וחצר [111]	אֹלם	כמ
of Ašerat	like the sons	nor precinct	the (other) gods	like

בנה	מצלל	אֹל	משב
of his sons	a covert	of El	a sanctuary

ים	אשרת	רבת	משב
of the Sea	Ašerat	of the Queen	a sanctuary

כלית	כלת	משב
The Lady Glorious	of the Bride	a sanctuary

אר	בת	פדרי	משב	55
of light	a mansion	of the City-god	a sanctuary	

בת רב	טלי	מצלל
a palace	of the God of the Demesne	a covert

דר	יעב	בת	ארצי	משב
a temple	let be grandly upreared	a house	of the Soil-god	a sanctuary

אֹל דפאך	לטפן	ויען
El of Pʒd	Lord Sweet	then spake

אשרת	ענן [112]	אנך	פעבד
of Ašerat	ye servitors	now	go to work

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	אלש[113]	אחד	אנך	פעבד	60
	?	alone (?)	now	go to work	
	תלבן	אשרת	אמת	הם	
	collect	of Ašerat	let the handmaid	Verily	
	לבעל	בת	יבן	לבנת	
	for Ba'al	a house	there shall be builded	bricks	

Column V

	אשרת	כבנ	וחצר	אלם	כמ	63
	of Ašerat	like the sons	and a precinct	the (other) gods	like	
	ים	אשרת	רבת	ותען	
	of the Sea	Ašerat	the Queen	then answered	
		לחכמת	אלם	רבת	65
		unto wisdom	: of the gods	the Queen	
	לתסרך[114]	דקנך	שיבת	
	be united (*or* may she unite)	of thine old age	the hoariness	
	לארתך[115]	. . . . .	ד	נחת	רח	
	into thy lungs	?	of	?	breath	
	מטרה	עדן[116]	אף	ון	
	of his rain	the luxuriance	in addition	and moreover	
	בגלש[118]	שרת[117]	עדן	יעדן	בעל	
	upon grazed (verdure)	of inundation	the luxuriance	luxuriate	may Ba'al	
	בערפת	קלה	ויתן	70
	in the clouds	his voice	and may he give forth	

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ברקם (in the form of) lightnings — בארץ upon the earth — שרה[119] (and his) gleam

בת a house — ארזם[120] of cedars — יכללנה[121] they construct it

הם verily, — בת a house — לבנת of bricks — יעמסנה[122] they toil on it (?)

לירגם let it be announced — לאלאין unto Aleyan — בעל Ba'al

75 צח shouts [praises] — חרן the stony soil — בבהתך[123] in thy chapel

עשבת the grassland — בקרב amid — הכלך thy temple

תבל bring thee tribute — ך — ערם[124] the valleys — מאד כסף of rich silver

גבעם the hills — מחמד חרץ of prized gold

יבלך bring thee tribute — אדר[125] of *'êder*-wood — אלקצם[125] [and] gypsum

80 ובנ and they build — בהת a chapel — כסף of silver — וחרץ and of gold

בהת a chapel — טהרם[126] (for) the Pure Ones — אקנאם[127] for whom I am zealous

שמח rejoice — בתלת O Virgin — ענת 'Anat — תדעץ make to dance

פענם[128] , (thy) feet — ותר[129] and leap — ארץ (upon) the ground

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אדך לתתן פנם
thereupon behold she set (her) face

עם בעל מרים צפן 85
toward Ba'al (and) the lords of the North

באלף שד[130] רבת כמן[131]
with an ox of the field a ? ?

שחק בתלת ענת תשא
she laughed the Virgin 'Anat she lifted up

גה ותצח תבשר בעל
her voice and ex-claimed she brought the glad tidings O Ba'al (saying)

בשרתך יבלת יתנת
news to cheer thee I have brought I have published

בת לך כמ אלם וחצר 90
(there is) a house for thee like the gods and a precinct

כמ אריך צח חרן
like thy peers shouts [thy praise] the stony soil

בבהתך עשבת בקרב
in thy chapel the grassland, amid

הכלך תבלך ערם
thy temple bring thee tribute the valleys

מאד כסף גבעם מחמד
of rich silver the hills of prized

חרץ ובנ בהת כסף 95
gold and they build a chapel of silver.

וחרץ בהת טהרם
and gold a chapel (for) the Pure Ones.

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אלאין שמח אקנאם
Aleyan rejoiced for whom I am zealous

בבהתה חרן צח בעל
in his chapel the stony soil sang [praise] (for that) Ba'al

הכלה בקרב עשבת
(saying :) his temple amid the grassland

מאד כסף ערם יבלנן 100
rich silver the valleys now bring

מחמד חרץ גבעם
prized gold the hills

אלקצם אדר יבלנן
(and) gypsum *'êder*-wood they now bring

וחסס[132] כשר יאכל
Kašir-cum-Ḫasis — then partakes of food [RUBRIC :]

תלאכן כ למספר ושב
thou dost now send out " When to the passage (commencing) then do thou turn back

עלמם 105
" workmen (servitors)

וחסס כשר מעי אחר
Kašir-cum-Ḫasis came thereafter

מרא קדמה אלף שת
is fat whose forepart an ox place

כסא תעדב פנה[133] ותך
a throne prepare its / his face and smite

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וישׁשׁב לימן[134] אלאין
and let sit on the right Aleyan

110 בעל עד[135] לחם שתי אלם
Ba'al now give viands give drink (to) the gods

ויען אלאין בעל
then spake Aleyan Ba'al

. . . . . ב . . . . . .
. . . . . in (?) . . . . . .

חש בהתם . . . . . .
quick, chapels

חש רמם[136] הכלם
quick found shrines

115 חש בהתם תבנן
quick chapels do thou build

חש תרמם הכלם
quick do thou found shrines

בתך צررת צפן
in the midst of the navel of the North

אלף שד אחד בת[137]
ox of the field one per house

רבת כמן הכל
? ? ! (be sacrificed) per shrine

120 ויען כשר וחסס
then answered Kašir-cum-Ḫasis

שמע ל אלאין בעל
hearken to me O Aleyan Ba'al

בן ל[138] רכב בערפת
attend to me thou that chariotest o'er the clouds

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בל אשת ארבת בבהתם
surely will I set skylights in the chaplets

חלן[139] בקרב הכלם[139]
a window amid the shrines

125 ויען אלאין בעל
then answered Aleyan Ba'al

אל תשת ארבת בבהתם
not shalt thou set skylights in the chapels

[חלן] בקרב הכ[לם]
[nor a window] amid the shri[nes]

COLUMN VI

1 ויען כשר וחסס
Then answered Kašir-cum-Ḫasis

תשב בעל להותי[140]
attend O Ba'al to my word

שנ רגם כשר וחסס
repeat the message Kašir-cum-Ḫasis

שמע מע ל אל[לאין] בעל
hearken prithee, to me O A[leya]n Ba'al

5 בל אשת אר[בת] בבהתם
surely will I set s[kylights] in the chapels

חלן בקר[ב הכ] לם
a window am[id the shri]nes

ויען אלאי[ן] בעל
then spake Ba'al Alêyan

אל תשת אר[ב]ת בבהתם
not shalt thou set a sk[yl]ight in the chapels

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חלן בק[רב הכ]לם
nor a window am[id the shri]nes

10 אל תד . . . . . בת אר
not shalt thou build a mansion of light

. . . . חט . . . . . בת רב
. . . . . a palace

. . . . . [מ]דד אֹל ים
the [da]rling . . . . . of El of the Sea

. . . . . קלצן ופשם
betake and hie

. . . . . ויען כשר
then answered Kašir

15 [וחסס ת]שב בעל להותי
attend [cum-Ḫasis] O Ba'al unto my word

. . . . . בהתה תבנן
his chapel . . . . . do thou build

. . . . . תרמם הכלה
do thou found . . . . . his shrine

. . . . . ך ללבנן[141] ועצה
[let him g]o to the Lebanon and its wood

ל [שר]ין[g] מחמד ארבה
to [Sir]ion its choicest cedars

20 ה . . . . . [לל]בנן ועצה
[to the Le]banon . . . . . and its wood

ש[ר]ין מחמד ארבה
Si[ri]on its choicest cedars

תשת אֹשת בבהתם
place fire in the chapels

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נבלאת[142] בהכלם
flames in the shrines

הן ים ושנ תאכל[143]
lo (one) day and a second let consume

אשת בבהתם נבלאת 25
fire in the chapels flames

בהכלם שלש רבע ים
in the shrines three four day(s)

תאכל [אש]ת בבהתם
let consume [fi]re in the chapels

נבלא[ת] בהכלם
flame[s] in the shrines

חמש ש[ד]ש ים תאכל
five s[i]x day(s) let consume

אשת [ב]בהתם נבלאת 30
fire [in the] chapels flames

ב[קרב הכ]לם מך
am[id the shri]nes forthwith (?)

בשבע [יו]ם[144] תד[145] אשת
throughout seven day(s) kindle fire

בבהתם נ[בל]את בהכלם
in the chapels fl[am]es in the shrines

סב[146] כסף לרקם[147] חרץ
take silver for the plates gold

נסב ללבנת שמח 35
take ! for the bricks (then) rejoiced

אלאין בעל הת יבנת
Aleyan Ba'al ? ?

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דת כסף הכלי דתם
of silver my shrine yea, of

חרץ עדבת[148] בהת [הכ]ל
of gold the construction of chapel (and) [shri]ne

יעדב הד עדבו[ת] בה[ת]
is con- (the god) *Hêd* the constructi[on] of (his) c[hapel]

הכלה טבח אלפם [אף] 40
(and) of his shrine sacrifice oxen [(and) also]

צאן שקל שרם[(h)] [ומ]
sheep heavy bulls [and f]at-

ראם אלם עגלם דת
-lings rams calves of

שנת[149] אמר קמץ[150] ללאם[151]
a year a lamb fowl kids

צח אחה בבהתה אריה
shouted [praise] his brethren in his chapel his compeers

בקרב הכלה צח 45
in the midst of his shrine shouted (praise)

שבעם בנ אשרת[152]
the seventy sons of Ašerat

שפק[(i)] אלם כרם[153] יו[ן]
pour out (for) the gods of wells wi[ne]

שפק אלהת חפרת[153] [יו]
pour out (for) the goddesses [wi]ne of the pits

שפק אלם אלפם יו[ן]
pour out (for) the gods of oxen wi[ne]

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[יי]ן	ארחת[154]	אלדת	שפק
[wine]	of kine	(for) the goddesses	pour out
יי[ן	כחשם	אלם	שפק
wine	of (royal) seats	(for) the gods	pour out
[יי]ן	כסאת	אלדת	שפק
[wine]	of thrones	(for) the goddesses	pour out
יי[ן	רחבת	אלם	שפק
wine	of streets	(for) the gods	pour out
[יי]ן דרכ[ת*		אלדת	שפק
[wine] of highw[ays]		(for) the goddesses	pour out
[אל]ם	שתי	לחם	עד
(to) the gods	give drink	give viands	now
שר	מרעשם	ופק	
the breast	(for those) sucking	and pour out	
[מר]	קין	מלחת	בחרב
[a fat-]	cut	sharp	with a sword
ן[כרפ[נם יי	תשתי	א	
gobl[ets of wi]ne	give to drink	-ling	

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

(?) ן . . . . . .

. . . . . .

ת . . . . . .

. . . . . .

ש . . . . . .

. . . . . .

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. . . . . ן (?)
. . . . . .

(*Gap of some three lines*)

Column VII

. . . קנאָ . . . . . .
. . . . ? . . . . . .

. . . . . [א]לאָין בעל
Ba'al [A]leyan . . . . . .

אָל . . . . . תך מדד
of El the darling ? . . . . . .

קדקדה . . . . . לצר . . . . . [ם]ים
his pate above of the S[ea]

אָל . . . . . חק בער[ן] 5
. . . ? . . . ? . . . . . El

בצפן . . . . . אָלם . . . . . כמ
in the North the gods . . . . . ? . . . . . like

. . . . . ערם . . . . . ל . . . . . עדר
cities to . . . . . ? .

פדרם[155] . . . . . לה[רם] . . . . . שב
of states upon the pede[stal] sit

ער . . . . . אחד . . . . . לששם[156] . . . . . ששׁ
cities possess plus sixty six

פדר . . . . . שבע . . . . . שבעם 10
state(s) seven - seventy

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שמנים בעל מ . . . . . .
eighty Ba'al . . . . . .

תשעם בעל מר . . . . . .
ninety Ba'al . . . . . .

ב . . . . . ד בעל בקר[ב]
in . . . . . Ba'al withi[n]

בת ויען אלאין
the house then answered Aleyan

15 בעל אשתם כשר בן
Ba'al verily, I will set Kašir son of

ים כשר[157] בנם עדת[158]
the Sea as foreman of builders of the house

יפתח חלן בבדתם
he shall open a window in the chapels

ארבת בקרב הכל
a skylight within the shrines

ם ויפתח בדקת ערפת[159]
and one shall open a gutter (on) the gables

20 על פ[הת][160] כשר וחסס
by the command of Kašir-cum-Ḫasis

שחק כשר וחסס
laughed Kašir-cum-Ḫasis

ישא גה ויצח
he lifted up his voice and exclaimed

לרגמת לך[161] לאלא
on a message go unto Aley-

ין בעל תשבן
-an Ba'al (saying) attend thou

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25 בעל לדותי יפתח ח
O Ba'al to my word he will open a

לן בבדתם ארבת
window in the chapels a skylight

בקרב הכ[לם יפ]תח
within the shrines [he will op]en

בעל בדקת ערפת
—even Ba'al gutters (on the) gables

קלה קדש בע[ל י]תן
his voice holy Ba'al [will g]ive forth

30 ישני בעל צ . . . . . .
? Ba'al ?

כתה קלה ק[דש] רפ֗ר֗ ארץ
his . . . . . his voice h[oly] . . . ?? . . . . . (upon) earth

. . . . . ערם . . . אחסן
I am afeared . . valleys . . . . . .

רתק . . . . . .
. . . . . bind him
in chains

קדם ים במת א[רץ]
east west (and) west (over) the heights of the e[arth]

35 תטטן אב בעל תאחד
trample him the foe of Ba'al (and chase) seize

יערם שנא הד גפת
through the woods the enemy of Hadad unto the edges of

ער ויען אלאין
! the valley(s) then answered Aleyan

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בעל אֹב הדן לם תחֹש [162]
? art inactive wherefore ; behold, here he is the foe Ba'al

לם תחֹש נשֹק [163] דמרן [164]
protect us (??) we rely on thee (??) ? art inactive wherefore

ענ בעל קדם ידה [165] 40
his hand confront O Ba'al answer

כ תהם [166] ארז בימנה
with his right-hand ; the cedar(s) it shatters for

בכם [167] ישב בעל לבהתה
to his house Ba'al then returned : hath he shivered them (?)

אֹמלך אֹבלם [168] (saying:)
no prince (?) no king

ארץ [169] דרכת [170] ישתכן 45
on earth on my throne shall sit

דלל [171] אל אֹלאך [172] לבן
as slave not will I run messages for the son of

אֹלם מת עדד [173] לידד
, the gods Mōt nor as prompt servant (?) to the darling of

אֹל עֹזר יקרא מת
El Ḫzr cries out Mōt

בנפשה יסתרן ידד
the Darling hides (himself) (?) in his sepulchral home (?)

בגננה אחדי ד ימלך
in his vault I alone am he that he should reign

על אֹלם לימרא 50
over the gods that should rule

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אלם ונשם דישב
gods and men that should replenish

ע המלת[174] ארץ גם לע
the languor ! of the earth moreover unto

למה בעל כ יצה . ענ
his servitors Ba'al when he cried (then) answered (?)

[גפן] ואגר[k] בעלמת[175][l]
Byblian-and-Ugaritian in gloom,

עמם . . . ים בן צלמת ר 55
? ? among the dark places the

[מת פרעת] אבר [מ]נת
uplands ? ? is the portion of

[חבלה] . . . . . [ע]רפת
[his estate] [c]louds

[תחת] . . . . . חת[175]
[under] . . . . . ?

ם . . . . . .
. . . . . .

ה (?) 60
. . . . . .

(*Gap of some five lines*)

Column VIII

אדך אל תתן פנם
Forthwith not do thou set (O Mōt), (thy) face

עם ער[176] תרעזז[177]
toward the valleys of Tarḫu-zzi

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(m) שרמג[178] עֹר עם
of Šrm-gi the valleys toward

ארץ עֹצר תלם עם
of any fertile land soever the furrows toward

ידם על עֹר שאֹ[179] 5
(thy) hands lies upon of all valleys (since) devastation

רחתם[180] לצֹר חלב[179a]
(thy) palms upon (and) of woodlands

חפשת[181] בת ורד
(unto) the House Apart but go down

בי תספר ארץ
among them who be thou reckoned ; of the netherworld

ארץ רדם
(unto) the netherworld go down

תתן אל אֹדך 10
(O Aleyan), do thou set not forthwith

קרתה תך פנם
his abode amid (thy) face

כסאֹ מך המרי[182]
(is) the throne yea, here : (this is) my property (saying :)

ון נחלתה ארץ שבתי
and behold of his heritage the land (it is) : where I sit

עֹר
it is the valley

אל אֹלם ענן 15
not : of the gods (of) the servitor (?)

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תקרב לבן אלם
approach in hostility unto the son of the gods

מת אל יעדבכם[183]
Mōt not let him render you

כאמר בפה
like a lamb in his mouth

כללא בשבר נ
like a kid (which) with breaking men

קנה תחתאן[183] 20
immolate it wouldst thou be broken !

נרת אלם שפש
the Light of the gods Šapaš

צחררת לא שמם
deserts not (with) rain

ביד מד
(are) in the hand of the darling

ד אלם מת בא
of the gods Mōt with an

לף שד רבת כ 25
ox of the field a large beast of ?

מן לפענ מת
? at the feet of Mōt

הבר וקל
do thou pronounce and speak

תשתחוי וכ
prostrate thyself and

בך הות ורגם
pay homage a word (saying :) and message

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מת אֹלם לבן 30
Mōt of the gods unto the son

לידד שני
to the darling recount

תחם עֲזר אֹל
sends word : Ḫzr of El

בעל אלאֹין
Ba'al Aleyan

ק אלאֹי [הו]ת
(with) I am mighty a word

יבן בהת . . . . . רדם (m) 35
is builded a chapel warriorship

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

י . . . . . .
my ? . . . . . .

אחי . . . . . .
my brethren . . . . . .

אחי . . . . . .
my brethren . . . . . .

י 40
my ? . . . . . .

כב . . . . . .
. . . . . .

[מ]לחת . . . . . .
[sh]arp (?) . . . . . .

ת . . . . . .
. . . . . .

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אֹלֹם . . . . . .
(of) the gods . . . . . .

אֹ יד 45
the hand . . . . . .

ך . . . . . .
thy (?) . . . . . .

ואֹגר [גפן] . . . . . .
and Ugaritian [the Byblite ?]

(*Gap of some fifteen lines*)

177.

(*To be continued.*)

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Spirits and Demons in Arabia

By A. S. TRITTON

THE Arabs believed in the existence of beings to which they gave commonly the generic name "djinn". For convenience we may call them spirits. Muḥammad carried these ideas over into Islam where theologians developed and systematized them. These Muslim ideas are of no interest to the student of folk-lore unless it can be shown that they contain older material.

Djinn, the commonest name for these spirits, is probably a genuine Arabic word derived from the root meaning to cover, conceal. Some have thought that it is a foreign word, coming perhaps from Africa; but the likeness to the Latin *genius* is probably due to chance. Another name for them is *kháfi*, which means the same as djinn. Djinn itself is a collective, with the singular djinni, belonging to the class djinn; *djánn* is both singular and collective. They are also called "the people of the earth".[1]

The name *ḥinn* is said to denote the weaker djinn, one tribe of them, or spirits intermediate between them and men. It is also given to black dogs; but it would appear that no sharp distinction was drawn between the spirit and the animal, to judge by the tradition: "If *ḥinn* come to you while you are eating throw them something for they have desires." That is, the evil eye will smite you.[2] Djinn are often associated with noise, so *ḥinn* may be derived from the idea of a faint weird noise; cf. "the wizards that chirp and mutter".[3]

There are special names for different sorts of djinn.

Ghúl comes from a root meaning to destroy.

'ifrít is said to come from the root meaning to roll in the dust, to overcome, and so is given to powerful spirits.

[1] Ibn Hishám, 258.
[2] *Lisán al Arab*, xvi, 289.
[3] Isaiah viii, 19.

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Si'lát usually denotes a female. The form is unusual and *si'lat* and *si'lá* also occur. One author states that *si'lá* denotes a male djinn and *thi'lát* a female.[1] Presuming the text to be correct, we have four forms of the word and some uncertainty as to the meaning. The root means to cough, which hardly provides a suitable derivation, and combined with the triple or fourfold form suggests a foreign origin. As the *si'lát* is commonly ugly it is tempting to connect it with the Hebrew *sa'ír*, literally hairy, the name of some sort of demon. The interchange of *l* and *r* is common.

Rúḥ is a kind that attacks children.[2]

Shiḳḳ is in the form of half a man and often attacks lonely travellers.[3] One attacked 'alḳama b. Ṣafwán, who resisted it, and both were killed.

'ámir is any djinn that lives in a house or near mankind.

Shaiṭán, though a foreign word, found its way to Arabia early, and is used in much the same way as djinn.

These names are not used with scientific exactitude.

Djinn were of airy nature[4]: theology, perhaps following a popular superstition, says that they were created from flame or smoke. In modern Egypt one may have flaming eyes or may disappear by turning into fire.[5] But they were not pure spirit, they are joined with men as "the two having weight".[6] One was killed by a date-stone which a man threw away.[7] It is evident that they were imagined as consisting of some material more subtle than that of which humans are made. In another place it is said that they have no bodies.[8] Or they have no colour and so cannot be seen[9]; but this looks like

[1] *Khizánat al Adab* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dín), ii, 188.
[2] Jáḥiẓ, *Kitáb al Ḥayawán*, vi, 58.
[3] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 63.
[4] *Damíri*, i, 185 (Cairo 1305).
[5] Padwick, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, 425.
[6] *Koran*, lv, 31.
[7] *Arabian Nights*, n. 1.
[8] *L.A.*, iii, 290.
[9] Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitáb al Fiṣal*, v, 13.

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theological reasoning. One peculiarity is that their eyes are perpendicular, not horizontal as in men; a belief that is found in Arabia to-day.[1]

They were organized in tribes under chiefs and princes,[2] but single members had little or no individuality. Like the Arabs one of them was dangerous because the power of his tribe was behind him and would avenge him if need was.

Certain places were notorious as habitations of djinn; Hamdáni gives a list of places where the noises they made could be heard.[3] Other spots are Nisibín,[4] probably a small town in Arabia and not the famous place in Mesopotamia, Lebanon, Ḳásiyún in Damascus, Maghárat al-Dam, Mt. Sawákh, Mt. Fáṯḥ in Egypt, and the peoples Ṭasm and Jadís.[5] But they were found everywhere; in houses, for the prophet forbad the custom of sacrificing to them when building a new house.[6] The name *'ámir* may refer to a djinn or to a snake. We hear of a charm that worked on the *'ámir* and that in its turn drove the snake out of its hole.[7] They were especially common in the desert, where the traveller was exposed to their wiles.[8] Apparently each place had its own spirit; for travellers address "the great one of this place" or "the dweller in the valley"[9]; reminding one of the Baals of Palestine. In later times India and Syria were famous for their djinn.[10] A place full of snakes was full of djinn.[11] A kind of thin black snake was named djinni.[12] They could be disturbed by men ploughing virgin soil and when a thicket was set on fire they flew out in the form of white snakes.[13] In the last century places of luxuriant vegetation were thought to be homes of the djinn.[14] They could also be disturbed

[1] *Murúj*, iii, 319. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, 259.
[2] *Ḥayawán*, i, 160.
[3] *Geography*, 128, 154.
[4] *Damíri*, i, 187.
[5] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 56, 66. *Minháj al-Sunna*, ii, 85.
[6] *L.A.*, xvi, 250.
[7] *Ḥayawán*, iv, 61.
[8] *Ṭarafa*, iii, 1.
[9] *Damíri*, i, 190.
[10] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 72.
[11] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 56.
[12] *L.A.*, iv, 23.
[13] *Aghání* (ed. 1), vi, 92.
[14] Wrede, *Reise in Hadramaut*, 177.

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by digging wells. The tale of the death of Sa'd b. 'ubáda shows that they haunted rubbish-heaps.[1] To-day it is believed that houses may be haunted by djinn, then they are called *maskún*; and in Africa djinn live in the ground, in the hearth-stones, the cinders, drains, the staircase, and the latrines.[2] A bare patch in the middle of grass is their place of prayer.[3] In the Egyptian delta they are connected with water and live in disused water-wheels and are fond of throwing people into canals or wells.[4] This belief is probably due to the nature of the land.

Usually they show themselves at night or in the evening.[5] A tradition runs: "At nightfall keep children at home for *shaiṭáns* are abroad. When one hour has gone remove the restraint, but shut the doors for a *shaiṭán* cannot open a shut door. Tie up the water-skins, cover jars, and put out lamps."[6] They were often invisible though they might be heard or touched, but, as is to be expected, the stories are not consistent. When Ḥamza al-Zayyát was on his way to Mecca he was seized by two beings whom he felt and heard but did not see. They took him to their tribe, which was met under its chief, and among them he saw the djinn which had composed the poems of Zuhair.[7] Often it seems that they were naturally invisible but could let themselves be seen if they so wished. They appeared in human form but also as animals. It is not always clear if the animal form is the true shape of the spirit or only adopted by it.[8] A woman diverted the suspicions of her husband by saying that her paramour, who was hiding in a *'ushr*-tree, was the *djánn* of that tree.[9] Often they appear as snakes. The djinn of the *ḥamáṭa* (a kind of tree) were snakes.[10] Many tales are told of men who gave drink

[1] *Letters of Abu'l 'alá*, 66.
[2] Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, 190. Goichon, *La Vie Feminine au Mzab*, 189 f.
[3] *L.A.*, xviii, 259.
[4] Padwick, 433 f.
[5] *Agháni* (ed. 3), iv, 125. Zuhair, iii, 11.
[6] *Bukhári*, lxxiv, 22.
[7] Yáḳút, *Irshád*, vi, 121.
[8] *Agháni* (ed. 3), iv, 125.
[9] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 52.
[10] *Ḥayawán*, iv, 45.

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to snakes or buried dead snakes and these proved to be believing djinn which had listened to the preaching of the prophet. They were closely associated with dogs also. One tale is of a man who thought that a djinni was in an inner room of his house ; when at last he had the courage to open the door and a dog ran out he cried : "Praise be to Him who turned you into a dog."[1] Sometimes the dog is said to be of the djinn but less than they, and at others a black dog is a djinni and a spotted dog is a *ḥinn*.[2] The limb of one was like a dog's paw and hairy or like thorns, or a hedgehog.[3] A *ghúl* appeared as a cat.[4]

One peculiarity of the *ghúl* was that it could assume any form it chose with the limitation that its feet were always hoofs.[5] Herein it resembled the medieval devil of Europe. When Solomon proposed to marry Balḳís, who was the daughter of a djinni, the spirits tried to dissuade him by telling him that her feet were those of a donkey (or a horse) and her legs hairy. When the devil appeared to Ibráhím al Mausili he wore short shoes ; showing that his feet were not those of men.[6] One is tempted to connect this idea with the satyrs of Greek story, though these had goats' hoofs. It is curious to find in Morocco a spirit that has cloven hoofs.[7]

No sharp distinction was drawn between the different kinds of spirits. We read of one named Azabb (hairy), another was two spans high and ḥairy, and yet another was like an African.[8] The *si'lát* was, it seems, always human in shape but ugly.

Besides those animals with which djinn are identified, they are associated with others, called often their riding animals, among them the ostrich, gazelle, camel, and sheep, and also the dog.[9] A djinni rode on a ḥedgehog in the air.[10] The *ráḳúd*

[1] *Ḥayawán*, ii, 85.
[2] *Ḥayawán*, i, 105, 141.
[3] *Damíri*, ii, 169. Padwick, 424.
[4] *Damíri*, ii, 168.
[5] *Ḥayawán*, i, 150.
[6] *Aghání* (ed. 3), v, 232.
[7] Odinot, *Le Monde Marocain*, 127.
[8] Ibn Kutaiba, *'uyún al-Akhbár*, ii, 110.
[9] *Ḥayawán*, i, 150 ; vi, 14.
[10] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 74.

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(a small fish) was ridden by witches.[1] One report says that the djinn rode the hare but another says they flee from it. The bone of a hare was a strong charm.[2] It is a commonplace of comparative religion that when animals are associated with supernatural forces those forces were once identified with them.

The Arabs did not hunt the riding animals of the djinn after dark, and if any one killed a hedgehog or a certain species of lizard after dark he feared an accident to his stallion.[3] This is another example of the spirits having power after dark. Several breeds of camel sprang from djinn so some men refused to pray in a place where camels camped because they were of the stock of *shaiṭáns*.[4] A close connection with totemism is revealed by the tale that a man named Asad (lion) could not eat in a place where the wild beasts were starving.[5]

Many animals were believed to be metamorphoses, among them the ape, pig, elephant, hare, spider, and eel. The dove is a metamorphosis of the *shaiṭán* called مزاح.[6] A kind of lizard, the ape, and white ants were Jews, the mouse a Jewish witch, and boys cried Jew when they saw a panther.[7] We read of a djinni who was a Jewess.[8] Their food is dung, bones, and urine. They drink scum or any liquid left uncovered; they rush to drink milk that has not been covered, thus revealing their connection with snakes. (جدف usually explained as uncovered is said also to mean scum.[9]) They envy men their food and, as the poet says, their slaughtered camel is not cooked in pots.[10] They also eat broad beans.[11] In other lands broad beans had evil associations; the Sabians did not eat them; the Flamen Dialis might not touch nor

[1] *Ḥayawán*, i, 150.
[2] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 118.
[3] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 14.
[4] *Ḥayawán*, i, 70; vi, 66.
[5] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 73. *Agháni* (ed. 3), iii, 37.
[6] *Ḥayawán*, i, 150.
[7] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 162. *L.A.*, iv, 23. Ghazáli, *Iḥyá*, ii, 66.
[8] *Agháni* (ed. 3), iv, 126.
[9] *Ḥayawán*, i, 146; iv, 85. *Damíri*, i, 187.
[10] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 60. *Diwan of Ḥátim*, 27.
[11] *Damíri*, i, 187.

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name them.[1] During a certain ceremony in Japan the head of the house scatters beans saying: "Go away, demons!" In the palace women pick them up, wrap them in paper, and throw them out of doors. Then ghosts pick them up and leave the house alone.[2] To-day in part of north Africa it is believed that salt and cinders are the food of djinn, the coriander their apple, and asses' dung their dates.[3] It is not good to drink from a vessel with a broken lip for the broken place is a *shaiṭán's* buttocks.[4]

Ghúl are either male or female, they are any sort of spirit that meets travellers and assumes different forms and dress.[5] They light fires at night for sport to deceive and mislead wayfarers, calling out to them, "Good evening!"[6] Their nocturnal activities are often mentioned. "They sing song after song and light fires round me."[7] "Night hides the djinn who sing there."[8] A *ghúl* could be killed by one blow, but a second brought it back to life.[9] The *si'lát* lives mostly in swamps. If one catches a man she plays with him as a cat with a mouse. Should a wolf seize one she cries out: "Help! a wolf is devouring me!" Often she shrieks: "I have a hundred dinars; my rescuer can have them!"[10]

The relations of djinn with men were of different sorts. Some tribes were descended from a djinn ancestor as the Banū Si'lát of 'amr of Yarbú'. The father of Jurhum was a fallen angel.[11] 'amr b. Tamím married a *si'lát*, but whenever there was a thunderstorm he had to cover her head so that she might not see the lightning. Once he forgot this and she fled to the land of the *si'lát*.[12] A man married a djinni for the bride-price of a gazelle and a skin of wine.[13] An *'ifrít* carried away a girl of Fazára and lived with her in a lonely tent,

[1] *Golden Bough*, ii, 248; iii, 13.
[2] *Golden Bough*, ix, 143, 155.
[3] Goichon, 189 f.
[4] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 69.
[5] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 48.
[6] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 60.
[7] *Ḥayawán*, v, 41.
[8] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 48.
[9] *Ḥayawán*, i, 150.
[10] *Kazwíni* (on margin of *Damíri*), ii, 154.
[11] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 61.
[12] Yáḳút, *Irshád*, v, 450.
[13] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 69.

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leaving her at night. She went off with a man. The *'ifrít* pursued but the man made his camel kneel, drew a line round it, and recited verses from the Koran. The *'ifrít* made several offers to the man to induce him to part with the girl, but he refused them all and kept her.[1] Other stories tell of the magic circle which spirits cannot pass and the idea is not confined to Arabia. Djinn restored to a man his runaway slave, but with paralysed arms. The master was told to blow in his hands and the arms were cured. Thereafter the man was able to cure pain by breathing on the sore place.[2] Once when a wolf carried off a sheep, the shepherd cried: "Dweller in the valley." He heard a voice say: "Wolf, give back the sheep." This was done.[3] Here the djinn is distinctly helpful.

According to a tradition everyone has a djinni as an associate; the prophet's had turned Muslim and told him to do only what was right.[4] We are reminded of the daimon of Socrates, the Roman belief in the "genius", and other attendant spirits or doubles. A woman was visited by a djinni called a follower—تابع, the *L.A.* explains this word as lover. One day he came to her but did not do according to his custom; in reply to her question he said that a prophet had come who had forbidden fornication.[5] A man had a companion named حثوب who caused those who memorized the Koran to forget it.[6] An epileptic who was ill for six months in the year and well for six was possessed by the daughter of the lord of the djinn; she explained that if his tribe tried to cure him she would kill him.[7] A woman brought her idiot son to the prophet, who stroked his chest and prayed over him; then he vomited a black puppy.[8] Hence we get the common sense of *madjnún*, mad, possessed by the djinn. In

[1] *Kazwíni*, ii, 161.
[2] *Kazwíni*, ii, 163.
[3] *Kazwíni*, ii, 162.
[4] *Damíri*, i, 188.
[5] *Damíri*, i, 189.
[6] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 60.
[7] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 52. *Aghání* (ed. 3), iii, 353.
[8] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 69.

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South Arabia several words are used in this sense, *malmús*, *maḳrún*, and *mashlúl*.[1]

The djinn had a special connection with poets; the "follower" of a poet was the source of his inspiration. The djinni Zuhair has been mentioned already. Farazdak had a companion named Hamím or Hamám; and al A'sha had Mushil, to name only two.[2] During a discussion between two poets one said: "I say a poem every hour but you compose one a month; How is this?" The other said: "I do not accept from my *shaiṭán* what you accept from yours."[3] The djinn lamented Málik b. al Raib, who died in Khurasan, because they knew that he was alone in a foreign land. They put the paper with the lament under his pillow in the khan where he died.[4] A *si'lát* met Hassán b. Thábit in his youth before he began to compose poetry, knelt on his chest, and said: "Are you he who is expected by his tribe to become their poet?" He said: "Yes." She said: "Compose three lines of verse with one rhyme, or I will kill you." He did so and she let him go.[5] Like men, the djinn when they meet together discuss the merits of the poets.[6] Al-Jáḥiz says that the following verse—

وقبر حرب بمكان قفر وليس قرب قبر حرب قبر

cannot be repeated thrice consecutively and therefore is a verse of the djinn.[7]

Sometimes djinn are little more than Puckish, but often they are malevolent and hostile to men. Epidemics are the spears of the djinn.[8] They hold back the bulls from water and prevent the cattle from drinking; sometimes they even kill them in this way.[9] They strangled Ḥarb b. Umayya,

[1] Jacob, 160.
[2] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 69.
[3] Jáḥiz, *Kitáb al Bayán*, i, 116.
[4] *Khizánat al Adab*, ii, 51.
[5] *Khizánat al Adab*, ii, 188.
[6] *Ḳazwíni*, ii, 163.
[7] *Kitáb al Bayán*, i, 37.
[8] *Ḥayawán*, i, 172. Padwick, 443.
[9] *Ḥayawán*, i, 10.

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Mirdás b. abí 'ámir, and others; they killed Sa'd b. 'ubáda because he had insulted them—

"We killed the chief of Khazraj, Sa'd b. 'ubáda,
We shot two arrows at him and missed not his heart."

and they drove 'amr b. 'adí mad.[1] They strangled Gharíd because he sang a song they had forbidden him to sing. They blew up the penis of 'umára b. Mughíra and he became like a wild beast.[2] Witches employed the same method to drive a man mad.[3] A story shows that snakes were used by the superior powers to punish; a woman who killed her children at birth was devoured by them.[4]

Many precautions are necessary in dealing with the djinn. In north Africa you must say Bismillah before throwing water, especially hot water, out of the door.[5] Any curiosity about them is bad; a man who saved a djinni from a well was careful to turn away his eyes so as not to see which way it went.[6] This shows that though they are usually stronger than men, with sharper eyes,[7] they sometimes need men's help. At times, too, they are delightfully simple, reminding us of the devil's stupidity. They did not know that Solomon was dead till the staff that supported him rotted and his body fell down.[8] This weakness is alluded to in a tradition of the prophet; the body in the grave is beaten with iron whips and utters a loud cry, heard by all near, except the two heavy ones (men and djinn).[9] Djinn and magic were closely connected. Several instances have already been given. The *si'lát* was the sorceress of the djinn. They lived in the *'ushr*-tree. If a man wanted to be sure of his wife's fidelity during his absence on a journey, he tied two branches of this tree together. If, on his return, they were still united, she had been true to

[1] *Ḥayawán*, i, 146; vi, 64. Abu'l 'alá, *Letters*, 66.
[2] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 64.
[3] *Agháni* (ed. 1), viii, 53.
[4] *Agháni* (ed. 1), xviii, 131 f.
[5] Goichon, 189.
[6] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 14.
[7] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 67.
[8] *Koran*, xxxiv, 13.
[9] *Bukhári*, i, 150.

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him; had they come apart she had been faithless.[1] Certain animals and things kept the djinn away. If a white cock with a divided comb is in a house no *shaiṭán* will enter it.[2] It is said: "Do not kill a cock for *shaiṭán* will rejoice."[3] The prophet said: "The cock is my friend, the friend of my friend, and the enemy of God's enemy; he guards his house and four round about it."[3] Among the Zoroastrians the cock was the opponent of demons and it may be Persian influence which made the Arabs ascribe this power to the cock and led them to talk of that other bird which had its comb under the throne of God, its claws in the lowest earth, and its wings in the air, one in the east and one in the west.[4] Sorcery cannot harm one who has eaten the flesh of a black cat[5]; black cats are so often associated with witches that this prescription looks like a piece of homœopathy. A circle drawn on the ground was a protection against djinn,[6] and they will not enter a house where a citron is.[7] If a house has been fumigated with incense, "the smoke of Miriam," no *'ámir* can approach it, and if a witch flies over it she will fall. If a man sleeps between two doors the *'ámir* will throw him down and the djinn rob him of his senses.[8] It is dangerous to sleep at night in a yellow garment, for it is the home of the djinn and *'ámir*.[9]

The neighing of horses frightens the djinn, they will not approach a house where a horse is.[10] Early ideas would seem to underlie two traditions. The sun rises and sets between the horns of *shaiṭáns*. One tries to stop it rising, but it mounts on his horns and God burns him. One tries to prevent it worshipping God as it sets, but it sets between his horns and God burns him.[11] Theology has been at work here. Abu Bakr

[1] *Ḳazwíni*, ii, 21.
[2] *Ḥayawán*, i, 189; ii, 75.
[3] *Ḥayawán*, ii, 129.
[4] *Ḥayawán*, ii, 94; cf. vii, 17.
[5] *Ḥayawán*, iv, 14.
[6] *Damíri*, i, 187.
[7] *Damíri*, i, 195. Subki, *Ṭabaḳát*, iii, 297.
[8] *Ḥayawán*, ii, 75.
[9] *Ḥayawán*, iv, 85.
[10] Ṭabari, *Commentary*, x, 23.
[11] *Khizánat al Adab*, i, 172. Ibn Ḥazm, v, 14.

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once invited some men to supper; there was a misunderstanding and he took an oath not to eat before them. As they refused to eat unless he began, he broke his oath that they might not go away hungry; but as he began his meal he said: "The first mouthful is for the *shaiṭán*."[1]

Miss Padwick says that modern beliefs have little connection with literature, but *márid* looks a book word though in common use. Curious is the *ḳarína*, the spirit counterpart of every woman. Sometimes she is a danger to her earthly twin, especially to her children, but sometimes an accident to her is followed by an accident to the earthly children. She often appears as a cat.[2]

Djinn brought early news of great events. Sawád b. Ḳárab had a djinn messenger who three days in succession woke him with a kick to say that a prophet had come.[3] They brought to Medina news of the battle of Naháwand.[4] These messengers were the djinn of the soothsayers and were called the post of the djinn.[5] One man was called the *ḳáḍi* of the djinn,[6] and Ibn 'alátha settled an affair of blood between them to their satisfaction.[7]

According to the Koran, the people of Mecca made the djinn partners with God,[8] thought that they were essentially like him,[9] worshipped them,[10] and sought protection from them.[11] It may be that these words are to be taken literally or they may be part of the propaganda for monotheism, the prophet calling the pagan deities djinn in contempt.

Lists of parallels between djinn and men were drawn up; they are in part Islamic but contain older material. Soothsayers are the djinn's apostles, tattooing their books, lies their tradition, poetry their religious recitations, the flute their muezzin, the market their mosque, the bath their home, their food whatever has not had the name of God invoked

[1] *Bukhári*, lxxviii, 87.
[2] Padwick, 445; cf. Winckler, *Salomo und die Karina*.
[3] *Ḥadíkat al Afráh*, 41. [4] Abú Yúsuf, *Ḳitáb al Kharáj*, 19 f.
[5] *al Bayán*, i, 159. [6] *Damíri*, i, 195. [7] *Ḥayawán*, vi, 69.
[8] vi, 100. [9] xxxvii, 158. [10] xxxiv, 40. [11] lxxii, 6.

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over it, their drink all intoxicating liquor, and their hunting-ground women.[1] Ghazali adapts this to the wiles of evil.

We may mention two practices which are not directly connected with djinn. A governor of Uman wrote to 'umar II: "A witch was brought to us, we threw her into the water, and she floated." The Caliph wrote back: "We have no concern with water. If there is proof, punish her; if not, let her go."[2] The Arabs believed that madness was cured by the blood of certain noble families. "Of the Dárimi are those whose blood is the cure of madness and insanity."[3] This recalls touching for the king's evil.

These beliefs were not peculiar to the Arabs who did not distinguish clearly between natural forces, magic, and spirits. They were growing out of animism.

[1] *Kazwíni*, ii, 149; *Iḥyá*, iii, 26.
[2] *'uyún al-Akhbár*, ii, 112.
[3] *L.A.*, xvi, 248.

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Epigraphic Notes

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

1. Hiraṇyagarbha

According to Sanskrit Lexicons the word *hiraṇyagarbha* has two principal meanings. First, it is a well-known epithet of Lord Brahman ; secondly, it is the name of one of the *ṣōḍaśa-mahādāna*, i.e. the sixteen Great Gifts, which are enumerated and explained in books like the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*, and Vallālasēna's *Dānasāgara*. The sixteen *mahādānas* are *dāna* (offering) of the following things :—

1. Tulāpuruṣa
2. Hiraṇyagarbha
3. Brahmāṇḍa
4. Kalpapādapa
5. Gōsahasra
6. Hiraṇyakāmadhēnu
7. Hiraṇyāśva
8. Pañcalāṅgala
9. Dharā
10. Hiraṇyāśvaratha
11. Hēmahastiratha
12. Viṣṇucakra
13. Kalpalatā
14. Saptasāgara
15. Ratnadhēnu
16. Mahābhūtaghaṭa

These names are more or less of a technical character. They have been explained in full detail in the *Mahādānāvarta* section of the *Dānasāgara*, chapter v of the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, and chapters 247 ff. of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*.

The word *hiraṇyagarbha* occurs several times in the inscriptions of some South Indian kings. In the Gorantla inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, ix, 102 f.) King Attivarman is called *apramēya-hiraṇyagarbha-prasava*, which phrase was translated by Fleet, the editor of the Gorantla inscription, as "who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiraṇyagarbha", i.e. Brahman. In the Mahakuta pillar inscription of the Cālukya king Maṅgalēśa (ibid., xix, 9 ff.) we have the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta*. Here also Fleet, who edited the inscription, translated the phrase as "who was descended from (the god) Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahman)". It must be

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noticed that only particular kings have been connected with *hiraṇyagarbha* in the inscriptions of their respective families. If Fleet's interpretation is correct we should have found other kings of the family—whereof one king has been called *hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta*—with titles of the same signification. Moreover, when we notice that in the Mahakuta pillar inscription this epithet is given only to Pulakēśin I and not to Jayasiṃha, the first king mentioned, nor to Maṅgalēśa, the reigning monarch, there remains no doubt that Fleet's theory is unjustifiable. I therefore hold with Hultzsch that the word *hiraṇyagarbha* in these inscriptions signifies the second of the sixteen *mahādānas* or Great Gifts.

While editing the Mattepad plates of Dāmōdaravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, xvii, 328 ff.) Hultzsch remarked: "A similar feat is ascribed to King Attivarman in another copper-plate grant from the Guntur District, where I translate the epithet *apramēya-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasavēna* by 'who is a producer of (i.e. who has performed) innumerable Hiraṇyagarbhas'." Hultzsch here evidently takes the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound, making it mean "*prasava* (origin, producer) of the Hiraṇyagarbha". But he was in difficulty with the word *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta*, which occurs in the Ipur plates, Set I, of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I (ibid., p. 335 f.). As *prasūta* is an adjective it cannot make a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. Hultzsch therefore had to correct the passage as *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūti*, i.e. *prasūti* (origin, producer) of the Hiraṇyagarbha (ibid., p. 336, n. 7). But when we notice that the epithet *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* also occurs in the Polamuru plates of the same Viṣṇukuṇḍin king (*Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, vi, 17 ff.), and further that the Mahakuta pillar inscription has *hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta*, there can be no doubt that Hultzsch is wrong in taking the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* as a case of the *Ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. The words *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *hiraṇyagarbha-saṃbhūta* are certainly examples of the

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Pañcamī-tatpuruṣa compound, and mean "born of the Hiraṇyagarbha". The word *hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* must also mean the same thing. I therefore take it as a case of the *Bahuvrīhi* compound, meaning "one whose *prasava* (origin, producer, progenitor) is the Hiraṇyagarbha". But how can a king be born of the Hiraṇyagarbha, which we have taken to signify the second of the sixteen *mahādānas*?

In the performance of the Hiraṇyagarbha-*mahādāna* ceremony, the thing to be given away to the Brahmans is a *hiraṇya-garbha*, literally "a golden womb". *Hiraṇya-garbha* here signifies a golden *kuṇḍa*, three cubits in height. Cf.—

brāhmaṇair=ānayēt kuṇḍaṃ tapanīya-mayaṃ śubhaṃ |
dvāsaptaty=aṅgul-ōcchrāyaṃ hēma-paṅkaja-garbha-vat ||

To discuss all the details and all the functions of the ceremony is not necessary for our purpose. The quotations, which are all from the 249th chapter of the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, will sufficiently clear the point.

After the due *arcaṇā*, the performer of the *mahādāna* ceremony is to utter a *mantra* in adoration to Lord Hiraṇya-garbha (here Lord Viṣṇu), two lines of which run :—

bhūr-lōka-pramukhā lōkās=tava garbhē vyavasthitāḥ |
brahm-ādayas=tathā dēvā namas=tē viśva-dhāriṇē ||

Thereafter the performer enters into the *hiraṇyagarbha*, i.e. the golden *kuṇḍa*, and the priests perform the *garbhādhāna*, *puṃsavana*, and the *sīmantonnayana* ceremonies of the "golden womb", as they would do in the case of an ordinary pregnant woman. Cf.—

ēvam=āmantrya tan=madhyam=āviśy=āmbha=udaṅmukhaḥ |
muṣṭibhyāṃ pariṣaṃgṛhya dharmarāja-caturmukhau ||
jānumadhyē śiraḥ kṛtvā tiṣṭhēta śvāsa-pañcakaṃ ||
garbhādhānaṃ puṃsavanaṃ sīmant-ōnnayanaṃ tathā |
kuryur=hiraṇya-garbhasya tatas=tē dvija-puṅgavāḥ ||

Then the performer is taken out of the "golden womb" and the *jāta-karma* and other necessary functions are

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performed by the priests, as if the performer is a newly-born child. After that the performer is to utter another *mantra*, wherein occur the following significant lines :—

mātr=āhaṃ janitaḥ pūrvaṃ martya-dharmā śur-ōttama |
tvad-garbha-saṃbhavād=ēṣa divya-dēhō bhavāmy-ahaṃ ||

"O the best of gods, previously I was given birth to by my mother (and) was *martya-dharmā* (one having the qualities of an earthly creature). (But) now owing to my (re-)birth from your womb, I become *divya-dēha* (one having celestial body)."

That the performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha-*mahādāna* was thought to be "born of the *hiraṇya-garbha*, i.e. golden womb", is also clear from the next *mantra* to be uttered by the priests :—

adya-jātasya tē='ṅgāni abhiṣēkṣyāmahē vayaṃ

After the ceremony is over the priests receive the gift of that golden womb, along with many other things.[1]

2. Genealogy of the "Ānanda Kings of Guntur"

Two kings of the Ānanda family are known from their inscriptions. They are Attivarman of the Gorantla plates (*Ind. Ant.*, ix, 102 f.) and Dāmōdaravarman of the Mattepad plates (*Ep. Ind.*, xvii, 327 f.). We have already dealt with the reference to the word *hiraṇyagarbha* in the Gorantla inscription, and with its different interpretations. Hultzsch rightly says: "When editing the Gorantla plates of Attivarman, my late lamented friend Fleet believed this king (*scil.* Attivarman) to have been a Pallava—chiefly because he interpreted the epithet *apramēya-Hiraṇyagarbha-prasavēna* by 'who is the posterity of the inscrutable (god) Hiraṇyagarbha'. As I have shown above, the rendering is inadmissible in the light of the corresponding epithet used in the fresh plates, and Fleet himself had since withdrawn his

[1] See my paper in *Bhāratvarṣa* (Bengali), 1340 B.S., 393 f.; also ch. iii, section 1 of my work *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan* (in the press).

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original opinion in his 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts', second edition, p. 334." (*Ep. Ind.*, xvii, 328.) In the Gorantla inscription Attivarman has been called *kandara-nṛpati-kula-samudbhūta* "sprung from the family of King Kandara". The family (*kula*), in its turn, is called *ānanda-maharṣi-vaṃśa-samudbhūta* "sprung from the lineage of the great sage Ānanḍa". On the other hand, the Mattepad plates were issued from *Vijaya-Kandara-pura* "victorious city (founded by king) Kandara". Dāmōdaravarman is, here, said to have belonged to the *Ānanda-gōtra*. Both the Gorantla and the Mattepad plates were discovered in the Guntur District, Madras Presidency. While editing the Mattepad plates, Hultzsch, on these grounds, suggested that the three kings—Kandara, Attivarman, and Dāmōdaravarman—belonged to the same family and that they may be styled "the Ānanda Kings of Guntur".

The palæography of the Gorantla and the Mattepad records suggests that the rule of King Attivarman and that of King Dāmōdaravarman were not separated by a great interval. Considering the facts that the characters of the Gorantla inscription resemble, in some respects, those of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions of Nagarjunikonda (*Ep. Ind.*, xx, 1 ff.) and that both Nagarjunikonda, the find-spot of some Ikṣvāku inscriptions, and Kanteru, that of some Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions, are localities of the Guntur District, it seems to me that the Ānanda kings, whose inscriptions are also found in the same District, began to grow powerful in about the beginning of the fourth century A.D., when the Ikṣvāku power was gradually declining. The Nagarjunikonda inscriptions have been assigned to the third century A.D., and as I have shown elsewhere the Kanteru plates are to be ascribed to the fifth century A.D. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, ix, 212). Kings Attivarman and Dāmōdaravarman may, therefore, be placed in the fourth century of the Christian era.

But which of the two kings of the Ānanda family came earlier? According to Hultzsch the characters of the Gorantla

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inscription are more developed than those of the Mattepad grant, which is besides partly written in Prakrit—"consequently Dāmōdaravarman must have been one of the predecessors of Attivarman" (*Ep. Ind.*, xvii, 328).

As regards the first point, viz. that the characters of the Gorantla inscription are more developed, I must say that when two epigraphs belong to the same period it is extremely difficult to determine as to which of them is the earlier. In a note on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy, I have elsewhere shown that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates, Set II, was suggested by Hultzsch, on *palæographical* grounds, to be the grandfather of Mādhavavarman (I) of the Ipur plates, Set I. I have also shown there that the former was actually not the grandfather, but the grandson, of the latter (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, ix, 275). Since the handwritings of two different scribes of even the same age may be quite dissimilar, I do not think it impossible that the difference in time between the execution of the Mattepad and that of the Gorantla grant is short and that Dāmōdaravarman of the Mattepad grant was a successor of Attivarman on the throne of Kandarapura.

As regards the second point, viz. that the Mattepad grant is partly written in Prakrit, I am afraid it is a misrepresentation. In fact, the Mattepad plates are, like the Gorantla plates, written in Sanskrit; but it is true that the names of the Brahman recipients of the king's gift are written in Prakrit, e.g. *Kassava-Kumārajja* (Sanskrit, *Kāśyapa-Kumārārya*), etc. We must notice, however, that the Gorantla inscription also exhibits the same peculiarity. I think it even more important that the name of the king is here Attivarman and not Hastivarman. *Atti* is a Dravidic form of Sanskrit *hastī*, through the literary Prakrit form *hatthi*. Names like Attivarman, Kumārajja, etc., only prove that both these grants were issued in a time when the replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit in South Indian epigraphy was nearly, but not fully, complete.

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There are, besides, two other points in support of our suggestion. Firstly in the Gorantla inscription the *kandara-nṛpati-kula* has been called *bhagavatō vakēśvarādhi-vāsinas=tribhuvana-kartuḥ śambhōś=caraṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-pavitrīkṛta*, which appears to suggest that Śambhu (Śiva) was the family deity of the Ānanda kings, and that these kings were Śaivas. On the other hand, Dāmōdaravarman is called in his inscription *bhagavataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya pādānudhyāta*, which clearly shows that he was a Buddhist. If the Ānanda kings prior to Attivarman were Śaivas, Dāmōdaravarman, who was a Buddhist, must have come after Attivarman. Secondly, the inscribed faces of the Mattepad plates of Dāmōdaravarman are "numbered consecutively like the pages of a modern book". This fact also seems to suggest that Dāmōdaravarman came after Attivarman.

But what was the relationship between these two kings of the Ānanda family, who, we think, were nor far removed from each other in time ?

In this connection I like to draw the attention of readers to the epithet *avandhya-gōsahasr-ānēka-hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhava* applied to the name of king Dāmōdaravarman in the Mattepad plates. This epithet has been translated by Hultzsch as "who is the origin of the production (i.e. who has caused the performance) of many Hiraṇyagarbhas and of (gifts of) thousand pregnant cows". This translation is defective for several reasons.

We have seen that Hultzsch has wrongly interpreted the passage *hiraṇyagarbha-prasava* as the "producer of the Hiraṇyagarbha". As we have shown, it should mean "one whose producer is the Hiraṇyagarbha". The corresponding passage of the Mattepad plates is *hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhava*, which means exactly the same thing. Hultzsch says: "He (*scil.* Dāmōdaravarman) boasts of having performed certain Brahmanical rites, viz. Gōsahasra and Hiraṇyagarbha (l. 2 f.)." But it seems to me utterly untenable that Dāmōdaravarman, who was professedly a Buddhist, performed these rites, which are professedly Brāhmanical.

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Besides, if Hultzsch's interpretation is right, why did the composer use *hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhava* and not *hiraṇya-garbh-ōdbhava*, which is the naturally expected form? The use of *hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhab-ōdbhava* in the sense of "the performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha" seems to me highly awkward in an ordinary prose composition. The natural meaning of the phrase *hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhava* is "one whose *udbhava* (producer, father) is *Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhava* (i.e. performer of the Hiraṇyagarbha-*mahādāna*)."

As regards *avandhya-gōsahasra* I do not think that the word *avandhya* ever means "pregnant". *Avandhya* (not barren), which also means *amōgha-phal-ōdaya* (producer of unfailing good and prosperity) according to the Sanskrit Lexicon *Rājanirghaṇṭa*, seems to refer not to *go* as Hultzsch has taken it but to the *Gōsahasra*, the fifth of the sixteen *mahādānas* of the Purāṇas. The whole phrase *avandhya-gōsahasr-ānēka-hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhava*, then, means "one whose *udbhava* (i.e. father) is *Avandhya-gōsahasra* (i.e. performer of a Gōsahasra producing unfailing success) and *Anēka-hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhava* (i.e. performer of many Hiraṇya-garbhas).

Now, who is this *Avandhya-gōsahasra-Anēka-hiraṇya-garbh-ōdbhava*, the *udbhava* (father) of King Dāmōdara-varman? Curiously enough, in the Gorantla inscription, Attivarman is called *apramēya-hiraṇyagarbha-prasava*, which is obviously the same as *anēka-hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhava*. I therefore do not think it quite impossible that it is King Attivarman who was the father of King Dāmōdara-varman of the Mattepad plates. It may, however, be argued that the Mattepad plates credit the father of King Dāmōdara-varman with the performance of a Gōsahasra as well, but there is no reference to this *mahādāna* in Attivarman's own Gorantla grant. The Gōsahasra-*mahādāna* was possibly performed by Attivarman after the execution of the Gorantla grant.[1]

[1] See ibid., ch. iii, section 2.

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Averroes' Paraphrase on Plato's "Politeia"

By Dr. ERWIN ROSENTHAL

ALTHOUGH Averroes is well known as a commentator on Aristotle—the scholastics called him *The* Commentator—very few scholars have so far taken any notice of his commentary on Plato's famous treatise.[1] This paraphrase, however, deserves a thorough critical study, for a variety of reasons. First, it belongs to the Corpus of Averroes' philosophical writings, even though—as Averroes states himself in his preface—it be only as a substitute for Aristotle's "Politics" which were not known to Averroes and which were not accessible to the scholastics until 1260. Secondly, it is an interesting example of the treatment of Platonism by Islamic scholars. Then: are the changes and deviations due to Islamic theory and thought, or to Averroes' own way of adapting the "Politeia" to the Islamic "Empire"? Was there any Platonic influence on Islam in its political theory and when, how, and where can we trace it? Is it Plato himself or Plato in the light of Neo-Platonism that Averroes' more or less inadequate paraphrase gives us? These questions show that the linguistic task is only a preliminary towards the more important and interesting question of the position and meaning of this treatise within the history of medieval political theory and of the interrelations between Eastern and Western conception of Man and State.

I

The Arabic original has been lost. We possess a Hebrew translation and a Latin translation made from the Hebrew. The Hebrew text dates from 1320. The translator was

[1] It is mentioned only in M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters, und die Juden als Dolmetscher, etc.*, Berlin, 1893, § 116; and in E. Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme*, Paris, 1925.

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Šemūēl b. Yehudā of Marseilles, who was probably related to the most famous Hebrew translators of the Middle Ages, the Tibbonides. Šemūēl also translated other commentaries of Averroes, e.g. the Middle Commentary on the "Ethica ad Nicomachum". According to his statement in his epilogue to his translation of our text, he was confronted with many difficulties. The paraphrase is of unique value for the history of Hebrew translations in the Middle Ages, being the only translation of a *political* treatise; for the Jews were most interested in the ethical and medical writings of the Arabs. This fact may partly be responsible for the heavy style and slavish translation which follows the Arabic original almost word for word. The Hebrew translator lays stress upon the fact that he is the very first to translate a political treatise, having realized its excellence, and pleads for indulgence on the ground of his having been in prison for some time with several of his brethren—why we do not know—and therefore deprived of scholarly assistance.[1] Thus the terminology is shaky; many expressions had to be found *ad hoc* by the translator. Steinschneider mentions some of those which deal with musical terms. Sometimes Šemūēl gives the Arabic words in Hebrew characters; sometimes his translation of them is very inadequate. To give only one important example, he renders the Arabic *Imām* by *Kohēn*, which is by no means a correct equivalent. Apart from the difficulties of the text as such, the tradition is fairly good. Of the six MSS. mentioned by Steinschneider that of Turin was burnt in the fire at that

[1] This epilogue, not belonging to the actual text, is missing in the two Bodleian MSS., the copyists of which may have not been interested in personal matters. As mentioned above, the translator apologizes for having been unable to use the commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle's writings, because of his imprisonment, so that he has not always understood the right meaning of Aristotle's writings which he made use of as a means of comparison. He also claims to have examined Alfārābī's writings. The style and contents of this epilogue are equally interesting. Biblical (especially Isaiah and Job) and Mišnaic quotations are numerous. He concludes with a strong appeal to his readers to listen carefully to what "those two divine kings" (i.e. Plato and Averroes) have to teach them.

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library. We thus have five MSS. for preparing the edition of the text. The Munich MS. serves as the basis; two at Vienna and Florence (a fine specimen of a Hebrew MS.) and two at Oxford (unfortunately partly damaged and with considerable gaps, but also with some not unimportant additions) are complementary. Another MS. is preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, but it has not yet been possible to make use of it.[1] My task is to reconstruct as completely as possible the Arabic original, especially in those passages which are obscure or unintelligible in Hebrew. It may be that we can at least make out which of the two Arabic versions of the *Politeia* known to us Averroes had used, by comparison with the few quotations from the *Politeia* in Al-Bīrūnī's *India*. However, this is doubtful. To fix the terminology is of the utmost importance not only for the translation of the Hebrew text[2] but also for its understanding and interpretation. For this purpose, therefore, a complete glossary Greek-Syriac-

[1] This MS. is not mentioned in Steinschneider and I happened to notice it in an article on Šemūēl b. Yehūdā in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix. Inquiries by myself and learned bodies of this country and of Germany at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana were not answered, although the MS. is catalogued in *Carlo Bernheimer's* recently published Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of that Library. I still hope, therefore, to secure access to the MS. before completing the edition.

[2] Here I should like to mention with thanks that I started this work under the auspices and active financial support of the "Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft" and the scholarly advice of my former academic teachers, Professors Bergstraesser, Mittwoch, and Brackmann. The study is meant for Medievalists as well and especially those interested in Political Theory. As it cannot be assumed that all interested in the subject understand Rabbinical Hebrew and are able to follow the often difficult text, it was thought necessary to accompany the Hebrew text by an exact translation with notes and explanatory remarks, because the Latin translation—by Jacob Mantino of the year 1539 for Pope Paul III—is often incorrect. By resorting to the Platonic original he sometimes gets a good meaning which is not in accordance with the Hebrew text and probably also not with Averroes' original arguments. When I prepared a "Survey of the most important Islamic Political ideas" for the "Seminar" of Professor Brackmann (Staatsanschauungen im Zeitalter Friedrichs II von Staufen), Dr. Leo Strauss drew my attention to this Latin translation which led me on to Steinschneider, and suggested an edition and interpretation of the Hebrew version.

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Arabic-Latin is required.[1] The obstacles, however, are great, because we have neither the Arabic original of our text[2] nor that of Averroes' Middle Commentary on the "Ethica ad Nicomachum", which also was translated into Hebrew by Šemūēl b. Yehūdā, as already mentioned above, and of which we shall have to speak later on. But the latter may be of some help as well as Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's "Poetics".

II

Turning to the composition and contents of the "Paraphrase" we find that Averroes considers the "Politeia" of Plato as the second, practical part, the "Ethica ad Nicomachum" of the younger Aristotle being the first, theoretical part, and, we may add, fundamental and more important. The Art of Politics is practical because it is dominated by will power and its aim is action and not contemplation. Owing to this conception, Averroes is not concerned with the philosophical ideas and the individual outlook of Plato, but solely with Plato's conception of the State, its meaning and its superiority to the individual. He abandons the famous form of the Platonic dialogue, of personal discussion *pro et contra*, simplifies the whole process

[1] The glossary is intended to follow the plan of the "Corpus Averrois" which is in preparation by the "Medieval Academy of America". The editor-in-chief of the Hebrew Series, Professor Wolfson, Harvard University, has issued his programme in *Speculum* of September, 1931. My study will probably be published within this "Corpus".

[2] The Spanish scholar Rodriguez mentions in the introduction to his *Averroes Compendio de metafisica*, p. xxvi, a MS. of the Arabic original of our Hebrew version. I tried to get information about this MS. through the publishers of Rodriguez' book, but received no reply. Thus, I suppose, the remark is based upon Renan, who mentions in the appendix of his *Averroès et l'averroïsme* an Arabic MS., part of which is said to cover Averroes' "Paraphrase". But neither do the catalogues of both Spanish libraries bear out this statement, nor does Bouyges in an article in *Mélanges de l'Université de St. Joseph* know anything of it. It is out of the question that Steinschneider, who refers to Renan's remark in the paragraph dealing with the Hebrew version, would have failed to find out and describe this MS. in his *Arabische Uebersetzungen, etc.*

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and final progress of Plato's argumentation by exclusively referring to those ideas and questions within the scope of the State and the relation between State and Man, more stress being laid on the State than on the Man. Man has his end in the State, which is therefore necessary for Man. But to reach this end Man must become an active part of the State. Averroes is interested in the State, its meaning, constitution, and administration; he thinks of the services Man has to render the State, not of the happiness of Man as an individual. He puts individual rights, individual perfection in the background for the sake of the political community and of the general welfare more definitely than Plato does. He looks at the Platonic State as a cold realist and for him the virtues of the individual are only relevant in so far as they increase the efficiency of the State. For him Plato's four cardinal virtues are necessary parts of the State. But he is a Muslim, too. Therefore, these virtues not only lead to a perfect State, but also to Allah. Consequently, nothing of the idealistic enthusiasm and ethical pathos of Plato is to be found in Averroes' Paraphrase. In his opinion Aristotle is the true philosopher, the great model. Indeed, he is not specially interested in the philosophy of Plato, who, however, gives him the practical supplement to the "Ethica ad Nicomachum". But the fact that Averroes would never have commented on Plato's "Politeia" had he known Aristotle's "Politics" cannot obliterate for us the high value of this "Paraphrase". Like most of the Arab and Jewish philosophers and thinkers of the Middle Ages, he likes to compare not only the Art of Politics with the Art of Medicine, but also the life of State and Man with the body and the categories of health and illness. Generally he replaces Plato's examples by those of his own civilization and times, e.g. when he discusses the influence of music and poetry (or more exactly fables and tales) he refers to pre-Islamic poetry instead of Hesiod and Homer, and when dealing with Plato's statements about different constitutions his illustrations are from contemporary history in the Maghreb.

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To sum up, we might say that Averroes is chiefly concerned with *siyāsa*, Politics as government and administration. Thus we can understand why he abandoned the form of dialogue and did not follow Plato book by book, commenting on the whole contents, but wrote a more or less free paraphrase, referring here and there also to other writers, e.g. Aristotle, Galen, and Alfārābī. Using this method, he summed up his comments in three treatises, *ma'amarīm*, i.e. *maqālāt*, which contain a more or less accurate description and critical investigation of some parts of Plato's ten books. The first treatise deals with parts of books i, iii, iv, and v, the second with the beginning of book vi and a part of book vii, and the third and last treatise with book viii and a part of book ix. The historian will probably find the third treatise the most interesting one, for in it Averroes very closely follows the "Politeia" and refers very often to the political and social history of the Maghreb in his own days,[1] frankly criticizing the governments and their representatives. Naturally Plato's discussion of the so-called "bad" constitutions was the proper basis for these statements, and here we find Averroes at his best.

When we consider that Averroes' interest in Plato was not so much theoretical in the philosopher as practical in the political thinker, the problem is not primarily that of defining what is "Platonic" and what is "Neo-Platonic" revision or edition, a problem of vital importance in dealing with Alfārābī. Both of Alfārābī's writings, the *madīna fāḍila* and the *siyāsa madanīyya*, are interesting attempts at reconciling Plato, or rather Platonism, with Islamic thought. His philosophical "system" is greatly influenced by Plato

[1] Renan, op. cit., refers to this important fact, saying: "en général, cette paraphrase est pleine (!) de détails intéressants pour l'histoire de l'Espagne musulmane" (p. 162, note 3). I am afraid we cannot agree with this eminent authority in his judgment of the "Paraphrase": "Rien de plus bizarre que de voir prise au sérieux et analysée comme un traité technique cette curieuse fantaisie de l'esprit grec" (p. 160).

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or what he took for Plato's ideas, which really were brought to his knowledge in a "Neo-Platonic" revision. But Averroes' philosophical foundations are deeply rooted in Aristotle. The obvious value of the "Paraphrase" is not that it fills a gap in Averroes' philosophical system, but that it shows how Platonic ideas were adapted to Islamic theory and how conceptions meant for a *polis* were applied to an *Empire* which practically dominated the Oikumene. He objects to the view that only the Greeks were predestined by nature for perfection in the arts, sciences, and human virtue, claiming that other nations and people (his own, of course, amongst them) have also reached a high point of perfection. On the other hand, he accepts Plato's arguments on the psychological effect of virtues and vices, illustrating them from his own experience. And when he allows the rulers to employ trickery in order to establish a law that binds the whole community, and when he admits that *necessità* is a vital force in the foundation and maintenance of the State, he approaches what we are accustomed to call *ragione di stato*. I might add here that we find in Islamic authors prior to Ibn Ḫaldūn this more or less conscious manner of looking at the State *à la Machiavelli*—an attitude they were quite able to combine with a sincere Muslim faith.[1] The influence of natural science is to be felt in the second treatise, where Averroes characterizes in general the theoretical and practical sciences and discusses from this basis the value of philosophy and philosophers for human aim and perfection. In the same treatise he indulges in a polemic against the Mutakallimūn,

[1] It would be instructive to trace this question in Muslim political authors. Although the time is not yet ripe for such a task—we urgently need a critical history of Muslim Political Theory—to have this question in the background may be of some help in investigating the political ideas of Muslim philosophers, theologians, jurists, and historians. As a model of method and description Fr. Meinecke's excellent study *Die Idee der Staatsraison in der Neueren Geschichte* would be of great value, although we are naturally not entitled to apply the standard of modern times to problems of the Middle Ages, especially where Islam is concerned.

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the dialectic theologians, which is of high interest. When discussing the conditions necessary for the ruling philosopher-king, he touches the question whether this ruler ought to be a prophet or at least to possess prophetic gifts. A thorough investigation of the differences between the opinions of Alfārābī and Averroes concerning the "Politeia" will clearly show what we assumed before, namely, that Alfārābī is much more of a Platonist whereas Averroes clings to Aristotle. A detailed study will show that from this difference there results a difference in the conception of the State, its meaning and task. I should like to go a step further and draw from this difference in philosophical attitude the conclusion that Averroes is more independent of Muslim dogmatics in his conception of Politics than is Alfārābī. But this has yet to be proved in another place.

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On the Prefixes and Consonantal Finals of Si-Hia as evidenced by their Chinese and Tibetan Transcriptions

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

IN view of the fact that the study of Si-Hia is now attracting fresh interest,[1] and that the problems it presents are fraught with some difficulty, it seems not untimely to review certain aspects of the matter upon which the status of the language and its position within the Tibeto-Burman family ultimately depend, viz. the problems of prefixes and consonantal finals.

Since Laufer published in 1916 his *Si-Hia Language; A Study in Indo-Chinese Philology*,[2] the view that Si-Hia formed with Lo-lo and Mo-so a so-called "Si-Lo-Mo" Group has been fairly widely accepted.[3] This, however, was a conclusion drawn from material involving only Chinese transcriptions [4] of Si-Hia words, and is a view which may need

[1] See Wang Ching-ju, "Notes on Chinese and Tibetan Transcriptions of the Shishiah (Tangutan) Language" (in Chinese), in the *Bulletin of the National Research Institute of History and Philology*, vol. ii, part 2 (Peiping, 1930), pp. 171–184, and the same author's *Hsi-Hsia Studies*, parts 1 and 2 (in Chinese), in the Monographs of the above Institute, series A, No. 8 (Peiping, 1932) and No. 11 (Peiping, 1933). For brevity's sake these will be quoted in the following pages as *Bulletin* and *Studies* (1 and 2).

[2] *T'oung Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), pp. 1–126.

[3] See *inter alia*, Pater W. Schmidt, *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde*, Heidelberg, 1926, p. 133; *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. i, part 1 (1927), pp. 79–80; vol. i, part 2 (1928), p. 22; Kieckers, *Die Sprachstämme der Erde*, Heidelberg, 1931, pp. 104–5 (where it is erroneously placed in the Siamese-Chinese Family).

[4] Unfortunately for early studies of this speech the wrong order of reading was followed. Consequently Laufer, accepting the method employed by Ivanov ("Zur Kenntniss der Hsi-hsia Sprache", *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, No. 18, 1909, pp. 1221–1233, with one plate), transcribed 足 尼 as *tsu-ni*, 葛 尼 as *ko-ni*, etc. This order, as first pointed out by E. von Zach (*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Jhrg. 30, Nr. 1 (Januar, 1927), Sp. 4–5), should be reversed, a fact which Wang Ching-ju, apparently independently, also noticed (*Bulletin*, p. 178). As we shall see

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revision,[1] for, at the time he wrote, the evidence, all unknown to Dr. Laufer, was not yet all assembled. Since then there has been brought to light another class of material wherein we are given Tibetan alphabetic transliterations in addition to Chinese dissyllabic transcriptions of Si-Hia words. From these two taken together it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the language was much more abundantly provided with prefixes than was at first believed, and from them also we seem to have a direct negative to the view that it was devoid of these as spoken elements, as is at present being contended.[2] How this may affect its possible position among the dialects of the Sino-Tibetan borderland we shall see in the sequel.

First let us examine the prefix problem and see to what conclusions we are led by the evidence now at hand.

It is a curious thing that almost from the start a belief has been expressed in the unarticulated nature of any prefixes the language may have possessed. This makes its appearance first with the earlier workers [3] for whose attitude there is naturally ample excuse. It is, in fact, very greatly to their credit that they should have foreseen the possibility of prefixes at all, when one remembers the very limited, and in many ways difficult, material with which they had to work.

But if this were the view in early days, there is very little excuse for it now, and in the face of abundant later evidence that prefixes were widespread throughout the language it seems indeed strange that some attempt has not been made to determine the possibility of their articulation by reference

in the sequel, prefixes then begin to come to light where previously they were unsuspected (cf. Laufer, op. cit., p. 103), and, together with the Tibetan alphabetic transliterations, put the language in rather a different light from what was at first believed.

[1] See below, *in extr.*

[2] See especially Wang Ching-ju, *Bulletin*, p. 183 ; *Studies*, 2, pp. 298–303.

[3] See especially Devéria, "L'Écriture du Royaume de Si-Hia ou Tangout" (*Extrait des Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1re série, t. xi, 1re partie, Paris, 1898), p. 28, and Morisse, "Contribution à l'Étude de l'Écriture et de la Langue Si-Hia" (*Mémoires*, etc. (as above), 1re série, t. xi, 2me partie, Paris, 1904), pp. 37–8.

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to Tibetan behaviour, and that instead of this there seems to have arisen a determination to discount the prefixes as far as possible, and to show that they were both meaningless and unpronounced. As to the first of these contentions, difficulties are naturally, at the moment, very great, as, when reduced to writing, the language had already reached a stage which is paralleled by some of the eastern dialects of Tibet at the present time, in which prefixes, though once significant, have themselves ceased to bear any evident meaning. With regard, however, to the second contention, viz. pronunciation of the prefixes, we shall see in what follows that it is as easy to put beyond doubt that they were pronounced in Si-Hia speech, as it is to prove that they are so pronounced in the spoken dialects of eastern Tibet to-day. It is a very great pity that the more receptive and open-minded attitude displayed by Dr. Laufer [1] in connection with this problem has not found more followers.

In favour of the view that Si-Hia was devoid of spoken prefixes, no convincing demonstration has, to the writer's mind, so far made its appearance. It is notable that this contention usually proceeds from the Chinese side, and it is perhaps legitimate to enquire whether it is not a rigid training in the Chinese linguistic type which is the reason why Si-Hia is thus seen through Chinese glasses. To regard Si-Hia as having been devoid of articulated prefixes, and also of finals—a view now being put forward with some energy—is, to the writer's mind, simply stripping Si-Hia down to the level of a Chinese dialect. This will certainly not do at all. What disposition shall we then make of the Tibetan and Chinese transcriptions in which prefixes and finals both occur? Ignore them? Certainly not.

As to the prefixes, it has been suggested that they had no existence in Si-Hia as spoken elements, because—among other reasons, which we shall consider in their turn—in Tibetan itself they had become mere grammatical and tone

[1] Op. cit., p. 103.

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marks, and were not at that time read as consonantal prefixes.[1] This, however, as the present writer has elsewhere [2] set forth at some length, is only the end result found now in Central Tibet of a long historical development having its beginnings back before the introduction of writing into Tibet in the seventh century. That at least a great number of the prefixes of Tibetan were pronounced in connected speech at all events in the eastern and western sections of the country when Si-Hia was a living language there can be no doubt whatsoever. What they had come to indicate through a long process of evolution need not concern us too greatly here. The important point, at the moment, is that they were pronounced. Their passage into "grammatical" and "tone" marks was certainly a comparatively very late affair. Their apparent transition into the former I have fully explained elsewhere,[3] while as "tone marks", they are not even now actually this at all, and never have been. They may indeed be taken for practical purposes (though for this only) as indices of tone, but this is simply due to the fact that when the prefix ceased to be articulated the pitch of the then abbreviated word was shifted. The prefix never functioned merely as a graphic device to show the reader of written texts in what tone a given word must be pronounced.

In support of former actual pronunciation of the prefixes of Tibetan in speech long after the introduction of writing in A.D. 632, we have indeed very conclusive evidence. In both the eastern and western dialects of the language they are even to this day very largely articulated. When, for instance, in Jya-rung [4] they say, as I have myself heard them do, *kĕ-mšâr* for "pretty", *kă-pčiă°* for "take, seize, stop", *tĕ-mčĭk* for "fire", it is as certain as can be that the speaker is,

[1] Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, pp. xxviii and 301.

[2] See *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology* (quoted hereinafter as *Morph.*).

[3] *Morph.*, pp. 49–56 (§ 47).

[4] Jya-rung words in the present article are from the author's own collectanea shortly to be published.

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in his archaic fashion, articulating prefixes which though now silent in Central Tibet, were once a living part of the language wherever spoken. He is, in fact, still living in an age when Tibetan མཚར་ *mtsar* "pretty" and བཅད་ *bčad* (the so-called "perfect root" of གཅོད་པ་ *gčod-pa* "stop") still pronounce their prefixes and do not allow them the slightest appearance of being either "grammatical" or "tone" marks, an age, moreover, in which there is still preserved a form of an old neutre verb[1] མཆོག་(ཕ་) **mtsig(-pa)* "to be alight", belonging with ཌཆོག་པ་ *ạtsig-pa* (perf. ཆོག་ *tsig*) "to burn, to destroy by fire" which has elsewhere passed out of the language. And so it is with the other prefixed and superscribed letters: Jya-rung *tĕ-šnậ* is Tibetan སྣ་ *sna* "nose", Jy. *tĕ-šnî* is T. སྙིང་ *sńiṅ* "heart", Jy. *tĕ-rnậ* is T. རྣ(ཕ་) *rna(-ba)* "ear", Jy. *(kâ-nâ-)rǰyŭk* is T. རྒྱུག་པ་ *rgyug(-pa)* "to hurry", and so on with many more. We need only turn then to the better known phenomena of Western Tibet and Kham (as in Jäschke's *Dictionary*, pp. xviii–xxi) to find complete proof from their surviving articulations, that Tibetan formerly—as still in all its older dialects—actually pronounced its prefixes.[2] How then can we believe that Si-Hia, spoken in a peripheral area where a Tibeto-Burman language would be almost certain to exhibit archaisms, had already discarded its prefixes as spoken elements as long as seven hundred years ago?[3] The very fact that even to the present day, Tibetan dialects which are not particularly archaic still pronounce them, is a very serious memento to my mind that we cannot disregard

[1] See *Morph.*, pp. 26–30.

[2] Their articulation has, in fact, so persisted that even in Central Tibet there are still such well-known survivals as *čuk-či* (= *ču-gči*) eleven, *čup-dŭn* (= *ču-bdŭn*) fourteen, *žip-ču* (= *ži-bču*) forty, and others.

[3] See Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, p. 300.

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the prefixes of Si-Hia which the Tibetan transcriptions have so carefully preserved for us, this the more particularly, as these same Si-Hia prefixes can be shown to agree in not a few instances with prefixes still articulated in other living dialects [1] even now.

Indeed, the matter does not depend only upon the Tibetan transliterations of Si-Hia words. Direct support for the belief that spoken prefixes occurred is at hand also from Chinese dissyllabic transcriptions in more than just a few chance instances.

The prefixes in the latter, it is true, vary in many cases from those in the Tibetan transcriptions, but it is at once evident that these divergences are no greater than those frequently found within the Tibetan transcriptions themselves. 犵, for instance, is given the Tibetan transcriptions དགུ་ *dgũ*, and བགུ་ *bgu*; 緇, ཇི་ *rdzi*, གཟི་ *gzĩ*, and ཟི་ *zĩ*; 𢈔, རྒི་ *rgĩ*, and དགི་ *dgi*; variations [2] as great as any between the Chinese and Tibetan reproductions of the same word.

As a matter of fact it is possible to harmonize these last-named divergences in the light of what we know of Tibetan itself.[3] The interchange of ཨ *b-* and ཨ *a-*,[4] for instance, in this latter, is well known, as is also the fact that in the dialect of Kham ཨ *a-* becomes *n-* before palatal and dental initials. When, therefore, we find 𠊱 transcribed in Tibetan as བཛོ་ *bdzo*, and in Chinese as 尼 卒 *ni-tsu*, we are probably being

[1] See "On the Tibetan Transcriptions of Si-Hia Words" by the present writer in *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 47–52.

[2] We shall see below that these types of prefix interchange are exactly those found in Tibetan dialects, a consideration of which helps in great degree to clear up many puzzling features of Si-Hia.

[3] Of this fact Wang Ching-ju (*Studies*, 2, pp. 298–9) does not seem to be aware. The least familiarity with Tibetan dialects shows one the almost unlimited interchange among its prefixed elements. In earlier times the no less remarkable, and only slightly more restricted, scope of these interchanges is indeed evident without any knowledge of the more modern dialects.

[4] *Morph.*, p. 31.

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given the two forms བཛྷ་ *bdzo* and ནཛ་ *ndzo* (for *ạdzo*). Similarly we know that ག *g-* is to some extent interchangeable in Tibetan with ཨ *b-* and ཧ *ạ-*.[1] In view of this, 𠀤 transliterated གཅན་ *gčeṅ*,[2] གཅ་ *gčẽ*,[2] in Tibetan, and 尼征 *ni-čeṅ* in Chinese, probably took two forms: གཅན་ *gčeṅ*, གཅ་ *gčẽ*, and ནཅན་ *nčeṅ* (for *ạčeṅ*).

It appears further, as we shall see below, that the guttural prefix ག *g-* of Tibetan is represented in the Chinese transcriptions by 𠀤移, 宜, 夷, and 魚, which attempt to reproduce *γ-*, i.e. the value given prefixed ག *g-* (and substituted for the dental prefix ད *d-*) in Kham at the present day. 𠀤, transliterated 𠀤移作 *yi-tso* in Chinese, would then represent *γtsõ*, in agreement with the Tibetan transcription གཟོ་ *gzoṅ* (*γzoṅ*). Interchange between this prefix and ཨ *b-* we already know in Tibetan (see above), so that the Chinese transcription of 𩟗 as 魚各 *yü-ko*, and its Tibetan transliteration as ཨ་ *bṅe*, ཨ་ *bṅu*, give us again ག་ *γṅu* (for *dṅö* ?) and ཨ་ *bṅe*, ཨ་ *bṅu* (= *bṅö* ?).

In view of their evident importance we will here tabulate the forms having Chinese transcriptions, as far as they are known to us, in which prefixes[3] are reproduced.

[1] *Morph.*, p. 41.

[2] For final *ṅ* and the nasalization (˜), see later below.

[3] In the Chinese elements representing prefixes, it is moderately certain that the consonant only should be read and the following vowel discarded. I shall consequently follow this course in transcribing them in the ensuing pages. In the case of 𠀤移, 宜, 夷, and 魚, it might seem that a palatal (*γ́-*) was intended rather than *γ-*, were it not for its improbability with the Tibetan prefixes involved. There was naturally a real difficulty in reproducing the required sounds in Chinese, with the result that approximations only were achieved. I therefore transcribe in these cases, not so much the sounds which the Chinese elements actually contained

(*Continued on p. 756.*)

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Prefix in Chinese Transcription.	Si-Hia Character.	Chinese Transcription.	Tibetan Transcription.	Sound of Chinese Transcription.	Sound of Tibetan Transcription.	Chinese Synonyms.	Tibeto-Burman Relatives.
尼	䢅	尼 責	[illegible]	*ntsə*	*nǰi* *bǰi* (*wǰi* ?) *ǰẽ*	行, 業, 藝	T. *bzo*, trade, handicraft. *bčo-ba*, P. and Imp. *bčos*, to make, to manufacture.
	䢅	尼 長	[illegible]	*nčaṅ*	*nǰoṅ*	長	
	敖	尼 長	[illegible]	*nčaṅ*	*nǰõ*	幢	
	纖	尼 足	[illegible]	*ntsu*	*ndzu*	雨	
	䢅	尼 租	[illegible]	*ntsu*	*ndzwu*	居, 坐	T. *bžugs-pa*, to sit, stay, dwell, reside.
	纖	尼 精	[illegible]	*ntsiṅ*	*ndzeṅ* *dzeṅ*	時	T. *t'se*, time.

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𢧐	尼井 𠻸精	རྩེ་ ; ཚེ རྩེ̀ ·	*ntsiṅ* *tsiṅ*	*ndzeṅ* ; *ntsẽ* *dzeṅ*	隅；角	T. *rdze-ba* P. (*b*)*rdzes* F. *brdze* Imp. (*b*)*rdze*(*s*) to turn up, curl up. *rtseṅ-ba* P. *brtseṅs* F. *brtseṅ* Imp. (*b*)*rtsoṅ*(*s*) idem.
𢧐	尼卒	ཚ	*ntsu*	*bdzo* (*wdzo* ?)	人	T. *ạt'so-ba*, to live; life.
𢧐	尼征	ཀ, ཀ̀ ·	*nčeṅ*	*γčeṅ* ; *γčẽ*	行	T. *mč'i-ba*, to go, to proceed. Jya-rung *č'i* (Hodgson (*dâ-*)*čin*).
𢧐	尼征	ཀ	*nčeṅ*	*γǰeṅ* ?, *γǰoṅ* ?	巡；踐；遊；行	Compare last entry.
𢧐	尼長	ཀ	*nčaṅ*	*γǰoṅ*	穴；孔	T. *ạǰug-pa* P. and Imp. *žugs*, to go into, enter. *ạǰug-pa* P. *bčug* F. *gžug* Imp. *č'ug* to put into, inject. (?)
𢧐	尼台	ཀ	*nt'ai*	*γdẽ*	轉；傳	T. *bda-ba* P. *bdas* to take away, carry along. (?)
𢧐	尼則	ཀ	*ntsə*	*rǰi*	集；俱	

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Prefix in Chinese Transcription.	Si-Hia Character.	Chinese Transcription.	Tibetan Transcription.	Sound of Chinese Transcription.	Sound of Tibetan Transcription.	Chinese Synonyms.	Tibeto-Burman Relatives.
尼	𗍫	尼 責	[illegible]	*ntsə* (*ntsö*)	*ǰĩ* (*ǰũ* ?)	迴	
	𗍬	尼 足	[illegible]	*ntsu*	*dzũ*	領；主	
泥	𗍭	泥 托	[illegible]	*nt'o*	*dho*	修	
𣶒	𗍮	𣶒 落	[illegible]	*nlo*	*nrũ*	秘；密	
咩	𗍯	咩 責	[illegible]	*γtsə*	*γzẽ*	著；滯	T. *gzi* shine, brightness, splendour. *gčal-ba* to spread out, to display. (?)
	𗍰	咩 則	[illegible]	*γtsə*	*γzi*	水	Jya-rung *tĕ-č'ɜ̂* water (Hodgson *ti-čĩ*).
	𗍱	咩 作	[illegible]	*γtso*	*γzõ*	計；主	T. *ǫǰog-pa*, P. *bžag*, F. *gžag*, Imp. *žog* to put in order, to arrange. (?)

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宜	𨻰	宜則	ཚོ་,ཚ་	γtsə	t'sõ, t'so	虛	
	𩠐	宜則	ཀྱེ་	γtsə	γye (γ̌ye ?)	山	T. *gye-gu*, hump, hunch.
	𩠐	宜則	རྡི་ དཱི་	γtsə	rdi dĩ	數；若干	T. *du*; how many ?
夷	𩠐	夷隔	ཁྱི་	γkie	ṅgi	力	
	𩠐	夷皆	རྒྱེ་	γkie	γgye (?)	貨，實，正	T. *rgyas-pa*, extensive, plentiful; rich in. (?)
	𩠐	夷隔	ཁྱི་	γkie	γghi	氣?，脉?	
魚	𩠐	魚骨	ཉ་ ཎ་	γku	bṅĩ (wṅũ ?) ṅu	五	Jyarung *kŏ-mṅô*, Lepcha *fă-ṅo*, Dimâ-sâ *bo-ṅâ*, Ladakhi *šṅa*, *γa*, five.
	𩠐	魚各	ཉ; ཎ	γko	bṅe, bṅu (wṅö ?)	咒?	T. *mṅan-pa*, to curse, to execrate. (?)
	𩠐	魚骨	ཐ? (ཏ?)	γku	rk'u? (rṅu?)	天	T. *dgu-ba*, to bend; bent.

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From the above, two important deductions which we have already forecast can immediately be made. First, that there was an evident attempt to reproduce by means of the Chinese syllables 尼, 泥, 遲, and 移, 宜, 夷, 魚, the sounds of the Tibetan prefixes ཧ and ག, ད, respectively. Secondly, that the sounds given these prefixes were close approaches to those given them at the present day in Eastern Tibet.

The prefix correspondences of the tables may, in fact, be summarized as follows, the Tibetan column (*a*) containing actually the same prefix which the Chinese transcription reproduces,[1] while column (*b*) contains prefixes unrelated to those in the Chinese column.

Prefix in the Chinese Transcription.	Prefix in the Tibetan Transcription.	
	(*a*)	(*b*)
尼, 泥, 遲 *n*- (for ཧ *a*-) .	ཧ *n*- (< *a*-)	ད *b*-, ག *γ*-, ཏ *r*-, or no prefix.
移, 宜, 夷, 魚 *γ*- (for ག *g*-, ད *d*-)	ག *γ*- (< *g*-), ད *γ*- (< *d*-)	ད *b*-, or no prefix.
夷 *γ*- (for *ṅ*- ?) . .	ཧ *ṅ* (< *a*-)	
宜, 魚 *γ*- (for *ṙ*- ?) .	ཏ *r*- (*ṙ*- ?)	

In comparison with eastern Tibetan pronunciation the position is furthermore thus :

(*y*, *i*) as those which they were intended to represent (*γ*-). For the material in the tables I am indebted to Nevsky's *Brief Manual of the Si-Hia Characters with Tibetan Transcriptions* (= Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society, No. 4, March, 1926), a work of the utmost importance for any study of Si-Hia. As to the final *ṅ*, and the nasalized vowels, see Nevsky, op. cit., pp. xxv–xxvi, and later in the present article.

[1] In the last two sets of correspondences this is not yet certain. It appears, however, that the values *ṅ*- and *ṙ*- suggested for the Chinese prefixes, and *ṙ*- for that of Tibetan ཏ, are sufficiently probable to warrant the Tibetan entries being tentatively placed under column (*a*).

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Chinese Transcription of Si-Hia.		Kham Pronunciation of Standard Tibetan.	
Prefix.	Initial.	Prefix.	Initial.
尼 *n-* . .	*č*	ཉ *n-*	*č*
尼 *n-* . .	*ť*	ཉ *n-*	*ť*
尼 *n-* . . .	*ts*	ཉ *n-*	*ts*
泥 *n-* . .	*ť*	ཉ *n-*	*ť*
涅 *n-* . .	*l* (*r*)	?	*r*
夷 *γ-* (= *ṅ-* ?) .	*k*	ཉ *ṅ-*	*g*
咿移；宜 *γ-* .	*ts*	ག *γ-*	*ts*
夷；魚 *γ-* .	*k*	ད *γ-*	*k*

When then becomes of the contention that such elements in the Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions were employed merely to indicate a "heavy sound"[1] in the following initial? Obviously this is not the true explanation at all. The sounds involved were no part of the words that followed, but were distinct entities, and were evidently pronounced as such. The very fact that they are such obvious attempts to reproduce values of ཉ and of ག and ད which are well known as peculiarities of eastern Tibetan speech is a point which puts it beyond all doubt that here we are dealing with actually articulated elements. Incidentally we have evidence here that ད and ག as prefixes were not omitted by the compiler of 掌中珠 *Chang-chung-chu*.[2]

As it is thus evident that the behaviour of these prefixed elements is following well defined laws familiar to us from Tibetan, laws moreover which are the result of dialect, it

[1] Wang Ching-ju, *Bulletin*, pp. 178 and 184. Compare also *Studies*, 2, p. 303.

[2] v. Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, p. xxviii. See also Ivanov, op. cit., pp. 1227–1231 (whose Chinese entries must be read from right to left), where 移, 夷, and 魚 in the Chinese transcriptions represent *γ-* (< ग or ड) as shown by the previous tables.

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may be asked whether Si-Hia itself was a homogeneous language over the whole of the territory within which it was spoken, or whether, on the other hand, there were not perhaps dialects of Si-Hia. If we are dealing with a situation involving the latter alternative, then it may be that those who contend that it was a language without spoken prefixes, and those who believe prefixes to have existed and to have furthermore been pronounced, are perhaps both right in their way, though speaking of different dialects. It seems not improbable that some such situation existed, for though united, just as is Chinese, by a common script, each character was given anywhere from one to as many as seven different pronunciations, until we have such a variety of transliterations as གྷ་ *gnũ*, ཀ་ *gnu*, ཎ་ *nu*, ཀ་ *gnya*, ན་ *na*, ཉ་ *nyo*, ཉ *ńo*, for the one single character 緻. Such a multiplicity of forms, and the many variants such as 巍, ད་ *dmĩ*, ད *dmi*, and ཨ *mi*; 牋, ག *gsẽ*, ག *gse*, and ཟ *ze*; 伇, ཨ *bńĩ*, and ཎ *ńu*, look very much as though we were in the midst of a dialectical field in which some speakers articulated their prefixes while others omitted them.

It may, in fact, be demonstrated in many cases (in addition to what we have already said concerning prefix interchanges in written Tibetan) that the variant prefix writings of Si-Hia are only those already familiar to us as dialectical changes in other areas.

Let us take, for instance, the case of ག *g-* and ར *r-* in 緻 transliterated ཀ *gzĩ* and ཇ *rdzi*. Displacement of ག *g-* by ར *r-* is a known characteristic of Amdo-wa and Panaḱa pronunciation,[1] in which ཀ *gtso* "chief"

[1] See Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 363. Whether or not this prefix (*r-*) tends to exhibit a velar value (*ṙ-*) we are not informed. Under similar circumstances in western Tibet it would do so.

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becomes *rtso*, གཞན་ *gžan* "other" becomes *rdzan*, གསོ་ *gso* "to cure" becomes *rso*, གསུམ་ *gsum* "three" becomes *rsum*, etc., and meets us again in the Western Tibetan area where e.g. གཅེས་ *gčes* "beloved" becomes *ṙčes*,[1] གཞུང་ *gžuṅ* "middle" becomes *ṙžuṅ*[1] in Purik.

Then again, when Si-Hia exhibits interchange of ད *d-* and ར *r-* in 𗅋 transliterated ད་ *dgi* and ཀ *rgī*, Amdo-wa and Panaḱa parallel it in replacing ད *d-* by ར *r-*,[2] pronouncing དཀ *dka* "difficult" as *rka*, དགྲ *dgra* "enemy" as *ṙja*, དབྱངས *dbyaṅs* "song" as *ryaṅ*, and here, once more in the western area we find དགུ *dgu* "nine" becoming *ṙgu* in Balti, Purig, and Ladakhi, དགོས *dgos* "necessary" becoming *ṙgos* in Ladakhi, and others.

This same replacement of ད *d-* by ར *r-* is also one of the outstanding features of the Berlin copy of the Bon *Gzer Myig*,[3] where དཀ *dka* "difficult" appears again as ཀ *rka*, དགའ *dga* "happiness" as ག *rga*, དགོས *dgos* "necessary" as ཀོས *rgos*, དགུ *dgu* "nine" as ཀུ *rgu*, དངུལ *dṅul* "silver" as ངུལ *rṅul*, and others, such writings being so regular throughout this work that it seems certain that they were one of the peculiarities of the dialect of its editor. The probability of the existence of a faucal or velar *r-* (*ṙ-*) as in Western Tibet also arises again here, a value, that is, which would approach *γ-* which now replaces ད *d-* in Eastern Tibet.

In view, then, of the fact that such variations of prefix in

[1] The velar pronunciation of this prefix in western Tibet raises the question of the possibility of a similar manifestation in Si-Hia. Its interplay with ག *γ-* at least suggests it, though its presence cannot be affirmed as yet.

[2] v. Rockhill, loc. cit.

[3] ed. Francke, in *Asia Major*, vol. i, pp. 243–346; vol. iii, pp. 321–339; vol. iv, pp. 161–239 and 481–540; vol. v, pp. 1–40 (Leipzig, 1924–8).

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other areas can be so definitely stated as being due to dialect, is there any very great improbability that the varying prefixes of Si-Hia likewise represent peculiarities of speech from different districts? In areas much more constricted than that of the old Si-Hia kingdom many dialectical varieties even now flourish on the Sino-Tibetan borderland.

The varying transcriptions assembled under single Si-Hia words would then represent exactly the same condition which confronts one in Tibetan, where "five", for instance, though written ལྔ་ *lṅa*, is pronounced *šṅa*, *ṙga*, *γa*, or *ṅa*, according to the speaker's district, and "eight", though written བརྒྱད་ *brgyad*, is similarly *vrgyad*, *rgyat*, *gyặt*, or *gyặ°*, and so on. Yet all these forms are Tibetan. The only difference in the complexion of the problem is that in Tibetan we *know* that all these pronunciations are merely dialectical varieties, while in Si-Hia the existence of such a condition has yet to be proved. The manifestations in both cases are alike. If we were to follow only those Tibetan forms which are devoid of prefixes, we should, without hesitation, pronounce Tibetan to be a language lacking these elements altogether. Yet the assumption, we know, would be absolutely false. Why then should we make so dangerous an assumption in the case of Si-Hia?

The possibility of the presence of dialects within it (though it cannot be taken as proved), to my mind considerably weakens the belief[1] that Si-Hia words can be reconstructed into theoretical originals each of only one single form and always devoid of prefixes, and the defences must indeed be felt to be very weak when it is found necessary to suggest that such basic words as the numerals when containing prefixes are taken over from Tibetan, or else were borrowed from some other language.[2] One may, indeed, ask what the great objection is to recognizing the prefixes in the Tibetan and Chinese

[1] Nevsky, op cit., pp. xxiv–xxv.
[2] Wang Ching-ju, *Bulletin*, p. 183.

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transcriptions of Si-Hia words. There is certainly nothing to be gained from such a one-sided view of the language, entailing, as it does, the condemnation without trial of some of the most valuable evidence we possess as to its true character—a thing we can never for one moment afford to do.

Now that we have discovered something of the spoken values of certain of the prefixed consonants of Si-Hia, and find them to be of a relatively weak nature (*γ*-, *ṅ*-, *n*-), the reason is immediately evident why juxtaposed consonants in dhâraṇis cannot be reproduced by means of syllables provided with them. *kṣa* (क्ष), for instance, cannot be written 𖧠, for the Tibetan transcription of this, i.e. ག་ཥ་ཀ་, shows that it would have been pronounced *γšã*. The prefix *γ*- is, in fact, two steps removed from *k*-, and thus cannot possibly function in its stead.[1]

This fatal weakness of the prefix—not only in the case of *g*- (ग), but also in that of *d*- (द), *b*- (ब), and probably *m*- (म) and the remaining prefixed consonants [2] as well—naturally precludes them from use in reproducing the stronger sounds of *k*, *g*, *d*, *b*, etc., and Si-Hia, faced with this fact, actually approached the problem from exactly the reverse direction. Instead of regarding the first consonant in such compounds as *kṣa*, *kri*, *gri*, *dra*, *bra*, etc., as a prefix, it treated it as the main element of the group, to which the following syllable was merely an appendage. It is not improbable that Tibetan here served it as a model. Subscribed *y*, *r*, and *l* (the so-called *ya-ta*, *ra-ta*, and *la-ta*), there written as subservient elements beneath the main consonant, form with them groups such as ཀ্য *kya*, ব্র *bra*, ক্লি *kli*, etc., which exactly parallel Si-Hia

[1] Even in Tibetan where prefixed ག presumably once carried its original sonant sound (*g*-) this was true. *kṣa* (क्ष) is there transcribed ক্ষ *kša*. ག্ষ *gša* could never have reproduced the required sound.

[2] For a further consideration of this point see below.

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[illegible] *kṣa* [illegible] *bra*, [illegible] *mri*, and the like. The small size of the second member of such Si-Hia compounds is a device for exactly the same purpose as is the subjoined position of *ya-ta*, *ra-ta*, and *la-ta* in Tibetan, i.e. for the purpose of indicating that the open syllable immediately preceding it is (*a*) the main part of the compound, and (*b*) devoid of its vowel.

It therefore seems fairly certain that evidence cannot be drawn from this source to prove that Si-Hia was devoid of spoken prefixes.[1] It shows only that the prefixes were not of sufficiently strong a nature to reproduce the clear surds and sonants of the original Sanskrit text.

When we come to consider the question of consonantal finals, what we have learnt from the Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions regarding the sound of [illegible] when prefixed is valuable to us. For we meet with this same letter in a number of cases as a final, and there seems no good reason for doubting that in those cases it carries a closely related, if not indeed sometimes the same value. Here I fully agree with Professor Pelliot's suggestion[2] that in many cases we may have a nasalization of the vowel. Judging, however, from the varying ways the Tibetan and Chinese transcriptions of the same word stand to one another, final sounds of two types may have occurred, viz. one with a vaguely heard consonant which I indicate by small raised letters (^{n}, ^{n}, ^{r}), another with a nasalized vowel devoid of audible consonant (e.g. *ẽ*). The table below shows what appears to have been the position of affairs, though the seeming irregularity of the transcriptions precludes any too definite statement of detail. It seems beyond doubt, however, that finals of the type indicated in the last column did occur—and this with considerable frequency.

[1] Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, pp. xxviii and 301–3.

[2] *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxviii (1932), p. 490. See also Nevsky, op. cit. supra, pp. xxv–xxvi.

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Final of Tibetan Transcription.	Final Consonant in Chinese Transcription.	Probable Sound intended.
(1) ཉ	*ṅ*	*ṅ*
(2) ན	*n*	*n*
(3) ཎ	None (Open syllable)	~
(4) None (Open syllable)	*ṅ*	~
(5) None (Open syllable)	*n*	~
(6) ང	None (Open syllable)	~
(7) ར	None (Open syllable)	*r*

Of the correspondences between the first two columns the most frequent are (1), (3), and (4), the others—so far as the material at present available shows us—occurring only in a few instances in each case.

It is fairly evident from this that the language was not devoid of final nasals.[1] On the other hand, the fact that dissyllabic transcriptions are employed in reproducing Sanskrit syllables with final *m* or *n*,[2] shows us that finals of exactly the Sanskrit strength were lacking. This is evident from a glance at the sounds of the last column above. No more, however, than in the case of the prefixes can we conclude that such dissyllabic transcriptions prove the absence of finals in Si-Hia. It is quite evident that we are here given proof only that the finals were weaker than the Sanskrit nasals.

As to the position occupied by Si-Hia among Tibeto-Burman languages there is naturally still much uncertainty. I should,

[1] Cf. Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, p. xxvii.
[2] Cf. Wang Ching-ju, op. cit., pp. 291–3.

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however, like to suggest that a grouping together of Si-Hia, Jya-rung, Minyak, and probably some other related and contiguous dialects reaching north as far as the Koko-Nor area, would be preferable to placing it with the Lo-lo and Mo-so groups.

The writer has previously drawn attention to certain parallels between Si-Hia and Jya-rung,[1] the further investigation of which must wait upon more complete knowledge of the latter.

In the meantime, however, we may make a preliminary examination of the prefix interrelations of Tibetan, Si-Hia, and Jya-rung, for we are already in a position to state the normal correspondences of pronunciation in this respect among these three. They are as follows :—

[1] *JRAS.*, 1931, pp. 47–52. Three of the twenty-four equivalences there proposed seem to occupy a special position. They are : Si-Hia 𗍊, རྨིད་ *dmī*, རྨི་ *dmi* "eye", Jya-rung "*te-mńok*" ; Si-Hia 𗍊, རྨུ་ *dmu*, རྨེ་ *dmi* "fire", Jya-rung "*te-mi, te-me*" ; Si-Hia 𗍊, རྨེད *dmeṅ* "woman", Jya-rung "*te-mi, te-me*". These correspondences I believe to be basically true, although in Jya-rung the prefix (*te-*) is now pronominal as I have satisfied myself by working in Darjeeling with a speaker from the Jya-rung states. This could never have been the case with Si-Hia *d-*. However, I believe the Jya-rung prefix *te-* overlies in an undetermined number of cases (which early Tibetan forms may help us to unearth) a non-pronominal *d-* (ད) which has been attracted only later into pronominal *te-* in line with the general usage of this dialect with substantives. This earlier non-pronominal Jya-rung *d-* may be represented in some of the forms spelt this way by Laufer (*T'oung Pao*, vol. xv (1914), p. 107, n. 1), among which *dmye* "eye" occurs. This would then belong directly with Tibetan དཔྱིག་ *dmyig* (*Gzer Myig* (as above quoted), folio 25*a*, l. 6, folio 25*b*, l. 1, etc.), and the equivalence with Si-Hia would be exact. In one case, however, the proposed equation will have to be withdrawn, i.e. in that of Si-Hia 𗍊, དགུ་ *dgũ* "head", Jya-rung "*ta-ku, ta-ko*". Here *ta-* (*tâ-*) = *tĕ-â-* in which *â-* is the non-pronominal Tibetan ཨ *'a-*, and *tĕ-*, from its position before it, is obviously late and pronominal (< T. ད་ *de*). Si-Hia དགུ་ *dgũ*, on the other hand, contains no pronominal prefix.

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Tibetan Prefix.		Si-Hia Prefix.		Jya-rung Prefix.[1]
Written.	Pronunciation in Eastern Tibet.	Written in Transcriptions.	Pronunciation.	Spoken Form.
ག	*γ-*	ग	*γ-*	*kĕ-*, *γĕ*[2] (?)
ད	*γ-*	द	*γ-*	?
ཝ	*v-*, *b-*	व	*ŭ-*?, *v-*?, *w-*?	*ŭ-*, *wŏ-*, *p-*
ཨ	*m-*	म	*m-* ?	*m-*
ཎ	*ṅ-*, *n-*, *m-*	ण	*ṅ-*, *n-*	?
ར (ʳ)	*r-* (*ṙ-* in WT.)	र (ʳ)	*r-* ? (*ṙ-* ?)	*r-*
ཧ	*l-*	ह	*l-* ?	?
ས	*s-*, *š-*	स	*s-* ?	*s-*, *š-*

With ग, द, and ण in Si-Hia we have already dealt in the preceding pages, as also their relationship to Tibetan. On the remaining elements we have not so much light.

In the table on a previous page I have suggested *w-*, or bilabial *v-*, as a possible value for व, as it is reasonable to suppose that it would follow the same course as ग, द, and ण, i.e. approach its eastern Tibetan sound. This would bring it close to one of its Jya-rung values, *ŭ-*, before which I have at times distinctly detected a slight bilabial *w-* (^{w}). One hears, for instance, *kọ̆-ŭdî*, or *kọ̆-*^{w}*ŭdî* "four" (T. བཞི་

[1] Examples of the use of the majority of these prefixes may be found on a preceding page. Of those not there represented the following will serve as illustrations: Jya-rung *kĕ-nĕs*, T. གཉིས་ *gñis* "two", Jy. *kĕ-sŭm*, T. གསུམ་ *gsum* "three", Jy. *ŭšăt*, *ŭšĭặt*, T. བཟད་ *bšad* (perf. of ཟློན་པ་ *ẓčad-pa*) "say, speak", Jy. *ŭtŭṅ*, *ŭtŭm*, T. བདུད་པ་ *bduṅ-ba* "beat", Jy. *wŏ-ryặt*, T. བརྒྱད་ *brgyad* "eight", Jy. *kĕ-sčyĭt*, T. དགེ་སྐྱིད་ *dge-skyid* "happy", Jy. *ặ-spọ̆*, T. སྤྱི་ *spo* "summit".

[2] I have found this pronunciation only once in Jya-rung, viz. in *yĕ-ščî* "alone", T. གཅིག་ *gčig*.

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bži), *kâ-ŭdî*, or *kâ-^{w}ŭdî* "good" (T. དགའ་བདེ་ *dga-bde*), (*tâ-*)*ŭtŭṅ*, or (*tâ-*)^{w}*ŭtŭṅ* "beat" (T. བཏུང་(ན་) *bduṅ*(*-ba*)), and others. Such a pronunciation approaches the eastern Tibetan value *v-*, and the probabilities seem to predict some such sound for Si-Hia also.

The pronunciation of prefixed ཨ *m-* in Si-Hia probably follows the same course, i.e. carries the value of *m-* as in Eastern Tibet. This is its destiny in Jya-rung, as we have seen on a previous page.

As to prefixed (superscribed) ར *r-* (ˉ), there is a distinct likelihood that in Si-Hia it carries a faucal, or at least a guttural, value, in line with which is its correspondence once in the tables to Chinese 宜 *γ-*, and once to 魚 *γ-*. It would then represent a sound known to occur in Western Tibet, and probably found also in the Koko-Nor area where it replaces ག *g-* of written Tibetan, as already noted.

As to the remaining elements (ལ *l-* and ས *s-*) there is very little one can say as yet in the case of Si-Hia, beyond the fact that they occur in the Tibetan transliterations.

Finally, as to definite statements of relationship between Si-Hia and any of the tribes of the Sino-Tibetan borderland, there is naturally at present the barrier interposed by lack of data.

For this same reason I hardly feel that the possibility of the Jya-rung tribes representing a remnant of a southward move on the part of some of the Si-Hia population in the early thirteenth century [1] can be eliminated just because we find mention in Chinese records of a tribe 嘉 良 Ka-liang [2] already dwelling in western Szĕ-ch'uan prior to that date. Quite apart from the doubtful identity of the names 嘉 良 Ka-liang and Jya-rung (རྒྱ་རུང་), it is open to question

[1] *JRAS.*, 1931, p. 51.
[2] Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, p. 297.

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whether the latter name reaches back anything like sufficiently far. Furthermore, the form which the name Jya-rung (རྒྱ་རོང་) would normally assume in Chinese would be Kia-lung ("Giya-lung"), and this is, in fact, the very form we find in the *Ta-Ch'ing Hui-Tien* of 1781,[1] where it is already the appellation of one only of the eighteen principalities of the time. What then would have been its importance five or six centuries earlier? And would not its form have been closer in sound to that of its Tibetan original, instead of further away from it, as is the case with "Ka-liang"? Rather than stressing the importance of this one name, it would seem preferable to search Chinese records for mention of any of the various subdivisional appellations (largely derived from features of local topography), which the "Jya-rung" tribes apply to their eighteen[2] subdivisions. In this way we might possibly determine at what date the tribes in question first appear in Chinese history, though the success of the attempt would depend upon the previous determination of the obviously Tibetan originals forming the backgrounds of the dialectically distorted names.[3]

[1] See Hänisch in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, vol. ix, p. 72. (For fuller quotation see next footnote.)

[2] The most complete lists of these from Chinese sources are given by W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, pp. 344–354, and E. Hänisch, "Das Goldstromland im Chinesisch-Tibetischen Grenzgebiete, nach dem grossen Kriegswerk vom Jahre 1781 dargestellt," in Sven Hedin's *Southern Tibet*, vol. ix, p. 72. See also A. von Rosthorn, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 51 (1897), pp. 524–6. These lists all differ from each other at various points, as does again one recently given the writer by a man from the principality of Jyâ-k'â. Nevertheless they all contain a large proportion of names in common—doubtless the most stable and powerful tribes. Cf. Hänisch, loc. cit.

[3] One or two instances will suffice to show the need for further research here. In my list I have a form *Tăks-dê*, also called *Brăg-sdê* by the same speaker. This is given by Hänisch as *Burakdi*, noted as corresponding to Chinese *Badi*, which Rockhill writes *Pati*. Hänisch proposes the Tibetan reading *Brag-di*, *Brag-ḍre* (སྦྲག་ཌྲེ་) "Felsen-Dämon". I gather, however, from my own informant that the correct original is སྦྲག་ཐེ་ *Brag-sde*, which is borne out by his further statement that the settlement consists

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It also seems doubtful to the writer whether we should regard the migration from Szĕ-ch'uan to Shensi mentioned by Wang[1] as having ended in a definite merging in the population of the Si-Hia kingdom, and even granting that such had been the case, it would hardly give us cause to deny[2] the possibility of a migration some centuries later in a reverse direction by an entirely different body of people. Too many unknown factors lurk in the background in these matters for anything to be certain at present, which is, indeed, the reason why the writer proposed a southward migration merely as being "not beyond the bounds of possibility".[3] There is nothing certain in this field yet.

All we can safely say at the moment is that there is a distinct probability that somewhere in western Szĕ-ch'uan there lingers a descendant or close relative of Si-Hia speech, richer in prefixes than the Lo-lo and Mo-so languages further to the south, and thus more closely agreeing with it. To this revision of Laufer's view we are led by the greater number of prefixes now known to exist in Si-Hia than was the case some years ago. This by no means invalidates the view that Si-Hia, Lo-lo, and Mo-so are related. They are; but do not seem to form the closest possible group together.

of small groups of houses, in threes and fours, situated in rocky surroundings. Then, again, I have a name *Čǫs-čyăp*, pronounced also by the same speaker as *T'ǫs-kyăp*. This is von Rosthorn's *Chossŭchiapu*, which he and Rockhill believe to represent *K'ro-skyab*. Hänisch has *Čosgiyab*, Rockhill a second form *Tru-jyab*, *Tro-jyab*, a third *Cho-ssŭ-chia*, and a fourth *Ch'o-ch'i chia*, while Baber (*RGS.*, Suppl. Papers, vol. i, p. 94) gives *Tchro-shiop*. The correct reading here was given me as ཆོས་སྐྱབས་ *Čos-skyabs*, a place where is situated a monastery known as གྲྭ་ཁེ་ཆེན་པོ་ *T'ŭ-jê Čĕm-pô* with accommodation for some forty lamas. I have been through these lists many times, and am indebted for valuable suggestions to Lama Lobzang Mingyur of Darjeeling. The greater number of names, however, remain obscure.

[1] Wang Ching-ju, *Studies*, 2, pp. xxviii and 277.
[2] Wang Ching-ju, op. cit., pp. xxviii, 276–7, 297.
[3] *JRAS.*, 1931, p. 51.

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Lo-lo and Mo-so naturally remain to each other as heretofore, but Si-Hia does not find in them its most closely related dialects, which are almost certainly to be sought further north, in Szĕ-ch'uan. This idea was indeed first put forward by Laufer,[1] whose far-sightedness in this respect will, I believe, be abundantly confirmed.

This, then, is the writer's view of the problems named at the outset. It must be borne in mind, however, that even now we have only part of the evidence within our grasp. Not until we have Tibetan transliterations as well as Chinese syllabic reproductions of every one of the more than six thousand Si-Hia characters can we say that the spoken form of the language is thoroughly known. The extent to which our knowledge has yet to be amplified may be gauged from the fact that at present we have Tibetan transliterations of only some three hundred odd characters. These, nevertheless, furnish us with evidence sufficiently extensive and definite to allow of our forecasting in a general way the character of Si-Hia speech throughout. For any study of this, when new material comes to hand, reference will undoubtedly always have to be made to prefix behaviour in Eastern Tibet (Kham and Amdo), for in this way we are already able to harmonize the Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions which would otherwise be so puzzling, and there is no reason whatever to doubt that this same source will again give satisfactory aids in clarifying the material yet to come to hand.

Supplementary Note

Subsequently to the completion of the above article and its acceptance for publication, a short but important contribution by Dragunov [2] has come to my attention, wherein its

[1] *T'oung Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), p. 108. "The missing links between Lo-lo and Mo-so on the one hand, and Si-Hia on the other, must have existed in the territory of Szĕ-ch'uan (or may still survive there)."

[2] "Binoms of the type 尼卒 in the Tangut-Chinese Dictionary," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Union des Républiques Soviétiques Socialistes*, Leningrad, 1929 (B, No. 8), pp. 145–8.

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author contends that 尼 represented a dental nasal sound occurring before palatal and dental initials. This sound he proposes to transcribe *n*.

It is difficult to understand why this article should not have caused a reconsideration, to say the least, of the whole prefix problem in Si-Hia among students of this language in China who have evidently had access to it. I myself gladly concede Dragunov the priority in making this discovery. On the other hand I cannot agree that both 魚 and 夷 seem to have represented a nasal *ń*. But then if Dragunov had kept in mind when he wrote, the practice of Tibetan dialects in the matter of spoken prefixes, his conclusions would doubtless have been of a different order. A detailed study of the whole problem approaching from this side is here the first essential step, and in view of the fact that this was not Dragunov's main approach his conclusions are the more remarkable, and better show the keenness of his insight.

188. S. N. W.

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An Assyrian Chemist's Vade-mecum

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

I APPEND some suggested explanations for some of the receipts in an Assyrian text, of which several recensions exist, which may be considered as a *vade-mecum* for chemists.[1] These recensions are :—

A. K. 274 + 5986 (*CT.* xiv, 42, cols. iii–iv) + 4163 (ib., cols. i–ii–iii, a new join) + 8764 (col. iv, copied afresh, a new join) ; the lower part of this tablet is K. 4140, B (ib., 42–3, cols. i–ii) + 14077 (ib., 33, joining col. iii, a new join).

B. K. 4152 (ib., 44, cols. i–ii).

C. K. 4140, A (ib., 28, cols. ii–iii) ; K. 4431 (ib., 27, col. i).

D. K. 4218, A (ib., 10, cols. i–ii–iii, rev. v).

E. S. 1701 (M. 181, cols. i–ii–iii, vi), same tablet as 83–1–18, 692 (pointed out by Bezold, *Cat.*, unpublished, cols. i–ii).

F. *Mat.*, No. 88, cols. 1–2.

Also KK. 8782 (unpublished), 8807 (*CT.* xiv, 42, cols. i–ii), 8828 (ib., 26 = K. 4152, col. iii–iv), 11386 (wrong number, ib., 42, cols. i–ii), 14060 (ib., 26 = end of col. iii and beginning of col. v of K. 4218, A), 14062 (ib., 42 = dup. of col. v of K. 4218, A), 14351 (ib., 42 = beginning of cols. iii–iv of K. 274).

Meissner commented on my copies in *Mitth. d. Vord. As. Gesellsch.*, 1904, 3, 26, pointing out duplicates : Jastrow published a facsimile of some of my copies, with an early attempt at a translation of some of the receipts (*PRSM.*, vii,

[1] The following abbreviations are used : *AH.*, my *Assyrian Herbal* ; *AM.*, my *Assyrian Medical Texts* ; *CT.*, *Cuneiform Texts* ; Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon* ; *E.*, Ebeling, *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin* ; *IB.*, Ibn Beithar, Leclerc, *Notices des Manuscrits*, xxiii, xxv, xxvi ; *KAR.*, Ebeling, *Keils. aus Assur* ; Khory, *Bombay Materia Medica* ; *M.*, Meek's copies, *RA.*, 1920 ; *Mat.*, Matouš, *Lexikal. Táf.* ; *NH.*, *Natural History* ; *OTC.*, my *On the Chemistry* ; *P.*, Squire, *Comp. to Brit. Pharmacopœia*, 18th ed. ; *PRSM.*, *Proc. of the Royal Soc. of Medicine* ; *PSBA.*, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* ; *RA.*, *Revue d'Assyr.* ; Rawson, *Dict. of Dyes* ; *SM.*, Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*. I am greatly indebted to Sir Herbert Jackson for his courtesy in allowing me to discuss certain points in this article with him.

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1914), but owing to our ignorance at that time of the meaning of most of the plant-drugs it was hardly to be wondered at that he defined them as *Dreckapotheke*. Whether any at all can now be said to come into this category I will not say: I propose to deal with those which can be brought into the circle of practical values. They appear to me to cover a wide range of use which taxes the knowledge of specialists in various branches from medicine to dyeing, and in addition we have to cope with those intentional problems with which every specialist, since the world began, has concealed his knowledge from the layman. The Assyrian doctors and craftsmen were no different from the rest of the world, but, happily, we are now beginning to learn the meaning of their cryptic synonyms from the syllabaries.

These receipts give brief instructions for the use of between 130 and 140 drugs, each usually in relation to some other drug in composition with which it is to be used, or, more rarely, giving a definite medical use as a prescription, or even, in some cases, repeating the first drug by a synonym in the second column, already known to us from elsewhere. They are arranged in double columns; the left hand gives a column of drugs (chiefly, but not always, vegetable) which are marked in the different recensions by the determinatives either of "plant" or of "tree", the different recensions adhering throughout to the relative determination which each has adopted, apparently without there being any difference of meaning; the right-hand column gives the second drug or other adjunct, always introduced by the preposition *ina*, which must have a very wide meaning in these cases. The remaining part of these tablets (i.e. besides the columns which give the *Vade-mecum*, which is the only part with which we are concerned here) consists of syllabaries of substances similar to, or actually the same as, those in the *Vade-mecum*, and I am not including these in this article except for reference.

The receipts given in this text include the following

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categories: (1) (the easiest), the plain use of *a drug in simple medicine*, with the ailment to which it is to be applied; (2) *condiments*, or similar additions to food; (3) drugs *in composition* with their appropriate *media*; (4) *dyes and their mordants*; (5) *skins* in their treatment for *tanning* (?); (6) various other uses, such as *ruddle on rams*, etc.; (7) substitution for words in *alchemists' jargon*, or even ordinary *synonyms*; (8) composition with certain "dusts" (footprints, etc.). (These last two I am omitting for the present; there are also one or two other categories which I hope to be able to explain later.)

1. We can begin best with the simple cases of plain medicine:—

1 (*a*). *iṣu* ^{u} *GÙR.UŠ ina šinnê*^{pl} *ga-ṣi-ṣa-(a)-te* (v. *tu*)
"Henbane on hollow teeth."

(K. 4152, i–ii, 21; K. 4218, A, i–ii, 9; S. 1701, i–ii, 12; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 46.)

^{u}*GÙR.UŠ* = [*šakiru*], *CT.* xi, 46, 37, *a*. For this plant E. (xiv, 1923, 29) rightly suggested the Aram. *šakrônâ* "henbane" (lit. "the drunken plant"). Henbane is well known as a narcotic; the fumes particularly were used for teeth (*SM.* ii, 189, *z'rai šakrônâiâ*: W. T. Fernie, *Herbal Simples*, 3rd ed., 238; *Withania somnifera* being used similarly to-day near Mosul, my article, *PSBA.*, Feb., 1906, 78). The *UŠ* "male" in the name *šakiru* is probably used with reference to the oval capsule of the *Hyoscyamus niger*, L., just as the mandrake with its "two little balls which are like the testicles of a man" (*SM.* ii, 708) is called "male" in Assyrian. I have heard the name *saykarân* applied in the Sinaitic desert to the *Hyoscyamus muticus*.

1 (*b*). ^{u}*Mârat eḳli ina ša-su-ri* (v. *rum*)
"Poppy on wasp (?)-(sting)."

(K. 4140, B, i, 3; K. 4152, i–ii, 28; K. 4218, A, i–ii, 16; K. "11386," 3; *Mat.*, 88, i, 53.)

For ^{u}*mârat eḳli* "red poppy", *Papaver rhoeas*, L., see *AH.* 42. Opium is used as an anodyne to relieve local pain

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(*P.*, 835; Khory, 146). *Šasuru*, primarily the uterus, can hardly be intended in this sense here, and we may look to its other meaning as some form of insect for an explanation. In this case it would be parallel to the use of a drug on *nâbu* "lice" (K. 8764 (+ K. 274, 12); *Mat.*, 88, i, 81; see I (*e*)). *Ša(s)surum, kuzazu, ḫanzizitu, zumbu kišti arḳu,* ^{nim}*saḫ- . . .*, are all synonyms for the group *NIM.SIG.SIG* "very yellow fly" (cf. *CT.* xiv, 2, K. 71, A, 8; 8, *r.* 16; 9, K. 4373, iii–iv, 15; 10, *r.* vii–viii, 6; II *R.* 24, r., 18, e, f, g; Deimel, 433, 37; *Mat.*, 40, v, 16; 44, v, 12; 88, iii, 22); *kuzazu* is also the equivalent of *NIM.KA.RA.AḪ*, which = *gurgurru gur-gur-ru* (v. *ta-bi-ru*) "coppersmith-(fly)", and ^{nim}*la-bi(be)-e* (*CT.* xiv, 9, iii–iv, 10, 11; 10, vii–viii, 4, 7; *Mat.*, 88, iii, 20, 23), the latter word being equivalent to *NIM.KUKKU* (= *dašpu* "sweet") (*CT.* xiv, 9, iii–iv, 12; 10, vii–viii, 8): *šasuru* = *šubabîtu*, *Mat.*, 88, iii, 67; *NIM.BUL.BUL* = *ku-za-*[*zu*]: *ku-za-a-su* = *ḫa-an-*[*zi-zi-tu*]: ^{nim}*ḫa-*[*an-zi*]*-zi-e-tu* = ^{iṣu}*pilakki* [^{ilu}]*Ištar*, *Mat.*, ib., 27–9, and Deimel, 433, 37; the last word, "spindle of Ishtar," must refer to a suggestion of the spindle-whorl or drill shape of the fly (in which case the cone-like tail of the wasp or hornet with its sting at the end, similar to the spindle-whorls used by the women, would well apply). "Yellow fly," "yellow fly of the grove" might well apply to the wasp as found in England, but less well to the wasp or hornet of the Near East, the *zambur* of the Arabs, which is twice the size, with a tail of claret and yellow colour. I have, however, seen a smaller wasp (called *ebîâja*) in Basrah. In any case, however, whatever fly *šasuru* may be, it is capable of irritating human sensibilities which opium, applied here externally, will ease.

1 (*c*). ^{u}*Ḳurban eḳli ina ziḳ-tu*

"*Anthemis* (chamomile) on a sting."

(K. 274, iii–iv, 7 + 4163, iii, 7; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 76.)

For ^{u}*ḳurban eḳli* = *anthemis* see *AH.* 67. Externally *anthemis* is used in modern medicine on bruises and contusions

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as a fomentation (*P.*, 167); a cataplasm of the whole plant eases local inflammation (Clermont-Ferrand, *Les Plantes qui Guérissent*, 104). *TAR* (= *ziḳtum nûni*, *CT.* xii, 15, 22, *b*) on K. 274 appears, from its position, to have preceded something, now lost. In *Mat.* *ziḳ-tu* is without addition.

1 (*d*). *ᵘḲurban eḳli ina ḳaran aḳrabi*

"*Antkemis* (chamomile) on 'horn' of scorpion."

(K. 4140, A, iii, 5; K. 4218, A, *r.* v, 3; K. 14060, 14; K. 14062, 3; *Mat.*, 88, 2, 24.)

The more usual phrase for "scorpion sting" is *ziḳit aḳrabi*. Here, however, we may have an approach to one of the alchemists' synonyms. For the drug see 1 (*c*).

1 (*e*). *ᵘA-zal-lu-u ina na-a-bu*

"*Cannabis* on lice."

(K. 274, iii, 12 + K. 8764, iv, 7; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 81.)

Nâbu, synonymous with *uplu*, *kalmatu* (worm), and *purṣu'u* (flea), as well as *sâsu* (moth), as values of the sign *UḪ*, which Deimel quotes in a group *UḪ.UḪ.UḪ.UḪ.SAG* (398, 61) for "head-louse". *Cannabis sativa* (*bhanga*, *binj*) is applied to the head in a paste to remove dandruff and vermin (Khory, 503).

1 (*f*). *ᵘṢi-bu-ru ina ni-sik ?-ḫu-u* (?)

"Aloes on the bite of a . . . ?"

(K. 4140, A, iii, 9; K. 4218, A, v, 7; K. 14062, 7; *Mat.*, 88, 2, 28.)

According to Pliny (*NH.* xxvii, 5) the leaves of aloes are applied fresh to wounds, and the plant can be used externally for prurigo. In India the dried juice is applied for the dispersion of swellings (Khory, 539).

2. We can now go on to the condiments :—

2 (*a*). *ᵢṣᵘNi-bi-' ᵢṣᵘbalti ina* (*ᵛᵃᵏ*)*mili'i*

"Buds of the caper (*AH.* 77) in saltpetre."

(K. 4152, i–ii, 18; K. 4218, A, i–ii, 5; S. 1701, i–ii, 9; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 44.)

Vinegar is the more usual medium in which this common pickle is preserved, but water in which salt has been dissolved

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is also used; *IB.*, No. 1328, 1877: macerate in salt and water, wash with pure water, preserve in vinegar.

Razes says that preserved in vinegar it is less hot than with salt (he also talks of salted preserves, as distinct from those made with vinegar). Pliny (*NH.* xxxi, 46) in discussing "nitrum" (about the exact meaning of which doubt has been raised) says that "to vegetables it imparts an additional greenness" (Bostock, ibid., says that carbonate of soda is added to pickles for this purpose).

2 (*b*). *ᵘZi-bu-u ina ZID ŠE + BAR + ŠE*

"*Nigella* (black cummin) on flour of barley (*RA.* 1929, 51)."

(K. 4152, i–ii, 33; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 58.)

Zibû has long been certain as *nigella*, a regular addition to bread in Mesopotamia. It is common in the bazaars. *IB.*, No. 1351, quotes Dioscorides, iii, 83, as speaking of the black grains mixed with bread.

3. The next class is that of drugs added to proper *media*:—

3 (*a*). *ᵢṣᵘ ᵘUD* (= *ṣarbatu*) *ina lipû piṣû*(*u*)

"*Styrax (*AH.* 135) in white lard."

(K. 4140, B, i, 1; K. 4152, i–ii, 26; K. 4218, A, i–ii, 13; S. 1701, i–ii, 16; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 50.)

This is the ordinary way of incorporating such a mild and pleasant drug in an ointment. Benzoated lard (*P.*, 100, 210 gr. of benzoin in 16 oz. of melted lard) is probably the modern equivalent.

4. We now come to more scientific indications, the dyes with their mordants or with their uses:—

4 (*a*). *ᵘKa-mun* (*ᵢṣᵘ*)*bîni*[1] *ina ᵗᵃᵏga-bi-i* (v. *e*)

"Lichen of tamarisk in alum."

(K. 4152, i–ii, 13; S. 1701, i–ii, 5; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 40.)

ᵘKamunu (*ᵘTIN.TIR.ŠAḪ*) has the value of cummin (*AH.* 51): "black *kamunu*" is *nigella* (see 2 (*b*)). But *kamunu* also = *UZU.DIR*, lit. "red flesh" (= "red worms (?)", *JRAS.* 1929, 343). Following up a suggestion

[1] v. [*ᵘTIN*].*TIR.ŠAR.*

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by Mr. Gadd, with this alchemists' equivalence for "lichen" cf. *samânu ša igari* "scab of the wall" (i.e. ammonia, *PRSM.* 1924, 3) = *tullu sâmtu* "red worm" (*Mat.* 88, 3, 40), *samânu* being "ringworm" (an erroneous explanation).

It has long been supposed (*AH.* 50) that the *kamunû* which appeared in the court of Ê-Ani of the Temple of Nabû was lichen (Harper, *Letters*, No. 367, 8, paralleled by *katarru* on a wall, ib.; cf. Boissier, *Choix*, i, 2; *Babyloniaca*, iv, 94; *CT.* xl, 15). In a text published by Gwynn (*PSBA.* 1914, 248, 93) *šumma ina bît ameli ina libbi karpat ṭabâti ka-mu-nu innamar*, etc., "if in a man's house in a pot of vinegar *kamunu* appears," etc., *kamunu* would appear to mean that substance called *mother* of vinegar: "Where vinegar is kept in open vessels, a gelatinous substance gradually collects in it, called mother of vinegar" (Booth, *Enc. of Chem.*, 27). In our *Vade-mecum* we have here a special *kamunu* of tamarisk (cf. *AM.* 85, i, vi, 11, *ka-mun* ^{iṣu}*bi-*[*i-ni*]) which is described in another text as . . *išid* ^{iṣu}*bîni uṣṣû ša-niš ka-mun* ^{iṣu}*bîni*: ^{tak}*gab-u* (*JRAS.* 1924, 456) ". . [which on] the root of tamarisk comes forth (alternatively) *kamunu* of the tamarisk is alum" (cf. *Mat.* 88, 6, 28). *A New Cyclop. of Botany* (pub. W. M. Clark, *n.d.*, 631) says that "*lichen pyxidatus*, Common Cup Moss" grows "about the roots of old trees".

"Lichen in alum" at once suggests one of the lichen dyes Alum is used as a mordant in the dyeing of all classes of fibres (Rawson, 32), and specifically the *New Cyclop.*, 630, describes the "*lichen parietinus*", the "yellow wall lichen" growing on the trunks of trees, as being "affirmed to give a good yellow or orange colour, if fixed with alum". "The mordants at first employed consisted evidently of the naturally occurring sulphates of aluminium and iron, the former being most valuable for this purpose. Indeed, Bancroft in his *Philosophy of Permanent Colours* (1813) remarks that the discovery of alum was one of the most important events in the history of dyeing" (A. G. Perkin and A. E. Everest, *Nat. Org. Col. Matters*, 1; "very generally the mere trace of dye present

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gives yellow shades on aluminium mordant," ib., 3). Rawson (ib., 31) mentions that alum was employed as a mordant for dyeing bright colours in the time of Pliny, and that potash alum (kainite) occurs in Persia in large quantities. In a Greek text on dyeing (Lagercrantz, *Pap. Graec. Holm.*, 215) to dye with orseille (*roccella*-lichen) urine and alum are to be used.

The only question, then, which remains is: What kind of lichen producing a dye is this *kamunu* on tamarisks? In Ceylon *Roccella montagnei*, Del., grows on trees near the sea-coast (Leighton, "On the Lichens of Ceylon," *Trans. Linn. Soc.*, xxvii, 1871, 163), and I have bought specimens of this in the Mosul bazaar (very kindly identified for me by Dr. A. B. Rendle). Its local Arab name in Mosul, *ša'fet el-'ajûz* "hair of the old woman", aptly describes it, and this name is practically the same as the *šêbet el-'ajûz* of *IB.*, No. 85, which he gives as a synonym for *ušna*, another lichen, about which he quotes Dioscorides saying that the best comes from the cedar of the mountains, then the poplar, and the oak (many of these lichens come also from rocks, Rawson, ib., 250).[1]

Another possibility (also from Ceylon, Leighton, ib., 166, "with very few exceptions the lichens all grew on the barks of various trees," 161) is *Lecanora tartarea*, Ach. (*corticola*) in the Central Province. This is, above all, a dye, cudbear, red or crimson (Lorrain Smith, *Lichens*, 414). There is also the *Usnea barbata*, Fr. (also Central Province, at 5,000 feet, Leighton, ib., 163, a yellow colour, Lorrain Smith, ib., 417) which contains the same word as *IB.*'s *ušna*.

We may thus be reasonably certain that in *kamun bîni* we have a lichen used as a dye, and mordanted in alum,[2] in spite of the difficulty that the texts also explain it as a synonym (alternatively) for alum.

[1] Amoreux in his *Recherches* (15) in G. F. Hoffmann's *Mém. sur l'utilité des Lichens*, 1787, includes, among the trees on which lichens are found, oaks, pines, willows, sloes, mulberries, elms, chestnuts, figs, junipers, olives (etc.), but I cannot find a definite instance of tamarisk here or in Hoffmann's *Enumeratio Lichenum*, 1784.

[2] I have to thank Mr. W. R. Day, of the Department of Forestry, Oxford University, for a most enlightening conversation on lichens.

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4 (*b*). *ᵘkam-me gur-gur-ri*[1] *ina ši-pi-tu*

"Coppersmiths' black on grey hair."

(K. 4140, A, iii, 8; K. 4218, A, vi, 6; K. 14062; *Mat.*, 88, 2, 27.)

Kamme gurgûrri I think I was able to show in *AH.*, 274 to be the "vitriol" of the metal-workers, the root being the neo-Syr. ܟܡܪ = ܟܡܪܐ *nigravit*. It is given here as equivalent to *ᵗᵃᵏAŠ.MUR*, which has also the value in *Mat.*, 88, 2, 49 ff., of *ᵗᵃᵏBALAG.GA* ("pumice", see my forthcoming article in *Babyloniaca*), *ᵗᵃᵏZID.IM* ("dust of clay", uncertain meaning), *ᵗᵃᵏZID.A.BAR* ("powder of antimony"), *ᵗᵃᵏKUG.BAL.E* ("emery", *JRAS.* 1934, 345), doubtless representing black powder in some form. *ᵗᵃᵏAŠ.MUR* (*AH.*, 274) is also the equivalent of "*ᵘkamme* of the field" (white and black) and "*ᵘkamme* of the mountains", three plants, which I took to be *Xanthium strumarium* which I was told in Basrah dyed things black.

There is also the form *kamme aškapi* (for *aškapi* see Meissner, *OLZ.*, 1911, 385) "*kamme* of the shoemakers" (*PRSM.*, 1924, 24), Pliny's *atramentum sutorium* "shoemakers' black", called thus from its being used to colour leather, and probably including green vitriol (so Bostock, Pliny, *NH.*, vi, 200), the *chalcanthon* of Diosc. for dyeing leather, "copperas water," the small scales separated from molten copper by the application of water (ib.), μελαντήρια (Ibn Djoldjol, *IB.*, 1080).

ᵗᵃᵏIanibu "green vitriol" (see *OTC.*, 113) is recommended for hair, *AM.*, 3, 2, 16. For *šipitu*, for the more usual *šîbu*, cf. the variation in *Gilgamish*, xi, 217, 227, in the making of bread, where I have presumed it means "leaven". There is a curious coincidence in regard to this *šîbu* "grey hairs" as a word for leaven, recorded by Forskal (*Flora*, 193, 1775), who says that the *lichen prunastri*, not native to Egypt,

[1] There is an obvious mistake *a-gur-ru* in K. 4218, A, and *Mat.*, corrected by *gur-* . . . on K. 4140, A, and the sign on K. 14062, *URUDU*.[*TIBIRA*], II *R.* 51, 45, *a*: Deimel, 560, 6 = *gurgurru*.

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called "schaebe" (شيبة), is used as a leaven, and is added to bread to give what the Turks consider a delicious taste. I do not suppose, however, that it represents the leaven in the Gilgamish legend (see 4 (*a*)).

4 (*c*). *isu Kur-ka-nam ina epir a-su-ur-ri*

"Turmeric (*AH*. 110) in 'dust of the wall'."

(K. 274 + K. 8764, iii–iv, 22; S. 1701, iii, 7; *Mut.*, 88, 2, 6.)

Obviously, if there is any sense in this group (presuming that it is not a roundabout way of indicating a possible yellow wall-paint, which seems negligible) "dust of the wall" is an alchemists' term for some drug. Cf. *JRAS*. 1924, 455, "*abukatu*-gum is like *epiri asurrî*"; the obvious chemical would be the common exudation of the soil from which the bricks are made (not, of course, the ammonia from old walls, due to urine), i.e. what the Indians call *réh* or *sajji matti*, the efflorescence on the surface of the ground, as common in Mesopotamia as in India. Sir George Watt (*Commercial Products of India*, 51) describes it thus: "It may be said to be a mixture of the following salts: sodium carbonate (*sajji*), sodium sulphate (*khari*), and sodium chloride (common salt or *namak*). . . . *Réh* frequently occurs in such abundance as to give origin to large tracts of desert—and constantly increasing tracts—the surface being literally encrusted with a white snow-like deposit." Now, under *Curcuma* (ib., 448), Sir George Watt says: "Mordants are rarely required with turmeric since the dye attaches itself readily to wool, silk, or cotton. Calcutta dyers, however, obtain a brilliant yellow by mixing turmeric with *sajji matti* (carbonate of soda, p. 51)." It is unnecessary to say more: we have here, I think, an indication that *kurkanû* (turmeric) was to be mixed with the salt obtainable from brick walls, i.e. of the same constituence as *sajji matti* or *réh*, and that the old Assyrian dyers used the same method as those of Calcutta. *Epir asurri*, as the exudation from walls, will then be an alchemists' word for this particular salt (which is thus probably a definite chemical).

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4 (*d*). *ᵘḪa-za(l)-lu-nu iṣa parzilli ⁱˢᵘnu-ur-ma-a*
"*Murex* in iron (and) pomegranate."
(K. 274, iii–iv + K. 8764, 23 ; S. 1701, iii, 8 ; *Mat.*, 88, 2, 7.)

In *AH.* 115 I pointed out the similarity of *ᵘḫazalunu* with the Syr. *ḫallazônâ* "the purple mussel, *murex*", but, in considering it as a plant, I did not recognize the probability that this word was the actual *murex*-dye. At the same time, this is uncertain, as the difficulty which the following quotation gives will show [1] :—

ᵘḫa-za-lu-na = *ᵘp(b)u-ud(ṭ, t)-na-nu*
ᵘka-ni(zal)-lu-ḫu = *ᵘ* ,,
ᵘna-mul iṣṣuri = *ᵘ* ,,
ᵘḫa-za-si-nu = *ᵘ* ,, [2]

ᵘP(b)ud(ṭ, t)nanu certainly puts a difficulty in the way of the equivalence of *murex* for *ᵘḫazaluna*. We do not, it is true, know its exact meaning as a plant : I had hitherto taken it to mean "fruit of the *buṭnu*, pistachio" (*AH.* 171) quite erroneously. One important indication of its meaning is shown in a group of five garden-herbs in Merodach Baladan's garden (*CT.* xiv, 50, 35–9) in a separate register : *biššu ŠAR* (rue), *zûpu ŠAR* (hyssop), *zamburu ŠAR* (thyme), *ḫašê ŠAR* (thyme), and *p(b)ud(ṭ, t)nana ŠAR*. Obviously pistachio is at once impossible. It also occurs in a list of aromatics, etc. (Johns, *Ass. Deeds*, No. 1074, 9), which are all given in small quantities along with "two shekels of turmeric, one shekel of *p(b)ud(ṭ, t)nanu*, one shekel of *ḫašanu*", the shekel being about a quarter of an ounce, and since turmeric is a dye (particularly for the hands (*CT.* xiv, 48, Rm. 328, *r.* 3), like henna in the modern East), it is not improbable that

[1] I am indebted to a copy of a tablet made by Herr Pick and given by him to Professor Langdon, who has generously lent it to me, as he knew that I was interested in plant-texts. I am also indebted to Professor Ehelohlf for permission, through Professor Langdon, to use this quotation.

[2] This, as will be seen, restores my copy in *CT.* xiv, 40, 82–5, 22, 576 ; *AH.* 23 and 115, but adds these two new equivalences. *ᵘNamul iṣṣuri* is, however, turmeric (*CT.* xiv, 27, K. 4621, 2 + 32, K. 10024, 2) ; *ᵘḫazasinu*, a difficult form, is unknown to me.

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both the other two are dyes also. It has no stone (I see, on re-examination, of 93084, *CT*. xiv, 16, 3, the reading should be *ᵢˢᵘpu-ud-na-na*). In Assyrian medicine its water (juice) is prescribed for washing a woman in childbirth (in certain conditions) (*KAR*. 195, 22); ib. 203, iv, 24, it is to be brayed and eaten without a meal for the lungs; *AM*. 59, 1, 44, is uncertain, but if the word is to be restored thus, *b(p)ud(ṭ, t)-nanu* is prescribed with many others for stoppage of urine; in ib. 41, 1, 40, a handful is prescribed (on this text see *RA*. 1929, 58).

ᵘP(b)u-ud(ṭ, t)-na-nu, from its association in Merodach Baladan's garden, would appear to be not dissimilar from rue, hyssop, and thyme, and consequently one possibility is that we should read it *buṭnanu*, the Phœn. *βουτνουμ*, *hippomarathrum*, horse-fennel (see Blau, *Zeits. d. Morg. Ges.*, 1873, 527; Löw, *Ar. Pflanz.*, 405), or *pudnanu*, Maim. فودنج *thymus serpyllum* (ib., 326, or *ocimum basilicum*), or Persian پودنه *mentha*.[1] But this is not easy to associate with turmeric and *ḫašanu* in *ADD*. 1074; it is true that marjoram can be a dye,[2] but it is not one of the outstanding ones. If *ḫazaluna* is *murex*, *p(b)ud(ṭ, t)nanu* ought to mean a purple dye. We can certainly say that it is not a yellow dye (alongside turmeric), as it would have been included in the dyes for staining hands (*CT*. xiv, 48, Rm. 328, 2, asa fœtida (silphium), turmeric, mustard, and saffron); but the Arabic فدن for "red dye" certainly offers something more promising. It is obviously impossible to suggest any particular plant, since the Arabic is not definite, and hence I must leave *ᵘpudnanu* without an equivalent beyond a comparison with the Arabic. Probably alkanet, *anchusa tinctoria*, the

[1] Here I must offer a warning that Brockelmann (*Lexikon*, 380) has misread accidentally the sequence of lines in *ZDMG*. 39, 258, 5, making by error ܥܘܕܢܐ ܕܨܒܥܐ *isatis tinctoria* "woad" instead of *hippomarathrum*.

[2] *The Whole Art of Dying* (sic), pub. by the Tapestry Studio, 30, 87; *Les Plantes qui Guérissent*, 557 (and also sage).

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well-known red dye, is sufficiently near in appearance (for gardeners' purposes) to rue, hyssop, and thyme, as well as fitting well enough with the list of aromatics and the turmeric dye, to fill the blank, but obviously it is without scientific value as a comparison.

I think, with this possibility, as well as in consideration of the right-hand column "in iron (and) pomegranate", we are entitled to rule out as improbable the theory that two rare quadrisyllables like *ḫazalunu* and *kazalluḫu*,[1] as well as *ḫazasinu* in an inferior text, are ordinary equations for a simple plant of the nature of thyme, rue, hyssop, or fennel.

The right-hand column "in iron (and) pomegranate" is a very definite indication, and is so far curious that it contains *two* drugs (usually there is only one). Both "iron" and "pomegranate rind" are used in dyeing in general: ferrous sulphate is used as a mordant on wool, basic ferric sulphate and nitrate and ferrous acetate on silk, and basic ferrous sulphate, ferrous sulphate, and ferrous acetate on cotton (Rawson, 235), while, as for pomegranate rinds, anyone who has seen an Eastern bazaar will remember the dried rinds in the shops. Tannin is the chief acid mordant (ib., 236), and the rind of the pomegranate is used as a tanning material (Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, 910). (On ferrous and ferric tannates, see Rawson, ib., 315.)

Democritus gives a receipt for using "pourpre",[2] which

[1] Presuming that this is not *kazallu iṣṣuri*, very improbable. It is going too far into the realms of fantasy to see in *kaniluḫu* a garbling of the Syr. *ḳ-n-kûlâ*, conchylium, *murex*, but there is a bye-form *ḳôkaliôn* for conchylium, which suggests that *ḳ-n-kûlâ* may have a distinct origin of its own.

[2] Democritus gives the following as *pourpre* (ib., ii, 44): (1) l'algue qu'on appelle fausse pourpre, (2) le coccus (sorte de cochenille), (3) la couleur marine (orseille), (4) l'orcanette (*anchusa*) de Laodicée, (5) le cremnos, matière inconnue, (6) la garance d'Italie, le phyllanthion d'Occident (ou des plongeurs ?), le ver à pourpre, tiré de . . ., le rose d'Italie; and those giving no fixed colours (pourpre): Cochenille de Galatie, la couleur d'Achaie qu'on appelle laccha, celle de Syrie qu'on appelle rhizion, le coquillage et le double coquillage de Libye, la coquille d'Égypte de la région maritime qu'on appelle pinna, la plante appelée isatis, et la couleur de la Syrie supérieure que l'on appelle murex.

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includes iron (Berthelot, *Coll. des Anciens Alchimistes*, part ii, 43): "Mettez dans une livre de pourpre, un poids de deux oboles de scories de fer, macerées dans sept drachmes d'urine, posez sur le feu jusqu'à l'ébullition. Puis, enlevant du feu la décoction, mettez le tout dans un vase. Retirant d'abord la pourpre, versez la décoction sur la pourpre et laissez tremper une nuit et un jour. Puis, prenant quatre livres de lichen marin (= orseille), versez de l'eau de façon qu'il y ait au-dessus du lichen quatre doigts d'eau et tenez (le mélange dans cet état) jusqu'à ce qu'il s'épaississe; filtrez alors, faites chauffer et verser sur la laine disposée d'avance, etc." Vitruvius (vii, 14, quoted Hoefer, *Hist. de la Chimie*, i, 163) says that the preparation of one form of purple from the shell-fish was carried out by beating the shell with iron instruments, and the purple liquid thus separated was mixed with honey. M. Lisson (quoted, ib., 164) gives the various changes in colour actually produced by chemicals on the purple shell-fish dye (alcalis, acids, oxalate of ammonia, nitrate of silver, but iron is not given as one of the chemicals). Pliny (*NH.* ix, 62) does not give anything which will help us much; he says that salt is to be added, the dye is to be steeped for three days and boiled in vessels of tin, and after ten days a fleece is to be plunged in as a trial. Isidor (*Isidori Etymologiae*, Lindsay, xii, vi, 50) says of the *murex* that when cut round with an iron it emits tears of a purple colour. (See also Berthollet, *Art of Dyeing*, 6.) It would seem as though the above authorities had some idea that iron was necessary.

I think, therefore, that we are entitled to see in *ḫazalunu* the Assyrian for *murex*, which, as a dye, was treated by them with iron and pomegranate rinds.

5. Skins in their treatment for tanning:—

5 (*a*). "*Ḫal-tap-pa-(a)-nu ina muš-šu-gal-lu* (v. *li*)
"Mustard on a *muššugallu*-snake."
(K. 4140, B, i–ii, 31; K. 4152, i–ii, 46; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 69.)

There are two possibilities: one, that the snake-skin takes

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the place of our oil-silk, so that we have here a mustard plaster; cf. a poultice in Syriac medicine (*SM.* ii, 683), "then boil the skin of a snake and make a plaster [of drugs previously given] and lay it upon it." The other is that it is possibly for the making of shagreen: in Turkey skin is strewed with mustard-seed to make this form of leather (Pomet, *Hist. of Drugs*, 260; *Penny Cycl.*, xxi, 1841, 335). I am indebted to a letter from Mr. B. Monar Jones, Principal of the Manchester College of Technology, for information that shagreen has been made from many types of reptile skins.

6. Various other uses:—

6 (*a*). *^{iṣu}Ša* (v. *šam*)-*mu* (v. *mi*) *sâmu ina ki-ṣir* (v. *iṣ-ri*) *immeri NITA*

"*Carthamus tinctorius* (*AH.* 98) on the 'strength' of a ram."

(K. 4140, B, i, 2; K. 4152, i–ii, 27; K. 4218, A, i–ii, 14; K. "11386," 2; *Mat.*, 88, 1, 51.)

I had at first supposed that this was the ordinary ruddling of the flocks of sheep, which is done in Mesopotamia (I forget the exact colour) as elsewhere. But Mr. Gadd happened to mention to me that it was customary in this country to ruddle the under-parts of a ram, so that it might be known which ewes had been served, and it is probable (from the definite mark *NITA* "male") that this is the explanation here. *Kiṣru* might have meant "flock", but it is equally likely to mean "strength", although I have no parallel for such a special meaning.

I hope to return to the remainder of the *Vade-mecum* in a forthcoming book on *Assyrian Pharmacopœia*.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A GIPSY STONE

The stone here illustrated, a blood-red carnelian, unset, 2 mill. thick, appears to be of the finest workmanship and to read plainly—

مقطوعة قبطيان مسلم فى ٦٦٠

which may be translated "Tax of the Muslim Gipsies" in whatever year the figures represent; i.e. *either* reading from left to right in the usual way, A.H. 660 = A.D. 1261; *or* from right to left and assuming the omission of the thousand digit, A.H. 1066 = A.D. 1655.

The word مقطوعة is not given in Dozy's Arabic dictionary (1881), nor in any other I can find. قطيعة, however, grammatically the same, is commonly given as meaning "tax". Further, von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osman : Reiches*," Pest, 1827, ix, 498), quotes a Firman of A.H. 1111 : "Zur Entscheidung eines Steuerprozesses, ob die Gärten eines Chass (Staatsgutes) auf dem Zehentfusse, oder als Maktuu (mit bestimmter Summe besteuert) anzusehen seyen"; and renders "Maktuu" also as "Pachtschilling". On the same page he also quotes another document of the same date, viz. a "Befreyungsbrief für Zigeuner (Kibti)", forbidding Turkish governors to molest them, provided they have paid the "Zigeunerkopfsteuer". This appears to be germane to the subject, as showing that the gipsies were known in

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Turkey by the name "Kibti", as well as by that of "Tchingané".

Their names are further referred to in D'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1788, vii, 237, where, on the subject of Capitation Tax, a special tribute is said to be paid by the "Bohémiens ou Egyptiens (Kibtyan, Tchingané)", which is farmed out for Piastres 260,000, the farmer enjoying signorial jurisdiction over them. Those who are Mohammedans *also* pay this tribute, since they are held to be schismatics, but, in accordance with a law of A.D. 1694, they pay only Pi. 5 per head instead of Pi. 6. D'Ohsson does not seem to distinguish between the two names "Kibtyan" and "Tchingané".

Two pages earlier he describes the use and distribution of stamped receipt forms bearing the words "Tribut des Infidèles (Djeziyé-i-Guebran)" and marked with the date, the names of the Grand Treasurer and the Farmer, with a description of the taxpayer added by the Collector. This would appear to afford a reasonable explanation of the use of the present stone.

The main interest, however, seems to lie in the *date* of the stone, of which the cutting in the original appears absolutely clear. If it is to be read as A.H. 1066 = A.D. 1655, then we have the record of a law previous to that mentioned by D'Ohsson and not, so far as I have been able to find, referred to by him or von Hammer; though the latter (op. cit., v, 125) states that the vicious practice of farming the Capitation Tax generally was begun by the Defterdar Mustafa Pasha *circa* A.D. 1630. For the date A.H. 1066, we must not only assume the omission of the thousand digit, which is common, but also the reading of the numerals *from right to left*. I am informed on the best authority that this does occur in Turkish documents. I have, however, examined the dates on half a dozen likely Turkish MSS. in the Bodleian Library without finding one written in this way: notably MS. (75) 2113, fol. 1 (*a*), bears ink impressions of the seals of three former owners with dates, A.H. 1126, 1151, and 1155, all written with four

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digits from left to right in the usual way. Furthermore, I can find nothing of this practice of reversing the digits in the important work of Reinaud on the subject (*Description des Monumens Musulmans de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris, 1828). Reinaud, who must have examined hundreds, if not thousands, of such stones, in dealing with the question of dating, says (vol. i, p. 85): "A l'égard de la manière de marquer la date, on la fait en chiffres. Les chiffres, à la différence de l'écriture, se lisent comme les nôtres, c'est-à-dire, de gauche à droite. . . . La seule difficulté à laquelle donne lieu l'usage des chiffres, et qui caractérise la négligence orientale, c'est que quelquefois, au lieu d'exprimer la date en entier, on se contente de marquer les derniers chiffres." For him the *only* difficulty arises from the omission of the thousand, or even of the hundred, digit. To this the only obvious reply would seem to be that, in a general way, in calligraphy, almost anything is possible.

The earlier date, A.H. 660 = A.D. 1261, has the advantage of being the usual reading and would, if it could be established, appear to put the stone in the first rank of gipsy documents. It would then appear assignable to the latest Seljuk times. Von Hammer (op. cit., i, 35) traces the fall of that empire (*circa* A.H. 657) and the rise of the Karaman dynasty, the second of whom, Mohammed Bey, was remarkable for his reforms in the *Tax-registers*, which under the Seljuks had been kept in the Persian language. He, however, introduced an admixture of Turkish and began the book-keeping in the two mixed languages which survived in Turkey up to modern times. (As his authority on these matters, von Hammer quotes the Grand Vizir Lutfi, who wrote historical and statistical works in the time of Selim I and Suleiman.)

With the little that is known of Gipsy folk-movements, the early date seems to fit in admirably. Tracing them backwards, they are at Zurich in A.D. 1418 (see Kogalnitchan, *Skizze einer Geschichte d. Zigeuner*, Stuttgart, 1840, p. 8), in Wallachia in A.D. 1387, and most probably in Crete in

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A.D. 1322 (see F. Miklosich, "Die Wanderungen d. Zigeuner," in *Denkschriften d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Vienna, 1874, vol. xxiii, pp. 4–6). Moreover, authorities seem to agree that they probably passed through the Byzantine Empire some time in the twelfth century, having travelled through, and halted in, Persia and Armenia, as appears to be shown by the modern Gipsy language. Kogalnitchan gives up the date of their very first appearance in Europe as an insoluble problem, guessing tentatively *circa* A.D. 1250. Regarding their conversion to Islam, Miklosich (op. cit., p. 5) notes their "vielfach bezeugte Bereitwilligkeit, sich der Religion des Landes auesserlich anzubequemen".

Such evidence as I have been able to collect so far on artistic points seems to be doubtful. On the one hand, the thirteenth century A.D. saw the zenith of Seljuk art, and the fine, bold Naskh of the stone appears very closely to resemble that on Seljuk monuments (see Friedrich Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien 1895—Forschungen zur Seldjukischen Kunst u. Geographie*," Berlin, 1896, notably plates xix and xx of the Kara Tai Medresseh, dated A.H. 649); but, on the other, I have been told that the flowery background is in a style rather identified with the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., though it might be earlier.

191. J. McG. DAWKINS.

THE MEANING OF THE NAME ASMODAEUS

The meaning of the name Asmodaeus, the "evil spirit" (*τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον*) or "king of demons" (מלכא דשידי) of Tobit, iii, 8, 17, has long been debated.[1] It occurs in the following forms in the chief early versions: LXX *'Ασμόδαυς*, *'Ασμοδαῖος*, *'Ασμόδεος*; Vulgate (only v. 8)

[1] See the bibliography listed in my *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, p. 186, notes 2–4, Bombay, 1929. The whole character of the Iranian *Aēšma-* (cf. Persian خشم "anger, rage, fury") is so unlike that of Asmodaeus (cf. *Foundations*, pp. 185–7, for the former, and L. Ginzberg, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ii, 217–220, New York, 1902, for the latter) that one can scarcely identify the two.

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Asmodaeus; Syriac ܐܣܡܘܕܝܐܘܣ; Armenian Ասմոդեւս (v. 8), Ասմոդ դեւս (v. 25); Aramaic, Talmudic, Midrashic, and Haggadic אַשְׁמְד(אַ)י. These forms show conclusively that the name can be connected neither with the Avesta demon Aēšma,[1] which would give *'*Hσμ-*, **Esm-*, -*ـسم*, *ـسم-; nor with Hebrew שָׁמַד "apostatize"[2]; so that the Talmudic-Midrashic-Haggadic form should be written with שׁ, not שׂ. The spellings actually found appear to imply an Avesta **Asmō-daēva-*, Old Persian **Asma-daiva-*, the second component meaning "demon" (less probably "god").[3]

It is about the connotation of the first component of the name that controversy has centred; but with establishment of its Iranian form, the problem is simplified. The Avesta has the name *Asmō-x^vanvant-* (Yašt, i, 30; xiii, 96; xxii, 37; in i, 30, all the manuscripts read *Aēsmo-*) "Sky-Bright". This is formed by substituting compositional *-ō-* for the nominative *-a* (cf. the accusative *asmanəm x^vanvantəm* in Vīsprat̰, vii, 4; Vīdēvdāt̰, xix, 35).[4] We also find an

[1] As maintained by T. Benfey, *Über die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, p. 201, Berlin, 1836; M. Haug, *Essays . . . on the Parsis*, 3rd ed., p. 337, note 4, London, 1884; F. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 143–6, Berlin, 1863; A. Kohut, *Über die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, pp. 72–84, Leipzig, 1866; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 250–2, London, 1913.

[2] So I. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum*, p. 61, Giessen, 1920.

[3] While *daēva-* almost invariably means "demon" in Iranian, its earlier signification "god" is retained in at least two Osrūšanian proper names of the ninth century, Dēvdāδ and Dēvdast (T. Nöldeke, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, ii [1923], 318; cf. L. H. Gray, in *JRAS*. 1927, p. 438, note 3). With -δεος, etc., cf. Hesychios, δευας· τοὺς ἀκάκους θεούς. Μάγοι (to be emended with P. de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 148, Leipzig, 1866, to κακούς).

[4] C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 221, Strasbourg, 1904; so also F. Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 38, Leipzig, 1864 (his later view, reading *Aēšmō-*, and supposing that it contains the Semitic name Ešmun [Asklepios], *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 11, Marburg, 1895, is a distinct retrogression). For Iranian *asan-*, *asman-* "stone" in the sense of "heaven" (Persian آسمان), see Bartholomae, col. 208, and cf. Hesychios, ἄκμων· . . . οὐρανός.

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'Ασμοδόχ, father of *Γολανδούχ* or *Γολινδούχ*, martyred in 592 under Xusrau II,[1] the first part of whose name recurs in that of (ת)אסמנדוך, parent of דדבה or דאדביה in incantation-texts from Nippur.[2] The forms *'Ασμοδόχ* : (ת)אסמנדוך are particularly interesting in this connection as being exactly parallel to Avesta *Asmō-x^{v}anvant-* : **Asma(n)-x^{v}anvant-*.

If, then, the name Asmodaeus means "Sky-Demon", it would seem that, although the Iranians had a deity Asan- as god of the physical sky,[3] he was originally none other than Ahura Mazda, whom I believe to have been primarily the sky-god pure and simple.[4] His conversion by the Jews from chief god to chief devil is readily intelligible; and it is worth noting, as a parallel, that in the Pamirs Almasde (evidently a reminiscence of Ahura Mazda) has "degenerated into an evil spirit, who lives in the rivers, into the eddies of which he tries to draw bathing or swimming men. Sometimes he will go into the stables at night and amuse himself by disturbing the horses and donkeys or by pulling hairs out of their tail or manes".[5]

The variants of the name, finally, seem to indicate at least two sources of borrowing: *'Ασμοδαῖος*, *Asmodaeus*, and אשמדאי appear to be from Old Persian **Asma(n)-daiva(s)*; *'Ασμόδεος* and Աշմոդեւս from Avesta **Asmō-daēvas*; *'Ασμόδαυς* may be a reading of unvocalized אסמדאוס, to be vocalized אַסְמְדַ-, דֵּאוּס-.

[1] Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 43, 117, and, for the second component, p. 490; Nikephoros Kallistos (beginning of the fourteenth century), *Historia ecclesiastica*, xviii, 25 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, cxlvii, 377): *Γολινδοὺχ ἡ μάρτυς . . . ἐκ μάγων γεγενημένη Περσῶν, 'Ασμοδὸχ μὲν πατρός, μητρὸς δὲ Μυζούχ.*

[2] J. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, xii, 1, 10; xvi, 1, 12; xxxi, 2, 6, 9 (pp. 174, 188, 223), Philadelphia, 1913.

[3] Gray, pp. 137–8.

[4] Ib., p. 26.

[5] O. Olufsen, *Through the Unknown Pamirs*, p. 199, London, 1904.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MYAMMA MIN OKCHOKPON SADAN. With Appendix to King Bodaw Phaya's Yazathat Hkaw "Ameindaw Tangyi". Parts I to V. Ed. by the late U TIN. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Part I: pp. xxiii + 271; 1931; 4*s.* 6*d.* Part II: xxii + 312; 1932; 6*s.* 9*d.* Part III: xiv + 208; 1932; 6*s.* Part IV: xv + 318; 1933; 6*s.* 9*d.* Part V: ix + 258; 1933; 6*s.* Rangoon: Government Printing Office.

The title, literally translated, means "Book of the form of government of the Burmese Kings". A sub-title, mistranslated on the cover, tells us that King Bodawpaya's ordinance known as the Royal Code is contained in an appendix.

The five parts run to 1,367 pages in all and constitute a very important contribution to historical knowledge. The author or compiler, the late U Tin, for many years Sub-divisional Officer of Pagan, was after his retirement deputed to examine a number of manuscripts in the archives of the Government of Burma. The following extract from an official letter, dated November, 1920, addressed to the late Mr. Taw Sein Ko, then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, quoted in the introduction, indicates how the present work came to be undertaken: "It would be very convenient if in the course of his researches U Tin were able to make rough notes which could be used for the compilation of a book on Public Administration in Burma. If he were able to do so, Sir Reginald Craddock would gladly consider the question of commissioning or aiding you to write a book on the subject on the lines of Pramathanath Banerjea's book."

Pramathanath Banerjea's book referred to is evidently *Public Administration in Ancient India* (Macmillan & Co., 1916), which deals with India in the heroic age, from about

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500 B.C. to A.D. 500 in the compass of 298 pages. It would appear that Mr. Taw Sein Ko contemplated taking this as a model for a book on public administration in Burma and that U Tin was to collect material. Later Mr. Taw Sein Ko seems to have abandoned his idea, for in 1928 he drew up a scheme of chapter and section headings for a book to be written by U Tin (Introduction, pp. 8–18). It can be inferred from these headings that Mr. Taw Sein Ko read the history of Burma as a gradual degeneration of the administration due to the encroachments of autocracy on democratic principles. Something might be said for this view. But U Tin was not the man to develop it. He was an exact scholar and an antiquarian, rather than a historian. He was deeply concerned at the ignorance of previously existing institutions among the rising generation in Burma and his habitual method of writing was to follow where the argument led him into all ramifications of his theme, determined to leave no detail unexplained. Fortunately this was the method he employed in the present work. Instead of taking "rough notes" of documents, he reproduces them *in extenso*, with the necessary commentary on linguistic or other obscurities. In his own comments there may be points that call for elucidation and this is given. The result is that the book, though faulty in respect of order and arrangement, contains much material of direct historical value and much curious information on the institutions, customs, and language of Burma, not elsewhere available. U Tin lived to see the publication of the fifth and last part of his monumental work.

The general arrangement is as follows :—

Part I. The ideals of kingly government, taken from Indian classical sources. These lists of virtues—and corresponding faults—would form the texts for the instruction given to a prince or scion of an official family by his tutor, but some of them were probably regarded as obsolete in later times.

Part II. The classes or castes of the population according

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to Indian authorities; mythical and early kings; climate and population of Burma; village officers; records of women headmen of villages, with an excursus on women sovereigns; selection of the Crown Prince—an important act as the Prince selected was given certain official duties which served as a training in statecraft; great kings of Burma.

Part III. Great kings (continued). Bodawpaya's administration and ordinances (the ordinance included in the Appendix is referred to at p. 61); the Hluttaw or cabinet.

Part IV. The Byèdaik or Privy Council; Departments of Government—the Army, the Judicial, and Revenue Departments.

Part V. Agricultural and works departments; architecture of Royal Buildings; comparison of Burmese and British administration.

Such is the book in barest outline. The table of contents extends to 74 pages and includes at least 500 different topics. Most of them relate to the central government; a good deal is said of village administration and something of the life of the people. Of provincial administration we learn very little.

Political theory was largely borrowed from India, but was also partly based on precedents derived from the history of Burma. In practice the king was subject to one restraint only—the limit of the people's endurance. The Indian theory that he was subject to the control of the ministers emerged from time to time. Bodawpaya expressly laid on them the duty of warning him against error and instances are quoted of refusal by the ministers to issue a royal order of which they disapproved. King Mindôn, however, expected his ministers to agree with him, as no doubt they were usually able to do from conviction. But it appears that the Kinwun Mingyi's action in supporting the claim of the Prince of Thibaw to the throne may have been based on a desire to institute the only kind of constitutional government for which there was any sanction in Burma—administration by the king acting with his ministers—and on the expectation that the accession

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of a young king of unformed character would offer a favourable opportunity for introducing the change. This is, in substance, the author's defence of the Kinwunmingyi—he does not consider it an adequate defence and expresses regret at having to criticize the conduct of a man who was undoubtedly a patriot and his own patron and friend. These passages occur in the end of Part II, where also will be found an account of the palace intrigues in the last days of King Mindôn, based on contemporary documents and the statements of participants.

A feature of the administration of criminal justice was that no accused person could be sentenced until he had admitted his guilt. But in order to extract such an admission, resort was had, especially in cases of theft, robbery, dacoity, or rebellion, to tortures gradually increasing in severity. These are detailed, and it is added that criminal procedure was so harsh that people were terrified at the mere report of it and that consequently serious crime was rare (iv, 290). The application of torture was in accordance with the Hindu codes which were followed by the Burma courts, and the author's matter of fact account of Burma practice may perhaps deserve the attention of students of Hindu criminal law. The classes of offences in which torture was principally resorted to are interesting. As regards rebellion, or high treason, the necessity of obtaining with the minimum of delay full information as to preparations for rebellion, an ever present danger to the kings of Burma, would be held to justify any measures, however harsh. Apart from high treason, the offences mentioned relate to property, and the object in view was no doubt to obtain information which would lead to its recovery. But the horror felt at the proceedings of the courts may be taken as an indication that the country had reached a stage of development at which torture had become an anachronism and that a reform of criminal procedure was overdue.

The hereditary village officers and the rights as lord of the

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manor which they asserted are dealt with in Part II (pp. 172 sqq.), and in the same part (p. 142) the following pleasing description of village life is given: "The life of the *athis*, who were not liable to military service, and of the *ahmudans* when not on service or on duty at the capital was not more laborious than at present. The *athis* had no obligations except the rendering of the twelve state dues, which were trivial. Generally work was hard in the rains but there was plenty of leisure in the dry weather. Hence the proverb 'Chins in the rains, kings in the summer'. After the harvest was over, men of like age or tastes used to meet outside the village under a large tree or near a monastery or tank, or at a rest house. The older men would talk and question each other about books, and the talk often ended in disputes and fights, as is shown by many judicial decisions still preserved. Younger men boxed, wrestled, or practised playing on musical instruments, dancing and the singing of poems. Boys played games, rough or gentle, and those who had a taste for sport went to the forest."

Of original documents reproduced—and it should be said that documentary evidence is adduced wherever available—one of the most interesting is an intelligence report on the English in India in the late eighteenth century, unfortunately too long to quote.

Palace ceremonial, religion and heresies, land titles, irrigation, judicial ordeals, ducking of witches, blood-drinking as an artificial means of creating blood-relationship, human sacrifice—these are only a few of the subjects dealt with. It is no exaggeration to say that to anyone interested in the history and native institutions of Burma, the *Okchokpon Sadan* is indispensable as a work of reference.

460, 690. J. A. STEWART.

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FINNISCH-UGRISCHES AUS INDIEN. By W. VON HEVESY. 9 × 6, pp. vi + 383. Vienna: Manzsche Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1932.

In this book, which exacts our tribute for the author's immense industry in collecting so vast an amount of lexicographical material from such diverse sources, Mr. von Hevesy sets out to demonstrate the kinship of the Finno-Ugrian family with the Muṇḍā languages of India. In spite, however, of the considerable number of apparently striking similarities of vocabulary which he produces, the linguist who demands a more detailed proof will be left unconvinced. To prove kinship between two languages it is necessary to demonstrate that they possess in common a number of particularities which can be explained only by the assumption that they are but different forms of one common original. The most cogent proof lies in the comparison of grammatical structure, for that, unlike vocabulary, is not liable to borrowing in any high degree. But—and here is the heart of the matter—any correspondences, whether of grammatical structure or of vocabulary, must be shown to be part of a regular system. Furthermore, when it is not two languages, but two language-groups which are being compared, it is obviously necessary to compare as far as possible the oldest known form of either group. Thus to establish the relationship of the Romance languages with the modern Indo-Aryan languages, we shall not compare French with Hindi, Portuguese with Marathi, but the two originals from which the two families have sprung, and which in this case are known to us, namely Latin and Sanskrit. Even where the ancestral languages are not known by documentary evidence, the comparative method of linguistics allows us to gain some idea of their constitution. Thus we have some knowledge of the language from which has sprung the Indo-European family and of that from which the Semitic languages have developed; and in attempting to demonstrate an original kinship between Indo-European and Semitic, we shall compare, not English with modern

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Arabic, but the original Indo-European and the original Semitic which we have reached by comparison within each group of their descendants.

Of the two language-families before us, much progress has been made in the comparative study of Finno-Ugrian and fairly precise conclusions have been arrived at as to the correspondences existing between the different members. But it is far otherwise with the Muṇḍā languages, and the first task of him who wishes to establish the relationship of Muṇḍā with any other family of languages whatsoever is to establish the correspondences existing between individual Muṇḍā languages in order to gain some precise idea as to their earlier form. Here is the first great weakness of Mr. von Hevesy's demonstration. The demonstration itself takes the form of a comparison of the general structure of the two families, of certain grammatical formations, of vocabulary. Similarity of general structure, such as existence of vowel-harmony, distinction of gender resting upon an animate and an inanimate class, the use of postpositions as opposed to prepositions, all this proves nothing, and such parallels could be found between almost any two languages, for the number of possibilities is restricted, and resemblance may be due to chance or the similar working of the human mind.

Instead of attempting to show a series of regular correspondences of sound between the two groups, Mr. von Hevesy contents himself with pointing to a number of similar interchanges of sounds within each separate group, as, for example, the correspondence of initial *w-* (*v-*) and *b-* between certain Muṇḍā languages and between certain Finno-Ugrian languages, but he does not demonstrate a regular correspondence between Muṇḍā on the one hand and Finno-Ugrian on the other.

It is this failure which invalidates the whole of his grammatical and lexical comparisons. With an assumed Finno-Ugrian suffix **-t* indicating verbal causality he compares the Santali transitive verbs *jeret'*, *rikit*, *torlat/d*, *bhaṅgaṭ*; but which is it of these final consonants—*t'*, *t*, *t/d*, or *ṭ*—

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that corresponds to Finno-Ugrian *-*t* ? A few pages later we find another Finno-Ugrian suffix *-*t* said to form participles and substantives from verbal stems, to which are said to correspond Santali suffixes in -*t*, in -*ta*, in -*l*, and in -*s* ; but any belief in the existence of such a correspondence will be lessened by observing that the examples given for the last two forms are not Muṇḍā words at all, but loans from Indo-Aryan, probably Bengali: *as* 'to hope, trust' (also as subst. 'hope, trust': loan from Hi. or Bg. *ās* 'hope, expectation' < Skt. *āśā*) from which Mr. von Hevesy derives *asol* 'trustworthy'—this must be *asoḷ* (Bodding, *Santali Dict.*, p. 87) 'real, true, genuine'—which of course has nothing to do with *as* 'hope', but is a loan from Bg. *āsal*, itself a loan from Hi. Arabic *aṣl* ; *sahas* 'bravery' is not derived from *saḥai* 'to help, encourage' (itself a loan from Hi. Bg. *sahāī*), but is a loan from Hi. Bg. *sāhas* (which is either a loan, or derived, from Skt. *sāhasa*-). Such mistakes are very numerous throughout the book, and conclusions supported by them can carry no weight. On page after page of the vocabulary examples like this occur: "*biswas* 'vertrauen' . . . (Hindi *biswās*).—Magy. *bizvást* (? *bizvás* + *t*) 'sicherlich . . .'; *bíz*- 'fide'"; whereas we know that Hi. *biswās* is a literary loan from Skt. *viśvāsa*-. Mr. von Hevesy appears to defend this position by assuming that the ancestors of the Magyars came from India and borrowed this and many other similar words from Indo-Aryan when they were there. This illustrates well his lack of scientific method: for it is Skt. *sthāna*- which must be compared with Magy. *tanya*, not Santali *than* (loan from Hi. Bg. *thān* < Skt. *sthāna*-) or Skt. *sthirá*- 'firm' with Tscher. *törem*- 'be silent', not Santali *thir* (loan from Hi. *thir* < Skt. *sthirá*-). It is even harder to find in *besak* 'undoubtedly' the origin of Magy. *bezzeg* 'certainly', or to believe that *khatam* 'to finish' or *julum* 'oppression' are anything but loans from Arabic through the medium of Hindi and Bengali.

632.

R. L. TURNER.

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REPORT ON A LINGUISTIC MISSION TO NORTH-WESTERN INDIA. (Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning Serie C III–1.) By G. MORGENSTIERNE. 9 × 5¾, pp. 76, ills. 12, maps 2. Oslo: Aschehoug & Co.; London: Williams and Norgate, 1932. N.Kr. 2.50, 2*s*. 9*d*.

Indo-Iranian studies have already been greatly enriched by Professor Morgenstierne's first visit to the Indo-Iranian frontier, described in his previous report, and by the publication of a considerable amount of the material he then collected. In the modest pages of this second report he describes the chief events and the main new discoveries of his second journey of 1929. On the journey north from Karachi he made some profitable investigation into linguistic conditions in Baluchistan and the Trans-Indus country farther north. Most of his time was spent in Chitral, where, as before, he was not content with studying and recording the numerous languages and dialects of that valley and its offshoots, but also took every opportunity of working with visitors from over the passes. The report takes the form of an itinerary, written in a pleasant style and with a humour which is altogether enjoyable. He investigates the language of the Prasuns, and among others gets hold of the very shepherd "of whose considerable stupidity" Sir George Grierson writes in *LSI.*, viii, 2, 59; but "neither his intelligence nor his knowledge of his mother-tongue had improved since 1899". The language of another Prasun resembles to a quite extraordinary degree that of a man he had worked with in Kabul in 1924. It is only after some days he discovers that he is actually the same man who "had in his home valley heard rumours about a mad sahib who paid good money in exchange for strange words", and "wanting very badly to buy a new coat, had walked across the high passes to Bagromatal and from there on to Chitral." One imagines with pleasure the reunion of the Prasun tribesman and the Norwegian savant. It was generally asserted that the speakers of Palūla

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in Ashret had come from Chilas on the Indus some two or three generations ago. One of his "informants, however, wisely answered my question about the date of the immigration with a: God knows".

With great skill and penetration M. has in the course of his narrative described the chief characteristics of the languages investigated and indicated their linguistic implications, leaving for a later date the publication of full details. These all students of Indo-Iranian will eagerly await. In the meantime the indications here given are of the greatest scientific value.

But on this journey M.'s study of customs and beliefs was of an equal importance. In the forefront of these came his investigation of the rapidly disappearing religion of the pagan Kafirs. For Chitral proved a refuge from the forcible conversion to Islam practised in neighbouring Afghanistan. The intense interest of these studies will be seen when it is realized that we have here beliefs and practices inherited from the original Aryan invaders of India, uncontaminated for the most part by the entirely different evolution and replacement of those ideas in India itself. Among the Kati gods are Imrá (already recognized by Lassen as Yamarāja-), Bagiṣṭ (**bhagiṣṭha-*, cf. Vedic *Bhágá-*), Gyiṣ or Giwīṣ the War God (Vedic *gavíṣ-* epithet of Indra, *gáviṣṭi-* 'desire of cows or booty, battle'). At the School of Oriental Studies a London audience has already been privileged not only to hear Professor Morgenstierne's account of these discoveries but also to see the cinema films he made of pagan sacrifices and festivals. A separate account of all this is promised.

I append notes on three points of detail. On p. 6 M. notes that a peculiarity common to the northern Dravidian languages, Brahui, Malto, and Kurukh, is the development of one type of Dravidian *k* into *x*. It seems fairly certain that Prim. Dravidian possessed both *g* and *k*, and that it was *k* which became Brahui *x*.

In the Kuṛangal dialect of E. Pashai (p. 23) *ṣē̄* '16' is not

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necessarily an exception to the correspondence Skt. *kṣ* > *ch-*, but may rest on the distinction found generally in the IA. languages of India, as Pkt. *cha* '6' < * *kṣaṭ*, but *solaha* '16' < *ṣóḍaśa*.

Pashai *dā̆ᵃr* 'hill' (p. 24) perhaps from *dhārā* f. (rather than hypothetical **dhāra-*) 'edge, lex. edge of a mountain'. Kashtāwari *dhār* 'mountain' has oblique *dhāri*, like the oblique *bhuchi* (*bubhukṣā-*).

Once again we may express our gratitude to Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, which has enabled Professor Morgenstierne so greatly to enrich human knowledge.

645. R. L. TURNER.

LEGENDS OF PALESTINE. By ZEV VILNAY. 8 × 5¼, pp. xiv + 492, ills. 69. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932.

In the year 1929 the author of this book published in Hebrew a number of legends, jests, and animal stories, told to him by Jews and Arabs living in Palestine. These tales have now been translated into English, but the two publications differ considerably in the method chosen for marshalling their contents. In the present volume the material has been arranged geographically; starting from Jerusalem, continuing to Hebron, thence to the north, to Haifa, Tiberius, Galilee, and so on. Moreover, by adding numerous legends found in Hebrew and Arabic *books*, and thereby obscuring the important distinction between old and new, written and oral, Mr. Vilnay has compromised the value of his collection to students of Folk-lore.

From the original Hebrew text no less than fifty tales have been omitted, their place being taken by a somewhat larger number, drawn from documentary sources. Of the additional matter in this very interesting volume, sixty-nine

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illustrations, a full description of the literary sources extending over fifty pages, and a complete Subject-Index, may be especially commended to the reader's attention.

M. GASTER.

740.

IL SACRIFICIO NELLA RELIGIONE DEI SEMITI DI BABILONIA E ASSIRIA. By GIUSEPPE FURLANI. 12 × 9, pp. 268. Rome: Giovanni Bardi, 1932.

The author has collected in this volume the description of all the sacrifices found in the Semitic literature of Babylón and Assyria. In his introduction he states distinctly that he has left out those which are Sumerian and has limited himself merely to the above mentioned. The book is divided into two sections. The one is a complete list of the sacrifices and the second a detailed investigation into the character, time, and meaning of the sacrifices. The first part which contains the texts is also subdivided into smaller sections, the first the whole series of sacrifices found in the inscriptions. These are more connected with the kings, then comes the series, e.g. like the right of the Barū, of the conjuror, of the singer, then the sacrifices on the rites of purification in the series of Maqlu. Then the rite of the covering of the sacred drum, the whole fire of Uruk, sacrifices in connection with hymns, the chanting of hymns, sacrifices mentioned in the medical and mantle texts in connection with the oracles, with the heminologia, with the propitious days and the reverse. There are sacrifices which were offered in the Temple of Uruk in the time of the Selucids. Then follows an interesting collection of sacrifices found in the various methods and legends like the Gilgamesh epic, the Adapa legend, the Journal of Ishtar to the Netherworld, the Etana legend, and the death and the resurrection of Marduk. Again the sacrifices in the wisdom literature like the discussion between the masters and the pupils, sacrifices mentioned in the laws of administration, in the astronomical literature, and lastly pseudo-epigraphic

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letter of Jeremia and the legends of Bel and the dragon. These are only a few of the titles giving an idea of the contents of this book. Each of the chapters is introduced by a short description and above all the ceremonies which accompany the sacrifices are here given as far as possible in detail. This is a very interesting part, for there can be no doubt that these old ceremonies accompanying the sacrifices and also other operations or conjurations form an integral part of the sacrifices. In the more recent collections of magic literature it is this portion which is often missing. In addition to the sacrifices no doubt certain stories or legends have been recited, but these were accompanied also by some ceremonies, the burning of incense or of other aromatic spices as well as certain gestures, movements, dancing, etc., or ejaculations. The sacrifices have disappeared and only those words have been retained, and we may, therefore, look to the ancient ceremonies and practices in Babylon as having been retained to a large extent by the later magicians or conjurors. In the Greek papyri very little has been preserved in the magic literature and also that of the Middle Ages; and, whilst the book in itself has a rich store of information as far as the Babylonian texts are concerned, it is a no less valuable contribution to the study of a branch of literature which had become more and more obscure in the course of time. It is with the information gathered from Dr. Furlani's book that much light is thrown also upon this subject which has now drawn the attention of scholars to it and is being studied with great assiduity.

784. M. GASTER.

DIE PASSAHFEIER DER SAMARITANER. By DR. JOACHIM JEREMIAS. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 109, pls. 48. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1932.

One of the outstanding features of the Samaritan religion which has survived the ages and attracted the attention of all visitors to Nablus is the annual festival of the Pascha

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(Passover). On the eve of the Passover the Samaritans assemble at the spot which they believe to have been the place where the forefathers had erected the altars and there after many preparations they slaughter the Passover lamb. The reason the Samaritans give for carrying on the Passover to this very day is because it is anterior to the establishment of sacrifices in the Temple. It was ordained in Egypt long before any ordinances were arranged for the service of the Temple and, therefore, could be carried on during the ages. After roasting the lambs just as it is prescribed in Exodus 12, they settle down to the common meal, eating the flesh hastily, then throwing the remainder into the pit filled with burning fire. They partake at the same time of bitter herbs and unleaven bread, they read the chapters from the Bible referring to the Passover, then they chant their hymns of which they have a large number.

Travellers who happened to be in Nablus have from time to time described the ceremony which has only been interrupted on those occasions when fanatical Mohammedans in Nablus prevented them from celebrating and carrying it out. These travellers were not sufficiently prepared to understand fully the ceremonial and, therefore, we have often very divergent descriptions of what is happening on that occasion. It is now for the first time that a full description has been given to us by a man who witnessed the ceremony on 1st May, 1931, and was sufficiently prepared to understand and to follow every detail and to give us a complete description of it. In forty-eight photographs every detail of the process is reproduced and following the order of the photos the author gives a minute description of the ceremony from beginning to end. Before describing the actual slaughter and burning and eating the author gives us a survey of the literature from 1850–1930 from those who had hitherto described it, and then he gives us the sources for these ceremonies both in the biblical and rabbinical literature. He evidently follows the highest form of modern biblical

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criticism since the various passages mentioned in the Pentateuch are referred to, some to the seventh or eighth century B.C.E., and others to the so-called priestly code, and again others refer to a time after Ezra, and the question arises have the Samaritans also got their information from directions given in a text compiled by Ezra. If anything the very ceremonies should prove that these subdivisions of the text of the Bible is rather arbitrary. It is no help to say that there are in this ceremony traces of some traditions which are anterior to Deuteronomy. If so, to what period did they belong ? But this attempt of classifying the references to the Passover in the Pentateuch to various stages and ages did not affect the very careful and minute description which the author gives us here at first hand. For here we have at the same time the work of a man who as far as I am aware is the very first who has made full use of the Arabic-Samaritan literature. At every step he quotes Samaritan authorities, starting from the oldest with Amram Dara of the fourth century, down to the latest work ascribed to Pinehas, son of Ishac, in 1885. It is satisfactory to learn that those who are interested in the Samaritans, their ceremonies and literature, no longer rely on a mere temporary visit but also study now the literature and draw from it all that information which can be considered to be reliable. The book, therefore, can be highly recommended.

N.R. 13. M. GASTER.

A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY ṢAFAWĪS, BEING THE AḤSANU'T-TAWĀRĪKH OF ḤASAN-I-RŪMLŪ. Vol. I. (Persian text.) Edited by C. N. SEDDON. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LVII.) 9½ × 6, pp. ii + 36 + 510. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1931. Rs. 11.

The fifty-seventh volume of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series contains the text of an important Persian work on the history of the early Ṣafawīs. This Shī'ite dynasty founded the modern Persian state at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.,

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and, by its struggles with the Sunnite Ottoman Empire, played an important part also in universal history.

The author of the work is Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū (born in 938/1531–2), the grandson of Amīr Sulṭān Rūmlū, a noble of the Persian court. The scanty biographical data on him were extracted from this work and edited by Mr. C. N. Seddon in the *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 307. His work entitled *Aḥsanu't-tawārīkh* was written for the most part in 980/1572–3 and finished in 985/1577–8.

Ḥasan-i-Rūmlū's chronicle relates the history of the early Ṣafawīs from 900/1494–5 to 985/1577–8, i.e. from the beginning to the reign of the Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābende Pādshāh. As a rule, the chronicle, under each year, narrates the political events and the wars in one or more separate chapters, followed usually by an enumeration of minor affairs (under the title وقایع متنوّعه) and the necrology (under the title متوفّیات) of each year. The first part of the history was based upon literary authorities, the latter part upon the author's own observations.

Mr. C. N. Seddon's edition is based on three manuscripts of the work: the Bodleian MS., Ouseley 232, the British Museum MS., Or. 4134 of Rieu's Supplement, and a manuscript belonging to Mr. A. G. Ellis, which have been compared also with three Tehrān manuscripts of the work. The finely printed text is preceded by thirty-six pages of notes, which include the various spellings and explanations of many obscure passages as well as references to the verses of the Qur'ān which occur in the text.

Mr. C. N. Seddon has rendered a valuable service to the Persian studies by editing the *Aḥsanu't-tawārīkh*, which is a reliable authority on the history of Persia in the sixteenth century A.D. We can only hope that an English translation will soon follow the edition of the Persian text of the *Aḥsanu't-tawārīkh*. We shall then return in more detail to the review of the work.

713.

JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

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RÉPERTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARABE. Tome deuxième. Publié par N. AIMÉ-GIRON, M. COHEN, ÉT. COMBE, K. A. C. CRESSWELL, H. GRIMME, A. GROHMANN, R. GUEST, HASSAN HAWARY, V. KRATCHKOWSKAJA, E. KÜHNEL, É. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, R. P. MOUTERDE, F. SARRE, J. SAUVAGET, G. WIET, E. DE ZAMBAUR, sous la direction de ÉT. COMBE, J. SAUVAGET, et G. WIET. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 9$, pp. viii + 276. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1932.

This is the second volume of the excellent collection of Arabic epigraphy published by the French Institute of Oriental Archæology of Cairo.[1] It contains 400 Arabic inscriptions, from the years A.H. 243–285, from all the Islamic countries. They include mostly epitaphs and inscriptions relative to the construction of monuments or to the erection of workshops and nilometers.

A score of Oriental and Occidental museums and private collections as well as Oriental buildings and public monuments (mosques, tombs, mausoleums) contain or bear the inscriptions of the volume, to which the collaborators have also contributed valuable material. Thus, hitherto unedited inscriptions are contributed by E. Kühnel and F. Sarre from the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (No. 412), E. Kühnel alone from the same Museum (Nos. 423, 424, 437, 592, 620), H. Grimme and E. Kühnel from the same Museum (No. 632), Marcel Cohen from the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels (No. 532), R. P. Mouterde from Homs (No. 545), and K. A. C. Cresswell from Sousse (No. 565). Inscriptions published in print are contributed by K. A. C. Creswell from Cairouan (No. 549), R. Guest from the Victoria and Albert Museum (No. 783), A. Grohmann from Syria (No. 546) and from the Museum

[1] On the general scheme of the undertaking see my review in our issue of January, 1933, pp. 236–7.

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of Berlin (No. 769), V. Kratchkowskaja from the Palæographical Museum of Leningrad (Nos. 443, 533, 693, 749), É. Lévi-Provençal from Cordova (No. 413) and from Elvira (No. 504), and N. Aimé-Giron from Homs (Nos. 543, 544). As for the other inscriptions, most of them are also published for the first time by the editors; such are the epitaphs of the Arab Museum of Cairo which constitute the majority of the inscriptions of the second volume.

We can look forward with the greatest interest and appreciation to the continuation of the work.

770. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

LE MESSAGE DU PARDON. D'ABOU L'ALA DE MAARRA. By M.-S. MEISSA. Préface de W. MARÇAIS, Professeur au Collège de France, Membre de l'Institut. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. x + 204. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1932.

One of the most prominent figures of Arabic literature is Abu-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (A.D. 973-1058). In the Orient he has always been one of the most fashionable authors; in Europe, however, his name is not so generally known as those of the great Arab philosophers. He was doubtless one of the most audacious and genuine thinkers of Islam, whose literary activity shows two different tendencies: on the one hand, he is the author of poems written in an elegant style which do not differ from the mentality of his Muslim contemporaries; on the other hand, however, he wrote many poems which are, with their pessimistic tone, in a sheer contrast with orthodox Islam, which attack both the injustice and tyranny of the leaders of the Muslim state, and the rituals and law of Islam and other positive religions. Moral and ascetic life can, according to him, substitute for dogmas and ceremonials, reason and conscience for divine will and revelation.

The literary activity of Abu-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī was first

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examined by Alfred v. Kremer[1] who, pointing to the close relationship of Abu-l-'Alā's ideas (self-abnegation, renunciation of mundane pleasures, strict vegetarianism) to Buddhism, endeavoured to derive them from Jainistic doctrines. His ideas also became evident from his literary correspondence (*mukātabāt*) edited by Professor D. S. Margoliouth in 1898.[2] But the most important of Abu-l-'Alā's works was revealed to Europe by Professor R. A. Nicholson who, on the pages of our review,[3] published copious extracts from his *Risālat al-ghufrān* (The Message of Pardon). The text of this work was recently—in 1925—published in an abridged form and commented by Kāmil Kilānī and preceded by an excellent introduction of Professor Taha Husayn.

The present work of M. S. Meïssa is the analysis and translation of the first part of the *Risālat al-ghufrān*. As Professor W. Marçais also points out in his Preface, it is well-nigh impossible to give an integral translation of a work containing, as the Message does, many philological discussions that are of interest to specialists only. On the other hand, it was highly desirable to get the public acquainted with this work of Abu-l-'Alā, because it may be presumed that the *Risālat al-ghufrān* inspired Dante to his *Divina Commedia*. The profound researches of Professor M. Azín Palacios prove that the *Divina Commedia* was influenced by Muslim eschatology, which, together with the fact that in Dante's time Arab civilization was well-known in Italy, and his own master Brunetto-Lattini had also profited a great deal by the scientific achievements of the Arabs, entitles us to suppose that Abu-l-'Alā's work also inspired Dante in writing his immortal work.

The whole *Message of Pardon* is a voluminous work of more than 300 pages. It was written by Abu-l-'Alā as a reply

[1] In the *ZDMG.*, vols. xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxviii, and in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse*, vol. cxvii.

[2] See also his paper in the *JRAS.*, 1902, pp. 289–332.

[3] In the *JRAS.*, 1900, pp. 637–720; 1902, pp. 75–101, 337–362, 813–847.

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to an epistle of some pages only of a man from Ḥalab called Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Manṣūr, commonly known as Ibn al-Kārih. In this epistle Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī, in criticizing the *morale* of his time and the impiety of his contemporaries, praises the asceticism of Abu-l-'Alā. Abu-l-'Alā, in this work, returns the praise of Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī, saying that Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī fully deserves the felicity promised to the faithful in the other world. The life of these faithful he wants to depict in his work. As is mentioned above it is only this first part of the *Risālat al-ghufrān* which has been translated into French and analysed by M. S. Meïssa in his book.

The *Message* deals with the position of the poets in the life hereafter. This theme alone evoked the resentment of the learned Muslims, who considered poetry, literature, and grammatical studies as futile things, and severely judged the poets who praised, and mostly indulged in, the forbidden pleasures. Thus the very fundamental idea of the *Message* was seemingly contrary to orthodox Muslim conceptions; a thorough examination, however, shows that it is not, that Abu-l-'Alā's aim was to plead the poets' cause. The poets in the other world conduct their lives just as they did in this world: those who are admitted to Paradise, frequently on account of a few verses of theirs which pleased God, see their wishes and the pleasures which they sang in this world, fulfilled there. The word, the poetry is, therefore, not useless, and poets have their own place in Paradise. Nobody has the right to suppose the damnation of others, since God only can judge the deeds of His creatures, and salute can also be obtained by means other than are foreseen in theological books, thus, e.g. by laudable actions or good attitude or repentance, for God's clemency is illimited and extends to everybody. *The Message of Pardon*, therefore, does not contradict the genuine and profound spirit of Islam which is indulgence and pardon.

Abu-l-'Alā made the shaykh Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Manṣūr stroll in Paradise first where he met several famous Arab

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poets, among them also Al-A'shā, who was a Christian and had not embraced Islam on account of his fondness of wine, and the pagan poets Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā and Ubayd ibn al-Abraṣ, who died before the advent of Muḥammad but were admitted into Paradise for their merits. Then the shaykh visited 'Adī ibn Zayd and went out with him for a shooting on which they met with two beasts which had entered Paradise because their meat and hides had been used by Muslims in this world. Continuing his stroll he met Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī and the two Nābighas; with these latter and with 'Adī and al-A'shā the shaykh had a common repast and a literary discussion while they were entertained by the songs of geese transformed into young girls. Then, resuming his walk, the shaykh met five one-eyed poets with whom he failed in discussing their poems because they had forgotten them all on entering Paradise. The shaykh related them how he was admitted to Paradise. He, suffering a great deal from thirst and heat in the *mauqif* (the place where men waited for their judgment), in vain tried to please the guardian angels by making poems rhyming with their names; finally, however, he could get before 'Alī and manifest with the qāḍī of Aleppo that at the end of his life he had made the declaration of his repentance, and, by the intercession of Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima, he could obtain the permit of the Prophet for his entering Paradise. After taking leave from the five poets he saw three fine palaces into which Allāh had transformed the verses of Labīd ibn Rabī'a. Then the shaykh gave a feast to all the Arab poets, of both the pagan time and Islam, at which the two Jarādas, the famous poetesses, recited songs and a group of *ḥūris* danced on the verses of the grammarian Khalīl ibn Aḥmad which were, however, forgotten by the author himself on traversing the *ṣirāṭ*; the repast was attended by paradisiac miracles of every description. Then the shaykh desired to visit the inhabitants of Hell, too. After seeing the *jinns* who are of two kinds, Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans, and having a long

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conversation with one of them, he met the satyrist al-Hutay'a and the poetess al-Khansā and descended to Hell. There he saw Iblīs, the poet Bashshār ibn Burd, and the authors of the *mu'allaqa*-poems, and the Christian al-Akhtal, whose chief vice had been to praise the wine in this world. On leaving Hell, the shaykh saw Adam, then some vipers, and at last met his *ḥurī* again. After having a last and rather hot conversation with the poet Ru'ba, the shaykh was transported on a fine silk carpet, surrounded by immortal youngsters and young girls to his eternal paradisiac residence.

The *Risālat al-ghufrān* is characteristic not only for its author's deep erudition—the work is full of poetical quotations and discussions on poetical, grammatical, and literary topics—but also for his fine satyrical sense. No orthodox Muslim can object to his description of the life hereafter—many theologians and philosophers described it—yet the very fact that he visited the despised poets only in the next world, and the topics on which he converses with them, and his too realistic description of the paradisiac pleasures are far from gaining the approbation of Abu-l-'Alā's orthodox Muslim contemporaries. Nevertheless, his absolute monotheism and his horror of evil, which are both essential requisites of Islam cannot be denied. This double character has made the *Message of Pardon* one of the most precious works of Arabic literature and also accounts for its enormous popularity in the Orient since free discussion has been possible; it has appeared even in illustrated editions, though illustrations are not much appreciated in the Orient.

M. S. Meïssa has done a valuable work in translating a work which can, in all probability, be considered as one of the literary forerunners of Dante's *Divina Commedia*. In the preface he gives all the main facts of Abu-l-'Alā's life and literary activity. Doubtless the work will do a good service in introducing the general reader into such branches of Muslim science as are not very familiar to him.

774. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

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EIN BRUCHSTÜCK DER ĀFRĪNAGHĀN Ī GĀHĀNBĀR. Mit 10 Tafeln. By HEINRICH JUNKER. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 84, Heft 5. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. 38, pls. 10. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1932. Mks. 3.20.

Āfrīnaghān ī Gāhānbār is the name of Pahlavī lithurgical texts recited by the Parsis at the six *gāhānbārs* or seasonal feasts which are held at certain fixed times during the year. The text published by the author is a fragment of the work and is contained in a volume of different fragmentary manuscripts of the Maneckji Limji Hataria Library of Bombay. This manuscript differs from the other manuscripts of the work with its peculiar writing, which can be considered as an experiment to create an unequivocal Pahlavī writing instead of the difficult Pāzend writing of the Avesta. The peculiarities of its writing are discussed in detail by the author. The essay also contains a Latin transcription and a German translation of the fragment, with notes concerning its reading and, as an appendix, a facsimile reproduction of it on ten tables.

837. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

ANTHOLOGIE DE LA LITTÉRATURE CHINOISE DES ORIGINES À NOS JOURS. Par SUNG-NIEN HSU. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 445. Paris: Delagrave, 1933.

Chinese literature is so vast in extent and so rich in both poetry and prose that the chief difficulty in compiling an anthology must be to decide what to leave out. Mr. Hsu, however, has succeeded in making an admirable selection which ought to satisfy every variety of taste. It is curious to reflect that of the five parts into which he divides his

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material—poetry, fiction, drama, philosophy, and history—the second and third would certainly not have been admitted a generation ago, for the simple reason that they were not regarded as "literature" at all. The poems are selected from a very large number of authors, and only the great masters are allowed more than one apiece. Li Po heads the list with thirteen, there are six from Tu Fu, five from Po Chü-i, four from Su Shih, and three from Han Yü. This predominance of Li Po does not reflect the considered judgment of the best Chinese critics; for with all his careless charm, he is felt to lack the profundity and moral earnestness of Tu Fu and others. As for Po Chü-i and Han Yü, Mr. Hsu goes so far as to say: " . . . ni l'un ni l'autre ne mérite vraiment le titre de poète." This is a harsh dictum, and surely not true of Po Chü-i, whose unadorned simplicity can sometimes be as effectively sublime as that of Wordsworth.

Within the 120 pages devoted to fiction nearly all the great novelists of China are represented. Beginning with short extracts from early writers like Lieh Tzŭ—that unrivalled purveyor of epigrammatic anecdote—we sample in turn "The Three Kingdoms", the *Shui Hu*, which is translated "Au Bord du Lac", "The Journey to the West", "The Dream of the Red Chamber," and the Strange Stories of P'u Sung-ling. The drama is not quite so fully represented, doubtless owing to the greater difficulty of finding suitable short extracts, but there is an adequate selection from the philosophers of ancient, medieval, and modern times—the Middle Ages in China being taken to extend from the Han to the T'ang dynasty inclusive. The historical pieces are not so well chosen as might have been expected. They are rather dull, and convey but a faint notion of the wealth of material which still awaits the translator.

Mr. Hsu writes French like a native of the country, and his translations are lively and idiomatic. In his masterly introduction, which in spite of the utmost skill in condensation runs to nearly ninety pages, too much importance is attached

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to the new phonetic script, which is never likely to supersede the ideographic characters; moreover, it appears to be confused with the *pai hua* or simplified style of writing in which the ordinary characters are used.

762. LIONEL GILES.

DIE HEILIGUNG DES VATER- UND FÜRSTENNAMENS IN CHINA. Von E. HAENISCH. (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 84. Bd., 4. Heft.) $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 20, pls. 4. Leipzig: A. Hirzel, 1932. M. 1.20.

This is a very valuable little monograph, which will be all the more welcome to sinologists because so little has yet been written on the subject of name-taboos. Professor Haenisch mentions a recent work by 陳垣 Ch'ên Yüan entitled 史諱舉例 *Shih hui chü li*, which he describes as "eine eingehende Untersuchung . . . mit reichem Stoff"; but it did not reach him in time to be utilized in detail. There is a subhead 諱忌 *Hui chi* in the *T'u shu chi ch'êng*, xv, 55, translated "Taboo" in my Index to that encyclopædia, which, however, is mostly concerned with things to be avoided in general and not specifically with proper names. On the other hand, an ample store of material is provided in the *P'ei wên yün fu*, and it is from this source that most of the information here collected has been drawn.

At first, the taboo of personal names does not seem to have extended beyond the family circle; afterwards, the same honour was paid to sages and illustrious men of the past, of whom Confucius is the most conspicuous example. The practice of avoiding the names of one's ancestors in speech or in writing was much strengthened by the stress laid on filial piety in Confucian ethics. But Chinese custom is by no means singular in this respect: as Professor Haenisch

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points out, in all Western countries it would still be considered peculiar, not to say improper, for a child to address or speak of his parents by their Christian names. Though the Chinese go further than we do, it is only a logical development of the same feeling. It is recorded that in the eleventh century, 400 years after his death, a certain governor of Szechwan was still held in such reverence that the people always bowed low before his portrait and actually erased the characters forming his personal name from the tablet erected to his memory!

It was only when the empire had been united under the Han dynasty that the personal name of the sovereign became taboo for the population as a whole. Professor Haenisch supplies a list of these "princely taboos" which, though it does not claim to be quite complete, cannot but prove extremely useful. Over 200 characters which have been taboo at different periods are given under their radicals, and also a much smaller number of characters which were used as substitutes, for in most cases these are not known. Although the Book of Ritual definitely states that if the ruler had a double personal name its component parts, taken singly, were not to be taboo, this nevertheless became the general practice. Names of rivers and mountains were usually left untouched, but there is a notable exception in the case of 恒山 Hêng Shan, the northern sacred mountain in Chihli, which was changed to 常山 Ch'ang Shan out of respect for the personal name of the emperor Mu Tsung who came to the throne in 821.

A few omissions from Professor Haenisch's list may be noted: 哲 Chê was the new personal name adopted by Li Hsien 李顯, the emperor who was dethroned in 684 and restored in 705. Under 基 Chi, which was part of Hsüan Tsung's personal name, should be added the period of taboo 713–907. 宏 was the substitute for Ch'ien Lung's personal name 弘 Hung. 戊 *mou* is a curious example of a character changing its sound for reasons of taboo. The great-grandfather of T'ai Tsu, founder of the Later Liang dynasty

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(A.D. 907), was called 茂琳 Mou-lin. As the character 戊 then had the same sound as 茂, and was also similar in meaning, the emperor forbade its use and ordered the character 武 *wu* to be substituted for it. Thence it came about that 戊 acquired the pronunciation *wu* in North China, and has retained it to this day.

835. LIONEL GILES.

THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE. An introduction to the spoken language (Northern Pekingese dialect). By JOS. MULLIE. Translated from the Flemish by A. OMER VERSICHEL. Vol. I. 10 × 7, pp. xxxiii + 566. Peiping: Bureau of Engraving and Printing, 1932. £1 12*s*. 6*d*.

The title of this work leads one to hope for much, and it is disappointing to find that it disguises yet another futile attempt to construct a formal grammar of the Chinese language. Chinese—it cannot be too often repeated—is essentially devoid of grammar, and any attempt to force it into our grammatical moulds is foredoomed to failure. Yet, instead of rejoicing over a peculiarity so unique and delightful, there are people who are not happy until they have told us what are "the principal indefinite pronouns" in Chinese, or have, to their own great satisfaction, divided Chinese verbs into moods and tenses—which they simply do not possess. The book is not, however, entirely useless, for though the grammatical rules laid down in it are about as helpful as ropes made of sand, the texts supposed to illustrate them are copious and well chosen, and anyone who goes through these carefully will have taken a good step towards mastering the Pekingese dialect. M. Mullie's treatment of the classifiers (or numeratives, as I should prefer to call them, the other word being often used interchangeably with "radical") occupies no fewer than 43 pages, and is probably the best and fullest yet published. On the other hand, the

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"Texts about religion" might well have been omitted, seeing that the Chinese terms are purely artificial and have no real place in the language. Thus, the equivalents given for "Epiphany", "Immaculate Conception", "Extreme Unction", etc., would convey nothing except to a Roman Catholic convert.

The fact that the translator is not an Englishman must account for a number of misspellings and little faults of idiom in the text. A few other slips may also be noted:

pp. vii and viii. The book-titles 韻集 and 韻會, as well as the phrase 道地, should be read with the characters reversed.

p. xv. The statement that "the Chinese writing is not a phonetic but an hieroglyphical writing" needs considerable qualification, especially if "hieroglyphic" is taken in its usual sense of picture-writing. The Chinese script had its origin in pictures, but its subsequent development was only made possible through the introduction of an important phonetic element.

p. xxiii. Père Wieger's fantastic discovery of an ancient form of fountain pen in use 1500 B.C. (*Caractères Chinois*, p. 7) was shown by me some years ago to be nothing more than a mare's nest.

p. xxiv. Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo wên*, did not live "about 200 A.D." but a hundred years earlier.

p. xxxii. "The principal concern is to know the place of the words in the sentence." But this is not fixed by "steady and invariable rules". Often the only way of getting at the meaning of a Chinese sentence is through the logic of the context.

p. 36. Radicals 95 and 96 are transposed.

The first chapter of the book, on Phonetics, is of doubtful value to the beginner. A point to be noted, however, is that the English *ng* sound exists in nearly all Chinese dialects. Hence the form "Pekin", which seems to have originated with the French and has recently become popular in our

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daily press, is not really so correct as "Peking". To be consistent, those who write "Pekin" should also write "Nankin".

847. LIONEL GILES.

LES ORIGINES DES LÉGENDES MUSULMANES DANS LE CORAN ET DANS LES VIES DES PROPHÈTES. By D. SIDERSKY. 10 × 6½, pp. viii + 162. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1933. Frs. 100.

The sources of the narratives in the Qur'an are the subject of a very considerable literature, which, however, has left several puzzles unsolved. The material becomes much more copious when the inquiry is extended to extra-Qur'anic literature. Although the perusal of the Jewish and Christian scriptures was discouraged or even forbidden by Islam, a certain amount of Biblical knowledge beyond what could be obtained from the Qur'an was current among educated Muslims, and references are occasionally made to *Isra'īliyyāt* "Jewish matter", which imply the existence of some sort of *corpus* of such information, largely fiction of Muḥammadan preachers, but at times traceable to Jewish sources. M. Sidersky has collated a considerable number of the Arabic (or Persian) stories about Biblical personages with Hebrew and other accounts, utilizing chiefly in addition to the Qur'an the Persian recension of the Chronicle of Ṭabarī and the *Tales of the Prophets* by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah al-Kisā'i, whose editor, as he inscribes his second volume *pars secundus*, is apparently like St. Dunstan, "apt to be loose in his Latin when flurried."

M. Sidersky's work, though interesting and on the whole scholarly, exposes itself to criticism on several grounds. In the first place the mixing of Qur'anic with post-Qur'anic matter is to be deprecated; the gulf between them is greater than that between the New Testament and patristic literature. Of the Jews with whom Muḥammad came in contact we know

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nothing save what can be gleaned from the Qur'an and (possibly) the Prophet's biography; in the time of Ṭabarī and Kisā'ī the Jews were accustomed to read and write Arabic. Hence the interest of the parallels is very different in the two cases. Secondly, some inquiry into the dates of the Jewish works cited would be desirable, since (as M. Sidersky seems to admit) the borrowing was not always on the Muslim side. Thirdly, the endeavours to find parallels are not always successful. Fourthly, the translations of the Hebrew are not invariably as accurate as might be wished: e.g. p. 12, where שני כתרים נותנים על ראשו אחד של אבנים טובות ומרגליות ואחד של זהב פרוים is rendered, "ils placent sur sa tête une couronne d'or pur, garnie de pierres précieuses et de perles fines." What the text says is "they place on his head two crowns, one of precious stones and pearls, and one of gold of Parwaim (2 Chron. iii, 6)".

Still, M. Sidersky's work should count as an important contribution to its subject.

859. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ON ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN TRACKS. By Sir AUREL STEIN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiv + 342, ills. 148 (18 in colour), map 1. London: Macmillan & Co., 1933. 31*s.* 6*d.*

The detailed records of the results of Sir Aurel Stein's memorable explorations in Central Asia between the years 1900 and 1916 are to be found in five publications, comprising fourteen bulky volumes and folios, all of which, except the *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, are out of print and can only be acquired at very high prices. The volume before us, which is based upon a series of lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute (Boston, U.S.A.), designed to recapitulate the story of those years of travel and discovery in a form suited to a public audience, therefore supplies a real want. In it, however,

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we have more than a synopsis of the detailed reports, as Sir Aurel has taken the opportunity of incorporating the experience of later exploration and of weaving into his narrative the results of the study by specialists in various departments of the mass of material so successfully recovered and transported. So, besides the general reader, to whom this condensed yet easily written account will specially appeal, the scientific student of Central Asian history and culture who has read the detailed reports will welcome it as a convenient and up-to-date summary.

The work has been arranged on topographical rather than chronological lines, thus enabling the reader to grasp the salient results of the researches at each site, whether conducted on one or more expeditions; while the judiciously selected and excellently reproduced illustrations help him to visualise the physical features of the country, the racial types, the nature of the structural remains and the great variety of the finds, chiefly paintings, textiles, embroidery, manuscripts, sculpture, and pottery. Starting with a short general view of the geographical conformation and a brief historical outline, Sir Aurel takes us over the lofty passes of the Hindukush, Pamirs, and K'un-lun to the Khotan district, and thence along the southern fringes of the Taklamakan desert by Dandan-oilik, Niya, Endere, and Miran, where he made his first sensational discoveries, to the ancient Lou-lan site. He then crosses the salt-encrusted bed of the dried-up "Sea of Lop", towards Su-chou in Kansu, tracing, as he goes, portions of the old Han *limes*, with watch towers at intervals, constructed a century before our era, and halting at Tun-huang to describe the "Caves of the 1,000 Buddhas" and the valuable archæological material recovered therefrom. From Su-chou he takes us southwards amidst the high Nan-shan ranges, where some of his most important pioneer surveying was done, and where he met with one of his few serious accidents, his horse falling backwards upon him, crushing badly the muscles of his left thigh. In spite of this mishap,

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which crippled him for some months, he pushed on north-eastwards along the Etsing-gol to Khara-khoto (Marco Polo's "City of Etzina"), and thence by untrodden ways across the rugged Peishan portion of the Gobi to Barkul, Guchen, and Urumchi, to enjoy the sight of vegetation once more in Dzungaria, a corridor of early times, fraught with the memories of great historical migrations, e.g. of the Yueh-chih, or "Indo-Scythians", Huns, Turks, and Mongols. Recrossing the T'ien-shan, he devotes a chapter to archæological and geographical work in the remarkable depression of Turfan, the centre of the great Uigur domination in the ninth–thirteenth centuries. From Bezeklik alone, one of the sites in this basin, over 100 cases of fresco panels (now to be seen, skilfully set up by Mr. F. H. Andrews, in the Delhi Museum) were packed for dispatch to India. Proceeding across the Kuruk-tagh to the basin of the Kuruk-darya and then westwards through the Kara-shahr valley and the Kucha oasis he leads us along the southern skirts of the T'ien-shan to Kashgar. The next chapter deals with his journeys over the northern spurs of the lofty Pamirs to the Alai and Kizil-su valleys, through which lay the route of the ancient silk trade between China and the West, whence he turns south, crossing successive ranges and, by a very daring feat of mountaineering, reaches the Alichur Pamir and Lake Victoria, to the accurate description of which by Marco Polo he bears testimony. Finally he takes us through Wakhan, Shughnan, Roshan, Karategin, and the Zarafshan valley to Samarqand.

At each of the sites visited in this vast area (some 1,800 miles from east to west and from 200 to 400 miles from north to south) Sir Aurel has interesting and important information to impart; the finds are briefly described, and the conclusions to be drawn are clearly stated. It is a record of great performance, on which any man might look back with pride; and but few who peruse it will realize fully the difficulties overcome, the hardships endured, and the pre-eminent

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equipment, mental and physical, of the author, to which are due the conception, the organization, and the brilliant accomplishment. Though most widely known as a great archæologist, Sir Aurel's versatility is such that he has added enormously to our store of knowledge in many other branches of study as well. Had he achieved nothing else in the course of these explorations, his contributions towards an accurate geographical knowledge of vast tracts, previously unsurveyed or unvisited by any European, would alone have earned him lasting fame; while historians, linguists, ethnologists, and students of art and comparative culture are all indebted to him. In fact, the material collected by him has been so abundant and so diverse in character that its examination has absorbed the attention of a host of specialists in the different subjects concerned in many parts of the world; and the Stein collections in the British Museum and in New Delhi will constitute enduring memorials of his great work.

856. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE NEW CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA. A narrative of the Explorations of the Central Asiatic Expeditions in Mongolia and China, 1921–1930. By ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS and others. 11 × 8¼, pp. l + 678, pls. 128, ills. in text 12, maps 3. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1932. £3 3*s*.

This is a remarkable record of scientific exploration, discovery and research, and not infrequently of adventure, by a body of men, at times numbering fourteen, all experts in their own branches of study, in the course of five expeditions through Inner and Outer Mongolia between 1921 and 1930, and in different parts of China by individual specialists during the winter months, when the severe cold in Mongolia renders field work impracticable. The idea of a joint expedition of specialists had occurred to Dr. Andrews as early as 1912;

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it matured as a result of his first expedition, to Yunnan (1916–17), and his second, to Mongolia in 1919. His main object will be best understood from his own words: "I had before me the brilliant predictions of Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, made in 1900, that Asia would prove to have been a great dispersal center for northern terrestrial mammalian life." The organization and successful achievement of this great plan is due to the exceptional qualities of this energetic and versatile leader, and the hearty co-operation of all members of the staff. An outstanding feature of the expeditions was the correlation from day to day in the field and round the evening mess table of the work of different departments, enabling many problems puzzling perhaps at first sight to a specialist in one branch to be solved by the light which other branches were able to throw upon them. We have here an invaluable record of practical experience in respect of all details of means of locomotion and methods of work. The leader's resolve, contrary to most advice, to employ motor transport for the staff and camp equipment, the supporting camel caravan carrying stores of gasoline and food, etc., being sent ahead and visited by the cars at suitable points, was more than amply justified by the results. Rapidity of travel enabled the expedition to effect in one season what might otherwise have taken ten seasons: moreover, it probably averted disaster when trouble arose with brigands and perverse frontier guards.

The scientific results of these expeditions have been so varied and extensive that it is impossible even to summarise them in a short review. They have provided an enormous amount of entirely new information on the geology, palæontology, zoology, archæology and topography of a vast area (nearly half as large as the United States), previously almost wholly unknown to science. Abundant material has been recovered for the study of its geological and palæontological history from the end of the Jurassic period, since when Mongolia has been continuously dry land, with no period

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of submergence beneath the sea, and no evidence of glaciation other than that of a purely alpine type. The existence of a "great Mongolian bathylith" of granitic rocks extending right across the area has been established. The nature of the fossil fauna and flora has revealed cycles of climatic change. The finding, for the first time, of dinosaur eggs, and of Reptile Age mammal skulls in the Djadochta (Upper Cretaceous) beds near Shabarakh Usu, of *Andrewsarchus mongoliensis* (the largest terrestrial carnivore known) in the Eocene of Irdin Manha, of remains of *Baluchitherium* (the largest land mammal known) at several sites, and the discovery of marine strata, rich in fossils of Dinantian and Permian times at Jisu Honguer, establishing the Mongolian geosyncline predicted by Dr. Grabau, are already world famous. Evidence of eolithic, palæolithic, and neolithic cultures has been recorded: that of the "Dune Dwellers", remains of which were found at several sites, though related in some ways to the Azilian of Europe, seems to have been distinctively Gobian, and not closely related to any known cultures in other parts of the world. The living fauna and flora of the area have also been intensively studied; important topographical surveys conducted, the results of which will be embodied in a special Memoir and maps under preparation; and a most valuable record, illustrated by thousands of feet of motion and still photographs, made of Mongol life—of a culture which is being rapidly effaced by changed political conditions and new contacts.

The present volume claims to be merely an introduction to the scientific publications dealing with the work of the expeditions. It has been admirably arranged, and is illustrated with excellent photographs and sketches. Part I treats of the explorations in Mongolia, and Part II of the expeditions in China. In Part III (Summary Statements) the work accomplished is briefly reviewed in its various aspects, and some of the more striking unsolved problems calling for further investigation are stated by the specialists concerned.

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Part IV (Appendices) includes a useful bibliography and a list of publications of the Central Asiatic Expeditions, issued and forthcoming. The first fifty chapters (Parts I and II) are in the form of narrative. It is a narrative of most absorbing interest, written in an easy and attractive style, incorporating all the important scientific discoveries made from place to place. The difficulties overcome, the trials endured, the dangers evaded, the serious accidents that befell Dr. Andrews and Mr. Horvath, are described with all restraint: all were faced in a true sporting spirit, and good humour prevailed in the most trying circumstances. It is a record of work of which the leader may well be proud. Our only regret is that the growth of the "anti-foreign" spirit should have precluded its continuance; and we hope that Dr. Andrews may yet have an opportunity of making further search for what he did not succeed in finding—remains of *Proanthropos*.

890. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

MÉLANGES CHINOIS ET BOUDDHIQUES. Publiés par l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises. Vol. I, 1931–1932. 10 × 6½, pp. ii + 425, ills. 33. Brussels: Istas. London: Luzac, 1932.

This book presents two welcome features, the indication in the title that successors are to be expected and the ample room allowed to contributors. Of the three purely Chinese articles the most important is the one by H. Maspéro on the date and composition of the *Tso-chuan*. H. Belpaire discusses the relation of the T'ang poet, Li T'ai Po, to Taoism, and of topical interest is the illustrated description of a visit paid by the late Father Van Obbergen in 1909 to Jehol, the summer headquarters of the Manchu dynasty. The articles on Buddhism which preponderate contain several of first-rate importance. P. Demiéville gives us a translation of fragments of Paramārtha's lost commentary on Vasumitra's treatise on Buddhist sects, which he has discovered quoted

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in a thirteenth century Japanese work; these extracts relate to the part dealing with the origin of the sects, but the exact bearing on history of the traditions here reported is a thorny question. It is perhaps worth considering whether the name, p. 47, for which Yājñavalkya is suggested as the equivalent, may not really be Valkali, about whom the Mahāsaṅghikas told a tale which has some features in common with the story here (Przyluski, *Concile de Rajagṛha*, p. 206). From L. de La Vallée Poussin come excerpts from the Abhidharma literature on the subject of the three refuges and the body of the Arhat, as well as a translation of Āryadeva's views on Nirvāṇa, in which the previous one by Tucci is improved on in some particulars. The *Vibhāṣā's* discussion of the twenty forms of *satkāyadṛṣṭi* is translated by J. Rahder; it contains a curious passage on the point whether that false view is possible with respect to the atom (anti-Vaiśeṣika?). An interesting document is the life of an Indian Buddhist, inscribed in A.D. 1378 on a stūpa erected to him in China and translated by A. Waley; it proves the survival of Buddhism in India in the first quarter of the fourteenth century and also the extent to which an Indian could draw on Chinese credulity and ignorance of India. The place names of his remarkable journey from Jālandhara to Tibet require reconsideration by someone expert in the matter, the clue being possibly given by Mo-lo-so, for which an identification with Ladakh was once put forward (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, i, 299). The Kashmir route to China was, it may be inferred, no longer open to Buddhists. The same scholar discusses Pali *sūkaramaddava* of the Buddha's last meal in the light of the silence of the Chinese translations on the subject. Father J. Van Durme contributes a long note on Lamaism, suggesting the influence of Nestorianism on its organization and methods of worship, and Dr. Spruyt gives us an illustrated account of the caves of Lung-men. One of the inscriptions consists of a diatribe against women, taken from a Mahāyāna sūtra translated by Kumārajīva (Nanjio 1416),

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in which it is interesting to find what seem to be quotations of *Saundarananda*, viii, 29, 34, and 35.[1] Mention must be made of an interesting note by J. Przyluski on the rites for the dead known as *avalambana* (I-tsing's account, tr. Takakusu, 41, should be compared), and the volume closes with a series of notes and authoritative reviews of recent works on Buddhism by La Vallée Poussin. An index is badly needed but is not provided.

Altogether a miscellany on whose production the Belgian Institute is to be heartily congratulated.

822. E. H. JOHNSTON.

INNI DELL' ATHARVAVEDA. Traduzione, Introduzione e Note di VALENTINO PAPESSO. Testi e documenti per la Storia delle Religioni, 5. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xvi + 205. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1933. L. 12.

This is a companion volume to the two volumes of selections from the Rigveda by the same hand in this series, and is a decidedly useful production, dealing with a text on which not much has been published of recent years. The selection is sound and, though I noted a few passages which call for further consideration, the author has made a good job of it on the whole, showing skill and learning in disengaging the principles of magic which form the main thread of the poems. In matters of religion and primitive philosophy, as in the other anthology just mentioned, his views seem to me more open to criticism.

910. E. H. JOHNSTON.

[1] I am much indebted to Dr. Spruyt for his courtesy in providing me with further information about this inscription and with a complete translation.

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DAS LICHT DES OSTENS: Die Weltanschauungen des mittleren und fernen Asiens, Indien—China—Japan, und ihr Einfluss auf das religiöse und sittliche Leben, auf Kunst und Wissenschaft dieser Länder. Herausgegeben von MAXIMILIAN KERN. 11 × 8, pp. 597, pls. 4, ills. 408. Berlin and Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1922.

Till this book was recently bought by the Society, it was impossible to obtain a copy in any of the lending libraries of London, and the purpose of this notice is to draw attention to the acquisition rather than to give it a belated and formal review. Many of the chapters provide excellent summaries of different sides of Oriental civilization, particularly that on Jainism by Schubring, but to Sanskritists the real value of the book lies in the chapter on Indian philosophy by Professor Jacobi, showing how the various aspects of it which he has discussed in a series of important papers elsewhere should be fitted into a single scheme. Thereby the book gains a permanent importance, such as does not always fall to works of this class; for without it we have not the key to the understanding of that great scholar's ideas on the subject.

A. 107. E. H. JOHNSTON.

FOUILLES EXÉCUTÉES À BAOUÎT. Par JEAN MASPERO. Notes mises en ordre et éditées par ÉTIENNE DRIOTON. Premier fascicule. Cairo, 1932.

The present volume may be considered as a memorial of one of the most brilliant and most promising of the younger Egyptologists, who fell in action in 1915, and embodies the publication of the results of Maspero's last season of excavation—at Bawit. The lot of the editor who has to edit an excavator's field books is indeed an unenviable one, and this book is an eloquent tribute to the beautifully-kept and detailed notebooks of Maspero on the one hand, and to the skill and patience of Drioton on the other. The task of editing

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Maspero's field notes has been performed with admirable success.

This book is divided into four sections. First, Maspero's original preliminary report, which was published in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, juin, 1913, pp. 287–301, is reprinted in full. Then follow Maspero's complete day-to-day diary, a more detailed description of the individual rooms, and finally a section in which the inscriptions are transcribed and translated. The book is furnished with good indices, and a further volume of plates is promised.

Maspero's campaign was only a short one, but it was most fruitful. As a result of some two months' work he was able to prove not only that the *kôm* of Bawîṭ was not a cemetery, but that it was in reality two monasteries—or rather, a monastery and a convent. It is difficult to judge all that was found without the aid of photographs and without detailed descriptions of objects and paintings. It is clear, however, that one of the principal results of the excavation was the discovery of a considerable number of well-executed paintings, and imitations of stones. Particularly interesting is a remarkable reminiscence of the satirical drawings of the New Kingdom—a parody of a judgment scene, in which rats and a cat are the actors. No less interesting is the graffito, (No. 222), which is the work of an Arab who had been converted to Christianity.

It is perhaps ungracious to criticize a book of this sort, for obviously the gaps and deficiencies are those which only Maspero could have filled, and doubtless much that one misses would have been supplied if Maspero had lived to write this book. Thus, it is regrettable that no scales are given to the sketch-plans which are inserted in the text (probably because they seem to have been adapted from rough sketches in the field notebooks), and that no orientation is given to the individual figures. It is also a great pity that Maspero, instead of thoroughly excavating one section of the site, should apparently have worked in two or three

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isolated sections. If field archæology is to justify its claims to be a science, systematic and methodical excavation is the primary essential. Even more regrettable is the omission of all reference to pottery, as though no pottery had been found! The loss is the more serious in this instance for the excavations were obviously carefully conducted, and the site closely dated, and a record of the pottery types would have been most valuable and welcome. "Roman" pottery in the past has been shamefully neglected in all excavations. Let us hope that these days are now gone for ever, and that excavators of the present and the future will realize that scientific excavation is concerned not merely with pretty-pretty objects, and with inscriptions, but with all that is found, and above all with all the pottery of all periods, no matter how repulsive or uninteresting it may seem to be.

832. H. W. FAIRMAN.

HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS. I. By IGNACE J. GELB. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 2. 9½ × 7, pp. xxii + 88. London: Cambridge University Press. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 8*s*. 6*d*.

LES INSCRIPTIONS HITTITES HIEROGLYPHIQUES. Essai de Déchiffrement. By BEDŘICH HROZNÝ. 10 × 7, pp. 120, pls. 2. Prague: Orientální Ústav, 1933. Kč. 95. Les Inscriptions "Hittites" Hieroglyphiques sur plomb (*ib.*, v, 208 ff.). Reprint from *Archiv Orientální*, vi, 1933, No. 1.

With the death of Professor Sayce we lose the greatest of the pioneers of research in Hittite hieroglyphs. It was he who laid the foundation-stone of whatever may be correct in the decipherment of these strange characters, and although it must be allowed us to say that he let his imagination run away with him, it was this very imagination which enabled

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him to assign what are probably correct values to about a dozen characters, and those dozen characters must be considered a heroic achievement for a pioneer. Doubtless in future days, when the script is an open book, the young Hittitologist will look back with an amused and superior smile at the errors which his great-grandparents made in their blind-bull-like rushes, in much the same way as we regard the pre-nineteenth century guesses at Egyptian hieroglyphs. With the large number of clear inscriptions discovered by the British Museum excavations at Carchemish, research into Hittite hieroglyphs has received a fresh impetus, and there are several new adventurers in the lists. Mr. Gelb is one of them, and although I do not propose to echo whole-heartedly Professor Olmstead's criticism of Mr. Gelb's work, "a decipherment which marks a real advance over previous attempts . . . soon to be published" (*Hist. of Palestine*, 1931, p. 259) until it is all published, it is good to see that the younger generation is knocking at the door. In reviewing Professor Hrozný's work I find the same difficulty that one would have had in reviewing Sayce's work at the beginning. Decipherers spend an immense effort of brain on their work, and, as a rule, only time and the criticism of scholars, who, one might say, had better not be Hittite specialists, can show how much is right.

To review a system of decipherment, when one has already put forward a system of one's own, is a matter about which any one may be diffident. In my own decipherment, in many cases, I have a great wish to wear the whitest of white sheets and carry the longest of candles: my *san benito* has many of its devils upside down, to show my recantation of some of my errors, particularly of the Carchemish group, wherein the name "Carchemish" must be a certainty. It was M. Six who suggested this both to Professor Sayce and Professor Jensen, but it was the latter, so Professor Sayce says (*PSBA.*, 1903, 142), who had the acumen to see the value of it in 1898. But with an admission of some of my errors, I trust I may be allowed to try to assess the systems of others. It is a

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natural tendency to try to apply one's system to all extant inscriptions, so that as little as possible may be omitted, and this result almost certainly will be to outrun the bounds of one's capacity, long before the admission *non possum*.

Let us first review our stock-in-trade. The groups for *Tyana*, *Gurgum*, *Carchemish*, *Hamath*, the proper name *Irhulina*, the hieroglyphs for "king", "town", "country", "god" and the nominative termination *s* as well as the word divider have now been long recognized, although there are still questions how to assign exact values to the characters. Then come (at all events among) modern identifications, notably Forrer (*AJSL*. 1932, 156) with *Mutalli*, and Meriggi (*ZA*. 1929–1930, 200) with—if correct—the very important "son". But before discussing these I think that it is to be regretted that Hrozný should not have given a less curt dismissal to Sayce's work. It is true that Sayce outran all discretion, like many other decipherers, but it must be remembered that he was the forerunner, and I venture to think that it was his brilliant equation *Tyana* for the place-group in the Bor inscription which has been the foundation of practically every system. Moreover, this was when there were far fewer inscriptions to work on, and few scholars at work, and hence I confess I should like to have seen a fuller appreciation than this: "L'explication de ces trois signes hiéroglyphiques ('roi,' 'ville,' 'pays'), et celle des signes pour 'le dieu', pour *s*, et pour *n* (voir ci-dessus) font le principal mérite des nombreux travaux de A. H. Sayce sur les hiéroglyphiques hittites, tandis que les autres parties de son déchiffrement, à quelques exceptions près, sont mal fondées." I hasten at once to say that Hrozný on the same page admits Sayce's priority for *Tyana* = ("voir déjà Sayce"), but this certainly ought to have been definitely included in the *principal mérite*. In any case, whatever

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may be the exact values for the signs, we do not yet know for certain whether Sayce's assignment of the values *Da-a-na-a-na-s* + determinative or Hrozný's *Tu-va-nu-va-na-s* (which Meriggi, *ZA.* 1929, 192, had suggested as *Tu-wa-nu-wa*), are more nearly correct. The dental for ▭, and whether it be *a* or *va* for ○▯○, are both discoveries of high importance. Sayce, too, had read the first word of the inscriptions as *a-me-i* or *a-me* as "I" or "I am", sometimes preceded by a determinative (*PSBA.*, 1903, 182) for which Hrozný reads (*amu*)-*va-me-a* (p. 51) "I"—not so very far different—and he even suggested *A-ma-tu* for ∩ ▭, "Hamath," exactly as it is accepted to-day, but, owing to his view that ∩ = *i*, he considered "the initial vowel against it" (*PSBA.*, 1903, 179).

Proceeding next to the groups, "Carchemish" gives three or perhaps four signs as almost definite, from M. Six's suggestion, *Kar* (or *Ka*^{r})-*ga-me*, with variations on *-s* for the fourth, which Hrozný accepts, giving proper credit to Jensen. Then "Hamath", originally suggested as a group for Hamath with various readings by Jensen and Sayce, ultimately gave as some form of *m* (I had taken it as *am*, the dental being already known), and as a result of this the name *Ir-ḫu-li-na* (which—I am compelled, although in all modesty, to state, as Hrozný most courteously notes—was mine). Then (again I plead modesty) comes my identification of with "Gurgum", in which my value *am*, '*m* from my view of "Hamath" (whatever the value of *m* be which is given nowadays) allowed of the reading *Gu-gu-'m*, which more modern decipherments probably correctly explain as *Gu*^{r}*-qu-ma*, owing to the "tang" now being read ^{r}, and as *ma*. We had thus a very fair start by the beginning of the later period of decipherment which was marked by the large quantity of clear inscriptions from Carchemish.

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Sayce, in dealing with the new Carchemish inscriptions, whether he was right or not in his identification of , read the two place-names as the Misians and the Moschians in Carch. A, 6 (*PSBA.*, 1915, 15; *JRAS.*, 1922, 549), and was followed by Cowley, who read them Masians and Moschians, Schweich Lectures, 1920 (Hrozný, noting Cowley, Mysians and Moschians, p. 236), and Cowley also suggested ⓘ as enclitic "and". Frank (1923), always courteous and considerate of his predecessors, saw Bargâ, the well-known place-name, in *M.* iv, A 2, and elsewhere (*AKM.* xvi, 3, 20): Meriggi (*ZA.*, 1929), besides bringing forward the theory that meant "son", which, if correct (as seems likely), will add immensely to our knowledge, properly carried my suggestion for the "tang" as indicating proper names to far more elaborate heights. Then came Bossert (*MDAOG.*, 1932) and Forrer (*AJSL.*, 1932), both following a similar train.

Mr. Gelb has gone about his work in the usual way: he has begun by taking several groups which are almost certainly place-names, all but one of which had long been recognized, and has assigned values to the hieroglyphs containing them, some new and some old. From them he has applied the values to the groups in the inscriptions, and has collected the terminations which appear to indicate the different grammatical forms. More parts of this same subject are promised.

Four place-names, as he recognizes, can be assigned to groups with fair certainty—Hamath, Gurgum, Tyana, and Carchemish—these having long been known. The only trouble—and it is a large one—is to give correct values to each sign: and here the variation begins. Moreover, even these characters are limited in number, and we begin to find ourselves wandering off into the unknown almost as soon as we apply them to the rest of the texts. We are not altogether convinced by Mr. Gelb's attempt to decipher "Aleppo", particularly as "the same name", says he (p. 20), "is used

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as a personal instead of a geographic name" elsewhere: indeed, he provides only two instances which have the "country" or "city" sign indicating it.

In looking at his suggestions for translations, we may now say with fair certainty that the initial words of Carchemish A, 11, *a*, must be read much as Sayce saw them in 1915 (*PSBA.*, 1915, 14), where he read the name *Ḳa-tu-a-s* and showed that this ruler "describes himself as 'priest of the countries of Carchemish'". Cowley (*The Hittites*, 1920, 72) read it: "Thus says Katuš, priest, of Carchemish, king . . ." Frank in 1923 (*Die Sog. Hettit. Hierogl. Inschr.*, 80) read the king's name Gatuaiš: Mr. Gelb follows them closely with "I, Katis, the ruler, of Karkames the land", and then continues: "the son of Miḫas (Hrozný, Luḫas), the prince of the land, the grandson of 'Astituma (Hrozný, Astuvatemajas), the prince of the land." So that we are beginning to feel our feet, perhaps, even if there is not yet agreement on the last two names; caution is an essential, and I am not by any means convinced about the latter. But Katuš, Katis, Katuvas must be practically correct, and it was Sayce who compared this to Katê of Ḳue, which was augmented by Cowley with *Καδουιας*, a king of the Scythians in Suidas, Katova in the new Lydian inscriptions (long before Hrozný, p. 15), and *Κότυς*.

We are compelled to make one criticism of Mr. Gelb's work, and that is that he has been a little hasty in saying that he has accepted altogether the readings of about ten signs from his predecessors. There are so very many signs now for which values are given by the several decipherers, which now vary really very little, and Mr. Gelb ought, we think, to have credited his predecessors with a fuller list. We must also notice another small inaccuracy. On p. 8 he says that the division-mark is not found at all at Hamath, which thus is at variance with his statement a few lines lower, that it is always present with the hand-sign. The hand-sign certainly occurs with it at Hamath (Messerschmidt, iv *a* and *b*, and vi):

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Sayce (*JRAS.*, 1930, 740) mentions that this word-divider "is only just coming into use [in the Hamath texts]; indeed, in the earlier texts it does not appear at all except for phonetic purposes".

The first criticism of Hrozný's continuation of these decipherments which I should like to make is that he seems to me to be far too ready to discover variants for the signs. That is to say, given a word with most of its characters similar to those in another group, he frequently accepts the variant characters as interchangeable. The consequence is he has already obtained an initial list of sixty-three characters which have only *one* closed syllable amongst them (*kar*), except where the "tang" is presumed to add *r*. Almost at the outset he goes off at a tremendous pace from a group (Carchemish, i, A, 6, 8) which he sees again in of Messerschmidt, vi, 2, and referring both of these to a root *es*, *as*, in Hittite cuneiform "to sit"; he distinguishes a verbal form from the same root as *á-s-tá* (Carch. i, A, 6, 6) and *á-s-ta* (*ib.*, A, 7*a*, 3) ("c'est-à-dire peut-être il s'assit"), by which time we have wandered a good deal from the original form, and have found interchanging with . But he goes further, saying that the sign (in which he sees a seat) serves for an ideogram not only for the word *asas* "seat", and the verb *as-* "s'asseoir", but also other derivatives of the root, e.g. , i.e. *a-sà-je-va-* "s'asseoir" (according to his theory varying with). All this, of course, may be so, but I confess that such rapid variation does not at first sight convince me, and when, having made = *sa*, he goes on

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to make it = *su*, in order to read Tesup in *'Ve(r)-ná-te* (?)-*su-pa-s* in a proper name, of which a third is based on a queried *te* (?) without any god sign as indication; one is inclined to wonder where these variations will stop.

I note also that although Hrozný accepts my *Ir-ḫu-li-na*, he sees in , the first character, an equivalent of (which, as I showed = , *Arch.*, p. 1912, 17, as Hrozný adopts, p. 51),[1] reading it *(V)u*^{r}, i.e. his *mu*, read as *vu* with the "tang" ^{r}. But this equivalence of to I believe to be unlikely: exists in the same inscription alongside (with the four bars, which are the distinctive mark) (Hamath duplicates iv A and B in both); without the "tang" apparently (if the text is correct) exists twice in Hamath, v, 2. In *Arch.*, 14, 17, I tried to show that = = , and = = : Hrozný makes as perhaps equal to , , and does not include in his list at all. I think this demands at least consideration.

The difficulties of a reviewer are increased when in the case of the translations of the elaborate Carchemish inscriptions, which would begin thus normally and reasonably with the pedigree of the king, seem (whether rightly or wrongly) to tail off into a description of rather trivial offerings; and yet at the same time Hrozný's suggestion for the signs and as "bread" and "drink offerings" would seem to point to this being the trend of the meaning.

[1] Referring to Gelb, 32, and Bossert, *Šantaš*, 69; cf. also his equivalence = , p. 31, which I had reached twenty years ago (*Arch.*, 1912, 52). I should note here, for want of a better place, the ingenious identification of , which Bossert makes with Cybebe, as Ku-pa-pa.

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Particularly ingenious is his explanation of the group IC [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] IC (p. 43) twice in close succession before ideograms "puis que ce soit". He has been extraordinarily elaborate in his search for and tabulation of pronouns. That the group [illegible], similar, with variations, to those in front of so many of the personal names in the now famous sculpture of the (royal) family at Carchemish, must mean "this is" or something similar has long been accepted (Hrozný, 23, "comme on l'a reconnu depuis longtemp déjà"), and he has collected the occurrences scientifically, but whether his readings are correct we must leave time to show. In the first part of his work (p. 24) he made a curious slip which it is not easy to believe a careful student could have made: "Dans Carch. 1, A, 7*c*, le pronom *ja-va* [[illegible]] est seul conservé. Notre pronom peut être placé aussi à la fin d'ume courte proposition." He then read the next two personal names with the pronoun post-position (!) and it is not until the second part that he corrects this (p. 242): "l'ordre des mots est à corriger: les pronoms démonstratifs qui suivent ici les noms propres, se rapportent plutôt aux noms qui viennent après; bien que les phrases ainsi formées soient coupées par les reliefs," a detail which, I confess, seems obvious.

By Hrozný's transliteration the names on the Carchemish stelæ are: Katuvas, son of Luḫas, grandson of Astuvatumajas (already mentioned): Aeʳaʳs (?), succeeded (?) by Kamanas, with Malia-Tesupas (?), Asta-Santajas (?), Vena-Tesupas (?), Aska-Tesupas (?), Sagaris (?), Ḫalpavâs and Âsla-Tesupas (?). Of these, except Katuvas already mentioned, Sagaris (?) is the only name comparable to any known at present ("sans doute identique au nom *Sagara, Saṅgar*," of the ninth century). His name is spelt [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *ᵐSa-ga-eʳ-s*, the first two characters reasonably certain from the name "Carchemish", but the third by

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no means so, although, of course, Hrozný may be right, if [illegible] contains an *r* value. I am unconvinced by certain of the comparisons with words in other languages, e.g. an ideogram for a hare followed by a group read by Hrozný *ta-pa-sà-la-ā* is compared with the Turkish *tavšan* "hare" (p. 55): the town of Alavasas "pourrait, à mon avis, représenter un assyro-babylonien *Alu-eššu* 'ville nouvelle'": and place-names such as "*Ḫa* (?)-*a*^{r}-*g*[*a* ?]-*n*" compared with *Ḫargê* (Ashurb. vii, 113) "située sans doute en Syrie" (p. 60), or "[illegible] *s-à-gu*^{r}*-va-na-a-i*" (the gods of) "the river Sagur". In the latter case, how many gods can a small river like the Sagur have?

At the same time it is easy and most ungracious to pick out details which do not satisfy one; and then on the other hand it is impossible to say *yea or nay* to the great bulk of any decipherment. There is, however, little doubt that we are getting nearer the values of all the common characters, and if only these are settled, we can then determine the value of the different decipherments, and, if necessary, what share each decipherer has had in this greatest of archæological problems. At the moment what we can do is to congratulate the decipherers on their energy and persistence, and on what we can recognize has been done.

We shall look with interest for the remaining portion of both works, and we would offer a word in encouragement: let no one be disheartened if his results do not give all that he hopes: no one person will ever be able to say "I deciphered Hittite". Kipling's line fits the decipherer admirably: "After me cometh a builder: tell him I too have known." And, happily, to make mistakes in decipherments is not a felony: the only way to get at the goal is to risk making mistakes.[1]

899, 934, A. 99. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

[1] Professor Dhorme has just written an admirable article *Où en est le déchiffrement des Hiéroglyphes Hittites* in *Syria*, 1933.

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DIALECTS OF TIBET; THE TIBETAN DIALECT OF LAHUL (Tibetica, I). By GEORGES DE ROERICH. 10 × 7, pp. i + 107. New York and Naggar, Kulu, Punjab: Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of the Roerich Museum, n.d., 1933. $1, or Rs. 5.

The first of a projected series of monographs on the dialects of Tibet. The author arranges his work under the headings of introduction, tones, phonology, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, verbs, texts, vocabulary, and loan-words. Every word, sentence, and story throughout is given in Tibetan script, followed by a direct transliteration, phonetic representation of its Lahuli pronunciation, and its English meaning. In the final vocabulary, and in many of the entries in the preceding grammatical sections, the Central Tibetan pronunciation is also added.

The existence of subdialects is discussed, their territories as far as possible defined, and the influence of neighbouring forms of speech upon Lahuli considered. Word forms in the Kolong and Koksar subdialects are frequently both given throughout.

The monograph covers a dialect of which until now we have had only the merest scraps of information, and greatly extends our knowledge of the language area in question. It is an important contribution to the dialectology of Western Tibet, and its author is to be congratulated upon his scholarly presentation of material mostly as yet unknown. We shall look forward with happy anticipation to the continuance of the series.

933. STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

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A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA. 9 × 6½, pp. xii + 620. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1932. 35s.

The second volume of Surendranath Dasgupta's History of Indian Philosophy deals with less known material than the first one, which covered the usually treated facts. The author's original outlook, his intimacy with the most difficult works, and his critical capacity make the perusal of his writings instructive as well as enjoyable, even if the reader does not agree in every point.

The most important part of the present volume is the presentation of the Śaṃkara school, which partly supplements Vedānta problems already dealt with in the first volume and partly gives detailed descriptions of the position of the followers of Śaṃkara. The importance of this chapter for further researches cannot be exaggerated, as there is, as far as I know, no previous work dealing with these post-Śaṃkara writings, which are generally far from easy to understand.

The section on Yogavāsiṣṭha ventures on the riskful inquiry into material lying between philosophy and religion. It is not an easy task to determine the leading ideas of this semi-poetical work, but I think it was a happy conception to include it here. The author has successfully tried to present its problems and their solution showing, as he says, a tendency to assimilate Buddhistic idealism and modify it on Brahmanic lines. The next chapter occupies itself with the medical Saṃhitās, which certainly are not to be overlooked in a comprehensive survey of Indian philosophy. However, the author has gone somewhat too far in giving medical details which, in fact, would be more appropriately placed in a special history of Indian medicine.

The last chapter elaborately discusses the Bhagavadgītā. I confess that the author's arguments in favour of a pre-Buddhistic date of the Gītā, as we have it, fail to convince

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me, but this is not the place to discuss this intricate question as it deserves.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from again noting the stimulating character of this second volume or from expressing the sincere desire that the author may not hesitate to present us according to his promise with the three following volumes to cover the history of Indian thought in his unprecedented manner.

951. OTTO STRAUSS.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE. Being the Twelfth Volume of the University of Chicago Survey. By J. H. BREASTED. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xxiv + 456, pls. 2, ills. 207, map 1. Chicago : University Press, 1933. 22*s*.

This small and handy volume contains a mass of information of the greatest value to every student of the history of the Near East, and casts a brilliant light on the activities of the University of Chicago. It deals in a masterly way with some forty or fifty projects which are being grouped for purposes of publication into a series of volumes, and it represents an effort which has never before been made in the history of archæological administration. It gives a well illustrated account of all the various expeditions which have been undertaken in Egypt and the Sûdân and in Western Asia, and tells the reader what has been done and what it is intended to do. The illustrations are beyond praise, as is the preservation of unity of design throughout this compendium or vade-mecum of excavation and archæological exploration. The Survey was planned by Dr. J. H. Breasted, who has given his whole life to Oriental Archæology, and the authorities are to be congratulated in having given him a "free hand" in theory and in fact. The result is a work of which the United States may well be proud. The publication of an Assyrian and an Egyptian Dictionary, as well as the Coptic Texts and the

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great works of Bar Hebræus, is included in the scope of the Director of the Institute. Exigencies of space forbid further description of this unique book, which is the result of a real archæological *flaire* backed up by initiative, courage, boldness, unflagging labour and tenacity of purpose, and, of course, adequate funds.

952. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

IBN AL-ARIF, MAHASIN AL-MAJALIS. Texte arabe. Traduction et Commentaire par MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS. (Collection de textes inédits relatifs à la Mystique Musulmane, Tome II.) 10 × 7, pp. 106. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1933. Frs. 60.

Of Ibn al-'Arīf, a Spanish mystic, who died A.H. 536 (A.D. 1141), there is a short notice in Ibn Khallikan's *Biographical Dictionary*, and others in the collection of biographies edited by Codera. He is occasionally cited by Ibn 'Arabī, whom he preceded by a generation, and is of some importance for the history of mysticism in the West. The work which Professor Asin Palacios has edited with French translation, introduction, and notes, is in the main a collection of terms employed by the Ṣūfīs, in which attention is called to the difference between their popular and their technical senses. It is edifying; but the flavour is somewhat spoiled towards the end, where the advantages obtained by one who "walks this path" are enumerated: these include general respect and admiration, complete control of the forces of nature so that he can find a treasure wherever he wants, can fly in the air or walk on the water, or traverse the earth in less than an hour, and the equivalent of a public funeral. Such advantages are not so different from what "the Gentiles seek".

Without wishing in any way to criticize Professor Asin

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Palacios' work, I will offer a few suggestions for the correction and interpretation of the text :—

p. 99, l. 4.

وفيه عرض لى

بكى صاحبى لما راى الدرب دونه وايقن انا لاحقان بقيصرا

فقلت له لا تبك عينك انما تحاول ملكا او تموت فتعذرا

translated, p. 63 : C'est la même signification encore dans ce vers : "Mon compagnon pleura quand il vit la porte (du palais) qui le laissait dehors, et il était sûr que tous deux nous étions déjà de la suite d'un César. Mais je lui dis, 'Que tes yeux ne pleurent pas, puisque ce que tu désires n'est pas autre chose qu'un royaume, ou bien tu dois mourir et (par suite) tu es dispensé de le désirer.'"

These verses are from the diwan of Imru'ul-Qais, and the meaning ordinarily assigned them is : "My companion wept when he saw the entrance to the pass (between Arabia and the Byzantine territory) behind him, and felt certain that we were about to meet Cæsar (the poet having concealed their destination) ; and I said to him, 'Let not thine eye weep, for we are aiming at sovereignty, unless indeed we die and so are excused (for our failure).'"

The Arabic text has to be corrected accordingly.

p. 96, l. 3, وحزنهم باسهم عن انفسهم "leur tristesse naît seulement de leur inclination au mal." We should surely emend باسهم, meaning "their grief is their despair concerning their souls".

p. 96, l. 11 : The following words should have been written as a verse :—

وعين الرضى عن كل عيب كليلة ولكنّ عين السخط تبدى المساويا

For the translation given the following should be substituted : "The eye of approval is blind to every fault, whereas the eye of anger shows up the defects." It is a proverb used by other writers.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

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CATALOGUE GÉNÉRAL DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Objets en Cuivre. Par M. GASTON WIET, Directeur du Musée Arabe. 14 × 10, pp. viii + 315, pls. 76. Cairo, 1932.

Besides cataloguing all the Islamic objects of copper and bronze in the Museum that have historic inscriptions, Professor Wiet gives a chronological list of all such objects that are known to him, with a reference to any publications relating to each and certain other details, and in addition he gives a number of lists of these that fall under various headings, such as those signed by their makers, marked with the date or place of manufacture, the name of some particular monarch, and so forth.

Accordingly, the book becomes a most valuable aid to the study of Islamic work in copper, bringing under review in a way that enables them to be referred to readily all the dated examples requiring to be considered for its history. For his general inventory, Professor Wiet was able to obtain the assistance of directors of museums and collectors, and he mentions that the work occupied him for four years. Gratitude to him will be felt for having undertaken the enterprise and for the way in which he has carried it out.

Looking at the chronological list, one sees that though it includes one or two pieces as old as the second (eighth) century, the number older than the Mamluk period is small; the majority of dated examples of Islamic metal work belong to this time, the fourteenth century being represented far more strongly than any other century. The greater part of them are Mamluk work of Egypt or Syria, characterized generally by the prominence of inscriptions in its decoration. Mausil work with its hunting scenes and other groups of human figures appears also pretty frequently at its epoch, but pieces that can be attributed to Persia or to other parts of the Islamic dominions are rare. Altogether there are 565 items, consisting of trays, basins, bowls, vases, ewers, mirrors, candelabra, lamps, etc.

Rather more than one-fifth of the total number of the

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objects are in the Cairo Museum and nearly as many can be seen now at the South Kensington Museum owing to the presence of the important Harari collection there. All the Cairo pieces of importance are reproduced here in the illustrations. The most striking of them is the small table of El Malik En Nâṣir (728–1328), elaborately inlaid with silver. A series of candelabra extending from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century may also be noticed. There are a certain number of other fine pieces and some of moderate or inferior quality. A curiosity at Cairo is a pen case stated by an inscription on it to have been made for the library of El Ghazâlî, although it is more probable, as Professor Wiet points out, that what is intended is some library called by the name of El Ghazâlî after his time rather than the library of the celebrated theologian himself.

There seems to be some mystery about the dates of magic bowls that requires explanation, and it is possible that the dates that appear to be ascribed to them by their inscriptions may sometimes refer to the astrological observations, on which formulas inscribed on them are based. It is odd to find as many as four dated 580 and several of these bearing the name of El Mujâhid, apparently the Rasûlid of the eighth century. Probably there is a reason for attributing the balance referred to on p. 163 to Ibn El Ḥabḥâb rather than to the vizier Ibn Wahb, but it does not appear in the Répertoire. Both these personages had the same name, El Qâsim ibn 'Ubaidallâh, and the date assigned to the balance, 124–741, shows that it has been treated as having belonged to the former.

N.R. 27. R. GUEST.

L'EMPIRE ÉGYPTIEN SOUS ISMAIL ET L'INGÉRENCE ANGLO-FRANÇAISE (1863–1879). Par M. SABRY. Épisode de la question d'Afrique. 10 × 7, pp. 570, maps 4. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1933. Frs. 75.

M. Sabry's theme is the oppression of Egypt in the reign of Ismâ'îl by international diplomacy and the machinations

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of England, whereby Egypt was robbed of the African empire that Ismâ'îl had formed, its work of reformation was hampered, and general confusion and disorder were caused. There is, of course, another side, but the JOURNAL is not the place for a discussion of the case. The book is well supplied with references, so that it will be a useful aid to those who wish to consider the matter impartially, and though the indictment, which includes Lesseps, Baker, and Gordon, is strong, it is expressed in reasonable and moderate language. A pleasing feature is the handsome way in which the author acknowledges the facilities given to him by both the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay for his researches.

A. 40. R. GUEST.

ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ, Part I. Indian Research Institute Publications: Vedic Series. 10 × 7½, pp. xx + 102 + ii + 22. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1933. 2*s*. 6*d*.

The Indian Research Institute has set before itself the task of giving the text of the *Ṛgveda* with the Padapāṭha, Sāyaṇa's commentary, and notes on the sense of the Mantras from Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava, with additional material explanatory of the accents, etc. That the undertaking is justified cannot be questioned, for Sāyaṇa's commentary is not readily available, and it is clearly intended to issue the work at as low a cost as possible. As critical notes and corrigenda are promised, it would be unfair to pronounce judgment on the present instalment of the editor's task, but it appears that he has taken considerable pains with his undertaking. In addition there is to be a complete translation into English of the Saṁhitā, in which will be given a version of the stanzas as rendered by Sāyaṇa, and then a more correct version, based on modern critical work on the text. This part of the work is undertaken by Dr. Sitanath Pradhan, who shows commendable anxiety to arrive at the correct sense of the text. It may perhaps be held that the comment

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is too elaborate; in twenty-two large pages only two hymns are discussed, and the results are not always worth the effort expended, as when *riśādaṣam* is resolved into *riśa* "a jealous rival", and *aḍa* "to expel", *dhātūnām anekārthatvāt*. It may be doubted also if *dhiyaṁ ghṛtācīṁ sādhantā* can mean "accomplishers of the rite of despatching rain water to the earth", or *vājinīvasū* "rich in the sacrificial arrangement". It would be hypercritical to complain that the latest views on Soma and *dhenā* are not canvassed, but greater brevity would certainly add to the celerity of appearance of the work and to its usefulness to Indian students, for whom it has a primary appeal. Every version of the *Ṛgveda* must leave much obscure, but, if this venture is carried to a finish, it will certainly afford substantial assistance in the study of Vedic literature, and add a solid achievement to Indian scholarship.

A. 32. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

BLÜTEN DER OSSETISCHEN VOLKSDICHTUNG. Im Auftrage der ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Gesammelt, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen erläutert von Dr. BERNHARD MUNKÁCSI. Sonderabdruck aus den XX. und XXI. Bänden der Zeitschrift Keleti Szemle (Revue orientale). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 246. Budapest, 1932. Leipsic: Otto Harrassowitz. RM. 16.

Dr. Munkácsi was able during the War to work with five Ossetic prisoners, one Digor, the others Iron, in the gathering of lexical and literary material. A part of this material is here published consisting of tales and songs, with German translation on the opposite page, and important notes below. A list of words, with reference to the pages (to which the addition of meanings would have been welcome) is given at the end.

The texts are most carefully transcribed. The sounds are sharply distinguished, and the stress marked. We learn here

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for the first time, p. 6, that Ossetic has two *o*-sounds, open and close. It is particularly interesting that in, for example, *zärond* "old", the *o* is short open (hence Old Iran. *a* > *ǫ*), and in *bōn* "day" it is long open (hence Old Iran. *ā* > *ǭ*), while the Digor dialect has *bōdä* "incense" with long close *o* (hence Old Iran. *au* > *ō*). The short close *o* is found beside *u*, as in *xocau*, *xucau* "God". These differences are unhappily not indicated in the Ossetic Dictionary now in course of publication. For the stress, the author's results agree almost entirely with those of Andreas which were published by Christensen in *Textes ossètes*, p. 9. The whole book is therefore an important contribution to Ossetic studies. The linguistic treatment predominates, but the interest of the collection for the study of folk-lore is not forgotten.

A. 37. H. W. BAILEY.

SÜDARABIEN ALS WIRTSCHAFTSGEBIET. By ADOLF GROHMANN. (Schriften d. Deutschen Universität in Prag, Teil I, Band 7.) Two volumes. Vol. I: 9 × 6; pp. xxi + 272, pls. 18. Vol. II: $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; pp. viii + 267. Vienna, Leipzig: R. M. Rohrer, 1930, 1933.

This work deals with the region known in classical Arabic literature (e.g. in the geographical handbook of Muqaddasi) as the Yemen. It is a region considerably wider than the country known in modern times by that name, for it covers al-Janad, San'a, and Ḥaḍramaut, and their associated areas. The geography, geology, zoology, and botany of the region are described with especial reference to their economic aspects, and there is also an account of the anthropology of the inhabitants, whose occupations and crafts provide materials for a number of sections.

It was the work of deciphering Eduard Glaser's collection of South Arabian inscriptions which led the author to realize the importance of a knowledge of medieval and modern South Arabia for an adequate understanding of the ancient,

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and the book is based on Glaser's diaries and such other materials as were available to the author. It was begun in 1916, the preface to the first volume is dated 1922, and the second was not published until 1933, with the result that the work is very unequal in its merits. Much of the newer material is out of date (e.g. the section on physical anthropology and the commercial tables), and although some recent works are quoted, the researches of Bertram Thomas are not mentioned. The historical sections to some extent make up for this and the value of the work lies in the description of an Arabia that has passed.

A. 48. R. LEVY.

AL-ḤASAN IBN MŪSĀ AN-NAUBAḤTI: DIE SEKTEN DER SCHI'A herausg. von HELLMUT RITTER. 8vo, pp. xxx + 114. Istanbul: Staatsdruckerei, 1931.

The first two volumes of this series of Arabic works, published at the expense of the German Oriental Society, also edited by Ritter, contained the work of Abul Ḥasan al-Aš'arī on the various Muḥammadan sects from a Sunnī point of view, a work which to a very great extent has been the basis for all later books on the subject. In the present work we have partly its counterpart from the Shī'a standpoint, with the exception that the author does not concern himself with the Sunnī sects. The Shī'a, numerically a comparatively small section of Muslims, have until recent times been very reticent in making their works generally accessible, and older works, like the present, are either hidden away in private Shī'a libraries or manuscripts of them are very scarce. Until Professor Ritter obtained a second copy from the learned Shī'a Mujtahid Hibat Allāh ash-Shahristānī, of Baghdād, the only copy known was that in the possession of Mr. Ellis, who with his usual kindness had placed his MS. at the disposal of the editor. Though older than the Baghdād copy, this latter MS. is unfortunately defective

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and, in spite of great care in editing, a few passages have had to remain obscure.

The author, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā an-Naubakhti, came from a Persian family, the members of which enjoyed the favours of successive caliphs on account of their knowledge of astrology. Their ancestor, Naubakht, is stated to have assisted Khālid ibn Yazīd, the Umayade prince, in his studies, but rose to favour under the 'Abbāsī caliph al-Manṣūr, for whom he acted as astrologer and from whom he received large rewards which made his descendants men of substance. It was on his advice that the foundations of Baghdād were laid on 23rd July. He remained true to his Eranian faith, but his son Abū Sahl accepted Islām through the caliph al-Manṣūr, and after the death of his father succeeded to the office of Court-astrologer. The latter's son, Ismā'īl, it appears, through intercourse with the Shī'a Imāms Muḥammad al-Jawād and 'Alī al-Hādī, became converted to Shī'a tenets and the family afterwards became very ardent supporters of the latter. As for the author of the present work, it appears, in spite of frequent notices in Shī'a biographies, that the date of his death is not known and all we can elicit is that he died after 300 A.H. Considering the animosity frequently found in works, where different religious opinions are defined, we must admit that Naubakhtī places before us in a systematic manner, we may say, an unbiased account of the development of Shi'a doctrine, with its many irrational aberrations which he duly characterizes as such. We can notice how early the fatal doctrine of infallibility (معصوم من الخطأ والزلل) of the Imām developed and how often the denial of his death and the assertion of his going into hiding recur; the Mahdī who will come to bring justice into the world in his time and remove all injustice. When the author (p. 15, l. 16) speaks of a Shī'a of 'Alī as existing in the lifetime of the Prophet he assumes jealousies which certainly date much later, and which, I believe, no thinking Muslim will admit. Those

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who have written so authoritatively about the Caliphate will here also find the futility of searching for a consensus of opinion, as such never existed from earliest times. It is a pity that some names of persons, especially of the mothers of the Imāms, cannot be ascertained with certainty, as the copies differ.

In the following I notice a few misprints, not corrected in the list of errors, and offer emendations :—

p. 15, l. 7 : تأثّموا "they accuse one another of sin".

p. 22, l. 6 : مواعدته "his coming to an agreement with Mu'āwiya".

p. 30, l. 8 : perhaps غادر الخلق "he left the creation".

p. 31, l. 6 : فأُبرز لاصحاب عبد الله "then he was brought forward to the followers of 'Abd Allāh".

p. 33, l. 11 : read الحجّة.

p. 32, l. 12 : I understand this as meaning : "and that they are moved from one to another in beautiful, well-cared for human bodies."

p. 43, l. 1 : read وهو اول من ولى [من] بنى العباس.

p. 43, l. 10 : read نتيلة بنت الخبّاب and in next line مناة.

p. 54, l. 1 : this must be وانه لم يقتل.

p. 65, l. 6 : should not this be السُميطية ?

p. 67, l. 16 : read اذاعوا.

p. 75, l. 8 : there is no gap here, in my opinion.

An index of proper names with references to other standard works concludes the book and the introduction by the pen of Sayyid Hibat Allāh ash-Shahristānī about the family of Naubakhti and their time adds to the value of the work.

N.R. 4.

F. KRENKOW.

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THE BOOK OF DELIGHT. By J. BEN MEIR ZABARA. Translated by MOSES HADRAS, with introduction by MERRIAM SHERWOOD. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 204. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1932. 22s.

The medieval Hebrew work known as *Sepher Shaashuim* is of great interest in various ways. The fact that it contains fifteen stories of the nature of apologues or *exempla* which have affinities with other stories of the same kind is sufficient in itself to make it well worthy of study. But it embodies very much more. It contains many noteworthy references to anatomy, physiology, hygiene, physics, physiognomy, etc., which make it an important source for our knowledge of medieval science. Some of these latter are clothed in the form of poetry, a not uncommon method in the Middle Ages of treating science, philosophy, and even philology, as we know from poems written by Gabirol, Isaac Ibn Giat, and Judah Ḥarizi. Thus the work, obviously designed not only to amuse but also to instruct, is, as Dr. Israel Davidson has emphasized, to be regarded as a veritable storehouse of medieval lore and culture rather than as a collection of entertaining stories.

The exact year in which Joseph ben Meir Ibn Zabara was born is nowhere stated, but there is good reason to believe that he was born in 1140. His birthplace was Barcelona, where his father practised as a physician. He received his early education from his father, and then proceeded to study medicine, probably in the Jewish School of Medicine at Narbonne, in which city at any rate he became acquainted with the great Jewish grammarian and exegete, Joseph Kimḥi. Among other famous contemporaries were Benjamin of Tudela, the traveller, Judah al-Ḥarizi, the poet, and the translator of the *Maḳamat* or "Assemblies" of the Arabian poet al-Ḥariri, Jacob ben Eleazar, the translator of *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, Judah Ibn Shabbethai, the satirist, and Moses Maimonides, the moralist and philosopher.

The book is planned on the lines of a travel-romance. In a dream there appears to Zabara a gigantic figure of

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a man carrying a lighted lamp. He invites Zabara to sit down and partake with him of a repast which he has provided. After this, Zabara asks his name and the name of the place from which he has come. The giant tells him that he has come from a distant land amid pleasant and fruitful hills, and that his name is Enan ha-Natash, son of Arnan ha-Desh. Enan then urges Zabara to leave his native land with him. Zabara hesitates to do this on account of Enan's strange face and, in support of his reluctance to go, quotes many passages from Plato's book on physiognomy. At this point are introduced six folk-tales telling how the leopard was deceived by the fox. In spite of these stories, Zabara is persuaded at length to go with Enan. On the way, Enan says to Zabara, "Carry thou me, or I will carry thee." The meaning of this mysterious saying has to be explained to Zabara by the story of the eunuch, the peasant, and the clever girl. Proceeding on their way, they come to a city where Enan had a friend who was a judge. This provides a pretext for narrating stories about the judge. When they reached the city of Tobah, they are entertained by an old and venerable man, who tells them pleasant tales including "the most wonderful" story of Tobit and the story of the paralytic. Continuing their journey, they reach a city where Enan has nine friends. They pass the night with one of these, R. Judah, who offers them hospitality and entertains them with proverbs and anecdotes taken from the books of the Arabs. Arrived in Enan's city and at his house, when the table is spread it is seen to contain nothing more inviting than dishes made of unleavened bread and a dish of herbs and vinegar. This provides the occasion for a long dispute about the physiology of herbs and vegetables and the eating of meats, etc. When a joint of lamb is brought in, Zabara is told why he must eat neither the shoulders nor the breast nor the kidneys nor the tail nor the front legs—no part, in fact, but the one part given to him. When this one part is given to him, he eats it all and goes on eating,

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undeterred by two stories which Enan tells him. Thus defied, Enan swears that Zabara shall not go to bed before he has proved his wisdom by answering questions on anatomy, physiology, medicine, physics, etc. Zabara, robbed of his sleep, retaliates by putting to Enan a number of questions on astronomy, geometry, music, logic, arithmetic, and the calendar. To all of these Enan replies, "I do not know." Then Zabara reproves him for asserting that he knows half of every subject when he knows nothing. To which Enan replies that, according to Aristotle, "He who says I do not know has already attained the half of knowledge." Zabara then questions Enan on medicine which he professes to know. Again Enan does not satisfy him, whereupon he delivers a long tirade against "the ignorant physician". The next morning Zabara finds his ass muzzled and unfed. When he beats it, it says, "I am one of the family of Balaam's ass." Zabara then has a dispute with the servant, and something is said which enrages Enan. Enan, thus goaded, reveals his true character, saying, "I am Enan the Satan, son of Ornan, the Demon." Making the acquaintance of Enan's special friend, the most vicious and revolting of men, Zabara warns Enan against marrying his daughter, quoting many passages from the Talmud. Enan improves the occasion by telling the story of the washerwoman who did the devil's work. In the end Zabara finds Enan's city so distasteful that he longs to go back to his own city, where lives the great prince Rabbi Sheshet ben Benveniste, the ornament of the Jewish people on account of his simplicity and humility, uprightness and saintliness, the patron to whom the book *Sepher Shaashuim* is dedicated.

The *Sepher Shaashuim* has not as a whole been translated into English before. This gives an extraordinary interest to the present work, and will make it known to a new circle of readers and students who are enabled now to study some of the problems presented by it without knowing Hebrew. The translation has been made from the excellent Hebrew

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text published in 1914 in New York for the Jewish Theological Seminary of America by Dr. Israel Davidson on the basis of the Constantinople edition which is unique in its completeness. A judicious use has been made also of Dr. Davidson's full Introduction and scholarly notes. Moreover, the introduction to the English translation and the bibliography at the end of the book are valuable contributions.

If possible, the present work and Dr. Davidson's edition of the original text should be compared and used side by side. If the original text cannot easily be obtained or cannot be read, the translation, which is good on the whole, will give an insight into Zabara's work. Opinions about translations will always differ, and it will be obvious from the account of the contents of the *Sepher Shaashuim* given above that the work is far from being an easy one to translate. Indeed, the difficulties are great, especially in the poetical passages, where certainly a translation which may please one person will not satisfy another. It is particularly difficult to translate rhymed verse from Hebrew into English. To show this it must suffice to take one example.

The Hebrew text reads :

רְאוּ גֶבֶר בְּלִי־שֵׂכֶל וְעָרְמָה יְפַתֵּנִי בְּפִי־אָוֶן וּמִרְמָה.
וְשֶׁלְחָנִי כְּגַן־עֵדֶן לְפָנָיו וְנִשְׁאַר אַחֲרָיו מִדְבַּר שְׁמָמָה.

וְעוֹד

אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּא עַל שֶׁלְחָנִי אֶל קַלַּחְתִּי הוּא קוֹלֵעַ
לֶאֱכוֹל לַחְמִי וּבְשָׂרִי לֹא הֵשִׁיב יָדוֹ מִבַּלֵּעַ.

This is rendered in English :

Lo this dull and witless wight
Beguiled me by his tongue's smooth might
Craving of food but a single bite.
Like Eden's garden my board in haste
I arrayed, but like Sahara's waste
His gluttony left it, bare and chaste.

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And again:

The fellow hath charged upon my board
In panoply full, like a warrior lord.
He did eat
My bread and meat;
Victuals he devoured all my hoard.

It has been pointed out by Dr. Davidson that in matters of idiom and style Medieval Hebrew literature was very much indebted to Arabian poets and philosophers; in matters of science as themes for poetry to the Greeks through the Arabs; and in matters of folk-tale to the writers of the East as well as of the West. The *Sepher Shaashuim*, in particular, has preserved traces of these three influences, Arabic, Greek, and Indian, which may be said to have dominated Jewish thought in the Middle Ages.

843. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

JAPAN: A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY. By G. B. SANSOM. The Cresset Historical Series. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xvi + 537, illus. 55, pls. 19. London: Cresset Press, 1931. 30*s*.

The author of this book excuses himself for attempting the task of writing it on the ground that "there is no satisfactory short history of Japan in English". He has more than remedied the deficiency, for "satisfactory" is the mildest term of praise which can suitably be applied to his work. The word "short", however, must be taken relatively; 517 pages closely packed with well-selected information and acute argument make up a substantial volume which is not to be read in a hurry, in spite of a style that is at once lucid and elegant.

Mr. Sansom's book carries the story of Japan from "pre-history" to the Restoration of 1868. Among English works that cover the field only Murdoch's three-volume *History of Japan* will bear comparison with it, and Sansom has at once the advantage over Murdoch in that he deals fully not

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only with political and economic history but also with the periods of literature and art. Murdoch's approach to Japanese history was fundamentally philistine; the student who looks up the subject of art in the index to his first volume will find that it is honoured by but a single reference—on page 634. But it can be hardly denied that Japan's greatest contribution to the general civilization of mankind has been in the sphere of art, and a history of the Japanese which ignores their æsthetic sensibility and achievement is like a history of Italy that omits to mention any Italian painter. There is no such defect in Sansom's book and, if all the political and economic history were to be cut out of it, it could well stand simply as a history of Japanese literature and art. But it is no mere æsthete's Japan which Sansom presents to us; in his work spiritual development is constantly related to material and social conditions in a single cultural whole, and the result is a masterpiece of all-round historical criticism. Sansom does not allow his appreciation of æsthetic values to introduce any sentimentality into his work, and he never forgets that the loftiest edifice of culture rests upon an economic foundation. "Without subscribing to economic determinism," he declares, "I have found myself, often reluctantly, forced to recognize, and therefore to stress, the power of the economic factor in almost every phase of a nation's life."

The book is divided into seven parts under the headings of Early History, Nara, Heian, Kamakura, Muromachi, Sengoku, and Yedo. Part I brings the story up to A.D. 710 and endeavours to give shape to the shadowy period of "origins", using for this purpose newly-discovered archæological evidence as well as literary sources; these chapters form a valuable introduction to the main body of the narrative and are especially relevant to the question of the originality of Japanese culture. Sansom holds that the penetration of Chinese influences into Japan goes back at least to the time of the Han dynasty, but he finds throughout the history

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of Japan "a hard, non-absorbent core of individual character which resists and in its turn works upon the invading influence". He shows clearly how cultural elements derived from China, whether styles of art or political institutions and ideas, were transformed in their Japanese environment. The adoption of the forms of the Chinese polity without any real alteration in the existing social structure of Japan led to the growth of feudalism, a system in striking contrast to the political practice of China since the Ts'in dynasty. Similarly, æsthetic canons of Chinese origin were so modified as to form in the Higashiyama period "that characteristic Japanese taste, which seems to have no exact national counterpart elsewhere."

There are twenty plates, including two excellent *Shimbi Shoin* reproductions of portions of a Sesshū landscape scroll, and fifty-five other illustrations which are well chosen for lending vividness to the text. Among them is a graph showing the "crazy" fluctuations in the price of rice during the Yedo period; it is, as the author says, "more eloquent than volumes of economic history."

500. G. F. HUDSON.

CASTE AND CREDIT IN THE RURAL AREA. A survey by S. S. NEHRU: with a foreword by R. MUKERJEE. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xvi + 174. London and Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932. 6*s*.

This little book attempts to analyse the connection between caste and economic position, as shown by rents paid and amount of indebtedness. It is compiled from inquiries into the condition of persons representing fifty-two castes in fifty-three or fifty-four villages, apparently in the Rae Bareli district of the United Provinces, by tabulating bare statistics of area held and rent paid, or total amount of indebtedness, with its description as inherited, self-acquired, renewed, or paid off, and rates of interest payable.

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In discussing the rates of rent the author confines his analysis to person, caste, and village only. He entirely omits to compare the quality of land in holdings, the facility for irrigation and position, and the hereditary capacity of men of different castes for agricultural work. The result is that his conclusions are of little value, or add nothing to what is already familiar to every Indian official. His disregard of other factors leads him to waste a page on discussing the low rate paid by a Brahman for an under-proprietary holding, the assessment on which is not rent (though so called) but the land revenue plus an allowance for the superior proprietor. In the absence of the graphs and full details of the holdings discussed it is impossible to judge whether his samples are reasonable. Some of them are clearly useless.

The text is occasionally contradictory, and in the table on page 142 the percentages are not always correct. While Gujars are sometimes cattle thieves, readers of this JOURNAL will hardly accept the derivation of their caste name from *Gau-chor*.

757. R. BURN.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1671–1673. By E. B. SAINTSBURY, with introduction and notes by W. T. OTTEWILL. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxvii + 356. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. 18*s*.

From the political point of view the chief interest of this volume centres in the effects of the third Anglo-Dutch war (1672–4) on the company. Three British ships were taken in the East, and St. Helena was abandoned. But Sir Richard Munden recaptured the island and four Dutch merchantmen were brought into London and their cargoes sold for the King by the company, who were glad to pay him their value before the sales were completed. The views of the company as to the terms of peace to be demanded are set out in full, together with some amicable correspondence with the Dutch

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company about mutual restoration of correspondence taken in the prizes.

In spite of these losses, the company's affairs had prospered so much that substantial dividends were declared. An abortive attempt to extend trade to Japan is related, the chief objection by the Japanese being based on the alliance between the British and Portuguese, presumed from the marriage of Charles II to Catharine of Braganza. It would have been interesting to record the nature of the exports it was hoped to obtain from Japan. Mr. Moreland has shown (*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 184–5) that India was short of copper and, a few years before the period covered, the Dutch were importing it from Japan to Bengal and to Surat. This volume shows that the company was trying to obtain copper in large quantities from Sweden.

There are many smaller items of interest: Elihu Yale receives his first appointment as writer; Bugdon is allowed to take his wife to the Bay, and rules are to be made for women permitted to go to Bombay. A receipt of conscience money from one who had defrauded the company is recorded, and summer time is anticipated by an order that clerks shall attend at 7 a.m. in summer instead of 8 a.m. as in winter. Secrecy regarding discussions in the court and the views of individual members is enjoined.

The editing and the completeness of the introduction continue to be admirable.

593. R. BURN.

GRUNDZÜGE EINER VERGLEICHENDEN GRAMMATIK DES IBERO-KAUKASISCHEN (Erster Band). By Professor Dr. JOSEPH KARST. 10 × 6½, pp. liii + 325. Strasbourg: Heitz and Co., 1932.

The dedication to his friends and teachers, Hübschmann, Finck, Trombetti, Dirr, and Schuchardt, shows the scope and tendency of this volume, the fruit of thirty years' work,

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which began with the pre-Germanic, Alarodian elements of Armenian and their connection with the Caucasian and now covers a very wide field. Three sections deal with Noun or declension, Plural formation, Verb or conjugation, and a supplement is devoted to numerals, pronouns, gender, etc.

There can be but few persons capable of coping with such a mass of various materials and new theories (certainly this reviewer cannot claim to be among their number) and most probably each one of the few competent critics would disagree with some of the author's conclusions; but all his work deserves the serious consideration due to a scholar of such high standing and exemplary industry and striking originality, already exhibited in *Prolegomena Pelasgica* (Les Ligures, 1930), *Origines Mediterraneae* (1931), *Atlantis und der Liby-Äthiopische Kulturkreis* (1931), and other works. To give anything like an adequate account of Professor Karst's latest contribution to comparative philogy would far exceed the space allotted to this brief notice.

A. 212. O. WARDROP.

CODE GÉORGIEN DU ROI VAKHTANG VI: publié pour la première fois en version française et annoté par JOSEPH KARST, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici. 1re section: Droit Nat. Géorgien Codifié. Tome I. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 347. Strasbourg: Heitz and Co., 1934.

This is the first part of a great work which is long overdue. Professor Karst proposes to do for Georgian law what he has already done for Armenian. He is engaged on a critical edition of the text (wish translation and notes) of the voluminous and very varied book of laws, compiled in seven sections by King Vakhtang VI, and including exotic elements added thereto (Mosaic, Armenian, Greek, canon law, customary laws of the mountaineers, etc.). The volume now issued is a translation of the official code of Georgia of the early part

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of the eighteenth century, incorporating legal materials of venerable antiquity formulated in modern language, and imbued with a striking spirit of humanism. To bring this remarkable legislation to the knowledge of Western jurists and historians is an ambitious task for which Professor Karst is peculiarly well-fitted, and scholars will owe him great gratitude for its execution. It is to be hoped that his text may be collated with as many MSS. as possible, including those in the Bodleian Library, of which some account was given in this JOURNAL (*JRAS.*, July, 1914, pp. 607–626) in an article which was meant to be a first step towards the vast enterprise now being carried out by the far abler hands of Professor Karst, whose book is certainly one which, with its succeeding volumes, should find an honourable place in every library, public or private, concerned with comparative jurisprudence and history. Its completion will bring fresh honour to the University of Strasbourg, already so famous for its services to Oriental Studies.

The "concordance" and index are quite adequate for purposes of reference and the short preface includes bibliographic data of value. The volume is piously dedicated to the memory of "M. F. Brosset, fondateur de la philologie ibéro-caucasienne", and is a worthy tribute to that great pioneer who, from 1827, for more than fifty years spent his life in opening up broad paths for the study of a subject now at last recognized as one of the richest fields for research. On the technical side, Professor Karst acknowledges his indebtedness for guidance to his colleague Professor Duquesne, of the Faculty of Law at Strasbourg, expert in international law.

English students may be especially attracted by the references in the index to passages dealing with "wergild", "ordalies", "duel judiciaire".

A. 213.

O. WARDROP.

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ÉLÉMENTS DE GRAMMAIRE DIALECTALE COPTE. Par M. CHAÎNE. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. lii + 511. Paris: Geuthner, 1933.

Early grammarians, following the example of native scholars, had confined their attention almost exclusively to the Northern (Bohairic) dialect, the idiom which outlived the rest and which even to-day persists as the ecclesiastical language. After them came Stern's great work, wherein Bohairic and Sa'idic were kept upon an equal footing. Him followed Steindorff, then Mallon, then Till, who treat respectively of Sa'idic, Bohairic, and Achmimic. In 1931 appeared Till's Dialect Grammar of 90 pages, based upon a comparative examination of the five dialects. Now we have a much more extensive work, more than five times as long, taking account of four only, the fifth (Subachmimic) being presumably ignored, either because of its supposed subordination to Achmimic—it is referred to as "Achm. with Sa. tendencies"—or because no independent study of it is as yet available.

A book of such dimensions could not be adequately estimated in a short review; I can only enumerate its main divisions. There is an Introduction of 38 pages, in which various interesting observations are made, e.g. upon the true character of the idiom represented by the "Old Coptic" texts, or upon the presumption as to the early existence of the language (i.e. a form of the native language using a non-hieroglyphic script) to be deduced from the fact of the Severian persecution (of which the date should be 202, not 189). On this follow thirty chapters, whereof I to IV treat of script and phonetic laws, V to XIV of the noun, pronoun, etc., XV to XVIII of the verb, XX to XXX of syntax. An appendix follows, giving a useful list of all "invariable" words, i.e. prepositions, adverbs, and other particles. Finally a reading book of seventeen pages, wherein each piece appears in all the dialects in which it has survived. An interesting feature here is the two Achmimic Psalms, taken from the Epistle of Clement, though it is perhaps questionable whether these translations are rightly

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to be equated with the biblical texts of the other dialects. Especially full are the chapters dealing with phonetics and prosody; indeed some paragraphs run to the length of small dissertations; those too on syntax are sometimes very extensive.

The quotations which copiously illustrate every rule are taken wholly from literary sources: from the New Testament and the early Achmimic texts, though by no means all—as regards Fayyûmic in particular—are drawn from the list of sources on page lii. The author is of opinion that, the earliest and classic forms of the language being best suited for exemplifying grammatical rules, the writers of previous grammars have been ill-advised to mix together illustrations from the texts of all epochs.

The grammatical terminology is often original, differing from that to which one is accustomed, and seems at times somewhat cumbrous: *La Proposition complétive objective affirmative* is a rather lengthy designation for a simple form of affirmative clause. In some cases a familiar term is replaced by a new and, as it seems to us, less happy one; is "frequentative" an improvement upon "conjunctive participle"? But it must, on the whole, be admitted that, for an exhaustive study of the language in all its aspects—for the book is far from elementary, as its modest title would suggest—no modern grammar offers so much as this one. The author's previous linguistic studies—he published his Ethiopic Grammar in 1907—and no doubt his early training have schooled him in a power of clear thinking and logical exposition which might be envied by many grammatical writers.

N.R.28.

W. E. CRUM.

HISTORY OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS. By PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iii + 151. Jodhpur: The Archæological Department, 1933.

The time has now arrived when a new interpretation of Rajput history is desirable, for, since Tod wrote his famous

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Annals of Rājasthān, much fresh evidence has been unearthed by painstaking students in India and elsewhere. Mr. Reu is not the least distinguished of these for his writings throw considerable light on a problem which bristles with difficulties. Readers of the JOURNAL are already acquainted with the author's chief contention that the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj were a branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Since this is by no means the generally-accepted view his book takes the form of a criticism of the various theories which have hitherto held the field.

922. C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ISLAM. By KHAN SAHIB KHAJA KHAN, B.A. Second edition. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 120. Madras: Hogarth Press, n.d. Rs. 1.4.

The metaphysical ideas of later Sufism are not easy of explanation, and the exposition given in this booklet, being intended for Indian readers, makes little appeal to the Western reader. Those who have already some knowledge of the subject will, on the other hand, find it of interest as representing the views of a modern Western-educated Indian exponent of Sufism.

644, H. A. R. GIBB.

THE ECLIPSE OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA, from the time of Muhammad till the fourteenth century. By L. E. BROWNE, Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Lahore. 9×6, pp. 198. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This is a well-balanced, learned, and comprehensive book on which the author and the Martyn School of Islamics at Lahore are to be congratulated. The history of the Christian Churches in Western Asia—Melkites, Jacobites, Nestorians, and others—is full of interest, and many persons, otherwise well versed in Oriental annals, are not fully aware either of the numbers and influence of the Christian population under

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early Moslem rule or of the wonderful expansion of Christianity to the East which culminated with the Mongol supremacy of the thirteenth century. These and other important phases of medieval Eastern Christianity are ably dealt with in this book and the work has been written with a remarkable degree of care and impartiality.

A. 93. E. D. MACLAGAN.

RANJIT SINGH. By NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA. 8 × 5, pp. xii + 216, map 1. Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press: 1933.

This monograph, by a professor at the Calcutta Diocesan College, is a modest and sincere piece of work, based upon a careful study of all available materials, including the documents in the Imperial Record Office. The author seems to be unpractised in the difficult art of selection, with the result that his canvas becomes rather overcrowded; but he has brought together in a small compass a mass of information that cannot fail to be of much value to students of the subject. The administrative details given in chapter viii are specially interesting. The text is supplemented by a portrait of Ranjit Singh, a map, a careful bibliography, and a useful index.

A. 124. W. FOSTER.

DAS QUANTITÄTSSYSTEM DES SEELAPPISCHEN DIALEKTES VON MAATTIVUONO. By P. RAVILA. MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-OUGRIENNE LXII. 10 × 6¼, pp. vi + 142. HELSINKI: SUOMALAIS - UGRILAINEN SEURA, 1932. Price 70 Finnish marks.

This brilliant and careful investigation forms a most important contribution to Lappish philology, a subject which, although of necessity regarded as somewhat obscure in England, has, in actual fact, been considerably studied. The work will, of course, primarily interest Finno-Ugrian specialists only. On

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the other hand, its subject, a peculiar linguistic phenomenon which may concisely be described as the "gradation of a vowel-consonant nexus" and which is moreover present in Lappish in a more complicated form than anywhere else, is one which might well interest more students of general linguistics than it has done up to the present. The data for the work are the author's own careful observations of the very difficult phonological system of Lappish. The book falls into two chief parts: it is a descriptive and historical phonology of a Lappish dialect. After a brief (but admirably clear) phonetic introduction, the author proceeds to the consonants. In a summary the different consonantal grades and the conditions under which they appear are next indicated; the following forty pages are devoted to an expansion—with a valuable list of examples—of this summary. Then follow the gradations of the various vowels and the relation of the vowel and consonant series. The arrangement of the material in the descriptive section is particularly to be commended. In the section dealing with the historical phonology of Lappish (and in some historical excursuses which have conveniently been included in the descriptive section) the author deals in a most lucid fashion with some difficult problems, puts forward many new views, modifies in some points prevailing views with regard to Primitive Lappish, and makes a most valuable contribution to the question of the existence of later and more complicated accretions to an originally simpler gradation-system. In a conclusion the position of the dialect of Maattivuonǫ in the Lappish system is dealt with, and some interesting conclusions as to earlier conditions are reached.

689. LEEDS. ALAN S. C. ROSS.

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SINICA FRANCISCANA, Vol. II: Relationes et Epistolas Fratrum Minorum sæculi XVI et XVII collegit, ad fidem codicum redegit et adnotavit P. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert O.F.M. 10 × 7, pp. xlvi + 662. Qauracchi, 1933.

The first volume[1] of this great collection, which was published in 1929, dealt with the travels and missionary work of the Franciscans in Central and Eastern Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After two hundred years the Franciscans turned eastward again, and this volume contains the less known but hardly less interesting Narratives and Letters which tell of the struggles and sufferings of the missionaries in their efforts to establish a mission in China itself, and are of great importance in the history of the relations between China and modern Europe. The author appears thoroughly to maintain the very high standard of learning and accuracy which he reached in his first volume. The texts are in Italian, Latin, or Spanish, and the introduction and notes are in Latin.

N.R. 30. A. C. MOULE.

BUDDHA'S TEACHINGS. BEING THE SUTTA-NIPĀTA OR DISCOURSE-COLLECTION. Edited in the original Pāli text with an English version facing it by LORD CHALMERS, G.C.B. Harvard Or. Ser., No. 37. 10¼ × 7, pp. xxii+300+19. London: Humphrey Milford. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press, 1932. 23*s*.

We owe to the industry of Lord Chalmers the first volume of the translation of the Jātaka (1895), the edition of the volumes II and III of the Majjhima (1898, 1899), and the translation of the Majjhima (1926, 1927). These works attest his perfect knowledge of Pāli and of Buddhism. The present volume contains a good introduction, in which the archaic character of some of the collections which together make up

[1] See this *Journal*, 1930, p. 209.

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the Suttanipāta is clearly shown,[1] the text of Fausböll, and a translation. I cannot say how deeply I regret that Lord Chalmers has composed this translation in verse, for his version thereby loses much of its utility for scholars. For the interpretation of this difficult text Fausböll's version (S.B.E.X.) is not superseded by that of 1932. Compare the various renderings of *upadhi* in the latter, "transmigration" (1050), "Life's stuff" (728), "all that breeds rebirth" (546, 572), "mundane ties" (874), "mundane things" (364), and that of *nirupadhi*, "whose life depends on nought" (33). All these translations give good meaning, but none of them can be said to be perfect. Fausböll as a rule boldly puts the Pāli word into his English: "He who being ignorant creates *upadhi*, that fool again undergoes pain." At any rate he does not lead any one astray, and uses a technical manysided phrase as did the Buddha!

Two indexes, Pāli and English, complete this publication, in which the Buddha's own words furnish an excellent writer with an opportunity to show his uncommon mastery of English rhythm and vocabulary.

A. 61. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

CATALOGUE OF WALL-PAINTINGS FROM ANCIENT SHRINES IN CENTRAL ASIA AND SĪSTĀN, RECOVERED BY SIR AUREL STEIN. Described by F. H. ANDREWS. 11 × 8½, pp. xiv + 201, pls. 6, map. Delhi: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1933. 8*s*. 9*d*.

The paintings, described in this work, are executed in tempera, they date from about the fourth to the tenth centuries A.D., and they come from Buddhist shrines of oases along the old caravan routes between Su-chou in the east and Kāshgar in the west. Accounts of the expeditions, during which they were collected, have been published in *Serindia*

[1] Comparison of the Chinese and Sanskrit sources will some day furnish data for the history of the text and the primitive pieces of the Suttanipāta.

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and *Innermost Asia*. Designed primarily as a handbook for the visitor to the objects in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi, it yet contains matter of general interest.

950.

AN EASTERN CHEQUER BOARD. By Sir HARRY LUKE. 9 × 6, pp. 290, pls. 32. London: Lovat Dickson, Ltd., 1934. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Another of this author's delightful contributions to one of our national pastimes, foreign travel. Oriental Europe is brought vividly before us.

A. 120.

THE SECRET LORE OF INDIA AND THE ONE PERFECT LIFE FOR ALL. Supplement. By W. M. TEAPE. 8¾ × 6, pp. vii + 34. Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1934. 2*s*.

This little addition to Mr. Teape's welcome book published by the same firm in 1932, contains further selections from the Upanishads together with some explanatory notes upon them. A review of the book was published in the October number of this Journal for 1933 (p. 1010).

A. 202.

THE LIVING INDIA; ITS ROMANCE AND REALITIES. By Lieut.-Gen. Sir GEORGE MACMUNN. 9 × 6, pp. x + 318, ills. 18, map 1. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1934. 15*s*.

Another of Sir George MacMunn's charming books on modern India which combine shrewd insight with a light style. Should certainly be read by all who are going there for the first time and will be found to tickle very pleasantly the memories of all who have come back.

A. 227.

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The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

MANAMEYODAYA : A Primer on Mimamsa. By NARAYANA BHATTA. Ed. by C. K. RAJA and S. S. S. SASTRI. Adyar, Madras : Theosophical Publishing House, 1933.

THE BHAMATI OF VACASPATI. Ed. by S. S. S. SASTRI and C. K. RAJA. Adyar, Madras : Theosophical Publishing House, 1933.

I MAGI A BETHLEMME. By GIUSEPPE MESSINA. Rome : apud Pont. Inst. Biblicum, 1933.

TENTS IN MONGOLIA (YABONAH). By HENNING HASLUND. London : Kegan Paul, 1934. 15*s*.

THE MAHABHARATA : As it was, is, and shall be. By P. M. MULLICK. Calcutta : Pioneer Press, 1934.

ANNUAL REPORT ON SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH, 1931. By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, Superintendent. Madras : Government Press, 1934, 5*s*. 9*d*.

ART SUMÉRIEN, ART ROMAN. By JURGIS BALTRUŠAITIS. Paris : Ernest Leroux, 1934.

PRATĪTYASAMUTPĀDAŚĀSTRA DER ULLANGHA. By VASUDEV GOKHALE. Bonn : Gebr. Scheur, 1930.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY. By seventy eminent scholars from seventeen different countries. London : Oxford University Press, 1934.

STUDIES IN PALLAVA HISTORY. By H. HERAS. Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. No. 9 : Madras : B. G. Paul, 1933.

MUNDARTEN DER ZÂZÂ : Hauptsächlich aus Siwerek und Kor. By KARL HADANK. Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen ; Abteilung III, Band IV. Berlin : Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1932.

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OBITUARY NOTICE

Dr. Theophilus Goldridge Pinches

With the death of Dr. Pinches we lose another link in the chain of Assyriology with the pioneers who elucidated the problems in this form of Oriental research. It was as a boy of 19, in 1875, that Pinches first took up cuneiform, by which time the groundwork had been settled. Rawlinson had read the Behistun inscription, the three languages written in cuneiform, Persian, Susian, and Babylonian, were now an open book; the great test made by four of the principal scholars on the Tiglath-Pileser prism, whether Assyrian really could be read, was now past history by nearly twenty years; and George Smith had already discovered and published the Deluge tablet. The second stage of cuneiform study was now beginning.

Pinches entered the British Museum as an assistant to Dr. Birch's Department, and here he began work on those texts which made his name, first, in helping Sir Henry Rawlinson with the publication of the volumes of *Western Asiatic Inscriptions*, and subsequently with *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, where his love of accuracy and innate capacity for fine and delicate work stood him in good stead. As a copyist he was admirable.

But it was his first scientific article which showed that he was also to be a scholar. In 1878 he published translations of some of that very difficult class of text, the letters, which, as everyone who has worked on old letters knows, present peculiar problems, each having been wrested from its environment, to which (if anything is to be made of it) it must be restored. Moreover, the handwriting and the linguistic peculiarities must, of necessity, be different from the stereotyped texts of the royal libraries. In spite of this, Pinches' results were admirable, notably in that very interesting letter of Sennacherib to his father Sargon, when he was acting as G.S.O.I. for Intelligence on the northern border, and, in his *résumé* of the reports which he has received, he records the

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beginnings of the great, successful invasions by the Cimmerians, which were to have such far-reaching results.

Alive to the necessity of a knowledge of the cognate Semitic languages, he studied these as essentials for comparative purposes, as can be seen from any of his numerous articles in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, *JRAS.*, or *Trans. of the Victoria Inst.* Two of his works are outstanding, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1906, and *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria*, 1908, both indicating the position which Assyriology was by now holding in the scientific world on the religious side, and the extent of our knowledge in relation to the Old Testament. Glasgow recognized his scholarship in making him an LL.D., and he was made lecturer in Assyrian at University College, Gower Street, and the Liverpool Institute of Archæology.

He was always alert to discover new texts in the collections of the British Museum, where he had, fortunately, such great opportunities, and from the beginning of his career, every now and then he would put forward some tablet which enlivened the Assyriological world, whether it was on the Capture of Babylon by Cyrus, or the mention of Chedorlaomer in cuneiform. Sir Ernest Budge pays him well-merited tribute in his *Rise and Progress of Assyriology*, and apart from his recognition of Pinches' skill in copying, his activities in publishing texts, translations, and even guides to his Department, Sir Ernest's note, which is indicative of so much in scientific circles, stresses that "George Smith and Pinches each worked for some years for a salary that was smaller than that then received by a master carpenter or a master mason". Personally, I myself owe him a lively gratitude for many kind-hearted reviews; he was always ready to see the best, and shut his eyes to the worst, and it was only the other day in this *Journal* that he wrote a long account of our excavations at Nineveh, in spite, alas! of eyesight that had long been failing. Kindness of heart and gentleness were, I think, among his outstanding characteristics.

O. 7.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Dead Cities of Northern Bengal

On 12th April, 1934, Mr. H. E. Stapleton, late Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, delivered before the Society a lecture, in which he described five of the now deserted former capitals of Bengal. The history and archæological remains of Karna Suvarna (Rangamati), Pundravardhana (Mahāsthān) and Ekdālā were chiefly dealt with; while in the latter part of the lecture a brief account was also given, with the aid of lantern slides, of Pāndua and Gaur.

In the case of Karna Suvarna the lecturer confirmed the accuracy of Beveridge's identification of Rangamati in the Murshidabad district with the capital of Sasānka, and gave details of the results of a recent visit to the site. The reason why this spot ceased to be a capital was evidently not so much the defeat of Sasānka, about A.D. 610 by the combined forces of Srī Harsha of Kanauj and Bhaskaravarman of Kāmrūpa, as changes in the course of the River Bhāgīrathī, which are still going on.

Until the last few years the history of Bengal, prior to Gupta times (when it was included in the Gupta Empire), was almost a blank. Recent discoveries—especially by the Archæological Department at Mahāsthān—have now shown that not only was Bengal similarly included in the Kushān Empire, but was also held by the Sungas and Mauryyas. Lantern slides were shown of three Kushān gold coins from Mahāsthān and Māldah, and of a Sunga Plaque from Mahāsthān, showing an archer shooting deer from a four-horsed chariot. The discovery at Mahāsthān in November, 1931, of a Brāhmī inscription, prescribing the steps to be taken by the local officer for famine relief, in addition to proving political connection about 300 B.C. between Bengal and the Mauryya Empire, also shows that the name of Mahāsthān

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was then not Pundravardhana, but Pundranagara. Moreover, Dr. Bhandarkar, in his recent paper on this inscription, considers that the meaning of the name of the people—Samvamgiyas—mentioned in the inscription is "Allied (tribes called) Vamgiyas", or as we now say, Bengalis.

In dealing with Ekdālā the lecturer summarized the results of recent inquiries by himself and other students on the location of this fortress, through the possession of which Ilyās Shāh of Bengal and his son Sikandar Shāh were able, in the middle of the fourteenth century, successfully to meet the invasions of the Delhi Emperor Fīrūz Shāh. Proofs were given of the correctness of Westmacott's suggestion (made in 1874, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*) that Ekdālā is an area of the district of Dinājpur, measuring upwards of 25 square miles and enclosed within a broad moat that was formed by linking up the Chirāmatī and Bāliya Rivers by canals; while the site of the battle between the armies of Ilyās and Fīrūz is the plain that stretches to the south of the Southern moat for 10 or 12 miles almost to the present boundary of Māldah District. Moreover, as is shown by the discoveries of numerous images dating from even pre-Pāla times until after the invasion of Bengal in A.D 1202 by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār Khaljī, not only is it certain that Ekdālā—under its former name of Bairhāttā—was a flourishing Hindu centre, but it would also appear that the Muslim invasion was not consolidated by the conquest of existing centres of Hindu civilization, even so close to Devīkot as was Ekdālā, until the time of Shamsuddīn Fīrūz Shāh—the Bengal King after whom Pāndua was re-named Fīrūzābād early in the fourteenth century. This was also probably the case with Pundravardhana, which may have continued to have been held by the Sen Kings for the 100 years that they survived as rulers in Eastern Bengal, as one of their outposts in the Varendra country.

In the concluding portion of his lecture Mr. Stapleton briefly summarized the history of Pāndua and Gaur and

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pointed out that the former city was also a Hindu capital of great importance in ancient times, being possibly the oldest of all those dealt with in the lecture.

3.

Eighteen Months in North-East Malaya

On 7th June, 1934, Mlle Jeanne Cuisinier read a paper before the Society upon some of the experiences which she had during an eighteen months tour in Malaya. Her principal observations were made in the state of Kelantan. She played many gramophone records to illustrate dialects and songs and showed many lantern slides. The lecturer was of opinion that the old Portuguese language of Malaka has evolved into a creole dialect, as is the case with other Portuguese native States, such as Goa and Macao. It is not understood by modern Portuguese. In the usual Malay town you will find a Chinese colony, generally an Indian colony, and possibly a Japanese. The Malay does not mix much with the Chinese or Tamil, but this is probably induced by the latter, as the Malay is usually partial to foreigners.

There seems to be a broad division between certain groups of the Malay States. The first group, containing Kedah, Perlis, and Kelentan, shows a strong Siamese influence. The other, such as Perak, Pahang, Negri Sembilan, and Selangor, was influenced by the powerful Sumatranese realm of Menangkaban. Traces are obvious in court etiquette and ceremonials.

The first or Northern group remained for long under tribute to Siam. This was sent every third year with great ceremony in a small vessel named *The Pirogue of the Golden Flower*. Siamese officials were sent to the States and settled down to form Siamese colonies, each of which had its pagoda and its Pagoda School which raised the level of education in the Siamese group considerably above the other. So that even now the Malay will prefer to call upon the services of a Siamese medicine man or even Buddhist Monks, though he

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does not like the fact to be known. Java, too, has brought an indirect Hindu influence to the eastern parts of Malaya, strengthening the very noticeable indonesian basis of Malay civilization.

The Semangs are a small people, about 4 ft. 11 in. in height on the average, and are sometimes called Negritos. Sakais are a little taller. The former are dark-skinned with woolly, curly hair; the latter are paler in complexion and of a reddish brown colour, with brilliant straight or wavy hair, though in some cases it is actually curly. The Semang has a round head and face, with very thick lips, the Sakai has even a flatter nose and lips nearly as thick. They both have brilliant black eyes with no sign of the "bride Mongolique". The Semangs live in huts made of leaves on the ground: the Sakais also use the hut of leaves, but prefer to build it in a tree. Sometimes an entire Sakai village, built of leaves and in the trees, is quite invisible at the first glance, and this is what is considered desirable by the inhabitants. The Sakais were nomadic but have given up their wandering habits to a great extent. When they build on the ground, their houses are raised on longer posts than those made by the Malay; the ridge of the roof lies in the north-south line.

The Kelantanese are shy and suspicious of strangers, and at first a foreign observer has to do nothing but exercise his patience and wait. When the lecturer became really friendly with them, they told her that they would never trouble to give reliable information to anybody unless they were sure that it was seriously wanted in a friendly spirit.

Travelling in the forests is a hard experience, principally because of the extreme lightness of the bridges over the rivers. To travel by river, when such a mode is possible, is easier but slower than to attempt the forest.

The Sakai seems to be in a state of transition between his original nomadic state and regular village life. Some tribes of the Temer, that is to say the Sakais of Nengiri, Berok, and Betis Rivers, have been settled for four or five years,

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and copy the Malay way of making houses, rafts, and pirogues. Those living on the rivers are more civilized than those living in the forests and cultivate patches on the Malay principle, except that they use the hoe instead of a plough. They clear their fields by burning and have no irrigation. They grow rice, manioc, maize, and eat the produce of hunting, fishing, and trapping. They have Chiefs who are elected, so the institution is probably of Sakai origin as election is not a Malay custom. The Chiefs are always chosen from the same family, though age is not considered, and they are subject to dismissal or even banishment if they give cause of offence.

They recognize individual property not only as regards weapons and ornaments, etc., but ground and trees belong to a person or family, though whatever the ground or tree produces is common to the group. The same custom seems to prevail among the Semang. Endogamy is usual though not enforced, and many wives or husbands come from other groups. Vocabularies were collected from four Sakai groups. Father Schebesta recognized tones in the Ple-Temer language, but Mr. Noone thinks that the dialects have no tones except for emotional stress in speech. The lecturer was of opinion that the dialects were formerly tonal, but the tones were gradually being lost. The old people used definite modulations in their speech, but the young people did not. The lecturer was unable to collect similar information from the Semang owing to ill-health, which cut short her stay among them.

In Kelantan the Legend of Putri Sadong tells of a geographical convulsion in some former period, the reality of which could be ascertained by geological investigation of the country between Gunong Noring and Bâtu Melintang, where hot springs and hot sulphur-smelling mud are found. The top of Gunong Noring (called by the Malay Gunong Châbut or the Torn-out Mountain) is in the form of a crater, and the legend tells how it was filled with water and became a lake. At Trengganu the lecturer saw a Malay dance called

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"Joget", which the Sultan arranged in her honour. It is a kind of ballet of Balinese origin, accompanied by a melody, played on the Gamelan or Javanese orchestra. Only unmarried Chinese slaves may perform. When they marry, they may dance no more. This ballet is performed only at the courts of the Sultans of Trengganu and Pahang, and cannot be seen elsewhere. Some of the story-tellers mime their poetic stories while chanting them, but all story-tellers begin by offering a little Kenduri (a few edibles) to the spirits whose names they mention.

There are two groups of dances. The first, generally of foreign origin, not necessarily connected with magic; it contains Hathrad and Berzafin from Arab sources, Ronggeng with Portuguese music and garments, and indigenous Bersilat. The second has its source in the appeal of the forefathers. These begin in a spirit of awe with incantations and offerings. To this second division belong Malay dances like Bĕlian "The calling of the tiger's spirit", Putrī and the Siamese Leen Phi Chap, "Chasing away the bad spirits."

There is magic in almost every phrase of life and activity; harvest rituals, fishing, trapping, and hunting, the practice of making the soul, and many others.

2.

To Professor Fritz Hommel on his Eightieth Birthday

Twenty years ago a *Festschrift* of 392 pages, containing twenty-four articles was presented to the Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Munich. Professor Hommel has now held his Chair for more than half a century, and has trained some of the most able Semitic scholars of two generations. He has been known in this country as a gentleman of the old school, always courteous, learned, and brilliant. He has shown himself particularly friendly to England, and has published many articles in our journals. Since the death of Sayce, who was a life-long friend of his, Hommel and the

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learned Père Scheil of Paris are now the doyens of Assyriology. He is probably the last of the Assyriologists who can be rightly described as a professor of Semitic Languages; for he is essentially a Semitic scholar rather than a specialist in Assyriology. There is no Semitic language on which he has not published something, including Egyptian. His works also include Turkish, Sumerian, and Elamitic. In 1904 appeared volume i of his *opus magnum: Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*. Volume ii appeared in 1926, altogether 1,108 pages of closely written material, especially devoted to the difficult subject of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian geography. But he cast his net wide, as he alone was able to do, and the book is a mine of information on the geography of the whole of ancient Western Asia. He is best known to laymen in this country for the English edition of *Pentateuchkritik* in which (like Sayce) he opposed the modern school of Biblical criticism. To Semitic scholars his early Arabic studies, particularly on Himyaritic, his *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den Südsemitischen Völkern*, and his *Die Semiten* are well known and are precious contributions to Semitic philology.

So well had he mastered Assyriology nearly fifty years ago, that he was able to publish an elaborate History of Babylonia and Assyria in 1885. This was almost the first book I ever read about Assyriology when I was a student in the late nineties of last century. Hommel has had a career of lasting influence on the past generation of Assyriologists and Orientalists. His English friends salute him on his eightieth birthday, *tantis ornatus virtutibus, ingenio florentissimus.*

S. LANGDON.

Notice

Members and subscribing Libraries are reminded that, by Rule 24, all annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society.

A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

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Gardiner, A. H. Two Employments of the Independent Pronouns.
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Journal of the University of Bombay. Vol. ii, Part iv, January, 1934.

Commissariat, M. S. Studies in the History of Gujarat.

Heras, H. Three forgotten Pallava Kings.

The Tôyô Gakuhô. Vol. xxi, No. 3, April, 1934.

Yamamoto, T. Chêng Ho's Expeditions to the South Sea under the Ming Dynasty.

Al-Machriq. XXXIIe Année, Fasc. 2e, Avril-Juin, 1934.

Hatem, A. La Prise d'Antioche par les Croisés d'après les témoins oculaires.

Carali, A. P. L'Exaltation de la Croix, homélie attribuée à St. Cyrille de Jérusalem—VI.

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Remainder of Accessions, April–July, 1934

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From the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

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Tsukamoto, Z., Chinese Buddhism in the Middle Period of the T'ang Dynasty . . . (Memoir of the Tōhō-Bunka-Gakuin, vol. 4). *Japanese*. 10½ × 7½. *Kyōtō*, 1933.
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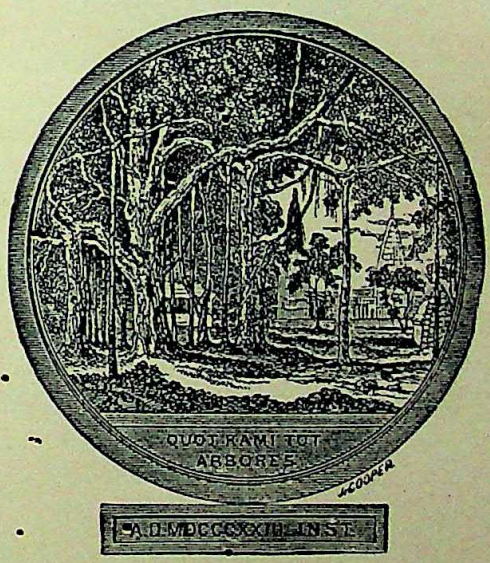

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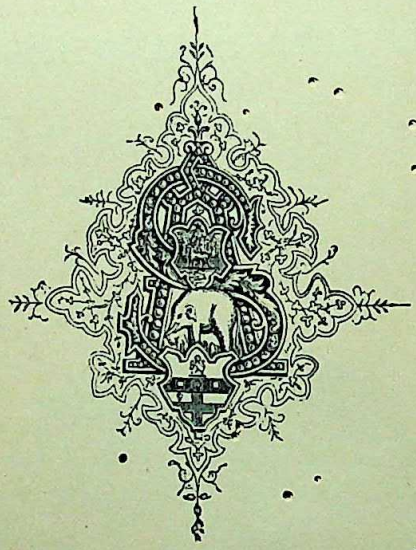

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